



No. * 1253. 1-30



loc 1

P21

Bulletin

INDEX

VOLUME XLIV: Numbers 1123-1148

January 2-June 26, 1961

<i>Issue Number</i>	<i>Date of Issue</i>	<i>Pages</i>
1123	Jan. 2, 1961	1- 36
1124	Jan. 9, 1961	37- 68
1125	Jan. 16, 1961	69- 100
1126	Jan. 23, 1961	101- 136
1127	Jan. 30, 1961	137- 172
1128	Feb. 6, 1961	173- 204
1129	Feb. 13, 1961	205- 248
1130	Feb. 20, 1961	249- 284
1131	Feb. 27, 1961	285- 320
1132	Mar. 6, 1961	321- 356
1133	Mar. 13, 1961	357- 392
1134	Mar. 20, 1961	393- 428
1135	Mar. 27, 1961	429- 468
1136	Apr. 3, 1961	469- 504
1137	Apr. 10, 1961	505- 540
1138	Apr. 17, 1961	541- 576
1139	Apr. 24, 1961	577- 612
1140	May 1, 1961	613- 656
1141	May 8, 1961	657- 700
1142	May 15, 1961	701- 744
1143	May 22, 1961	745- 792
1144	May 29, 1961	793- 836
1145	June 5, 1961	837- 900
1146	June 12, 1961	901- 944
1147	June 19, 1961	945- 988
1148	June 26, 1961	989-1032

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

5704

Corrections for Volume XLIV

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

January 9, page 64, first column, footnote 3: The U.N. document number should be A/RES/1573(XV).

March 27, page 445, second column, fourth paragraph under the subhead "President Kennedy": The first sentence should read "We share the same basic aspiration for the United States as he works for for his own country."

April 10, page 511, second column, third line from bottom: The sentence should begin "The emphasis on low or interest-free loans . . ."

May 29, page 830, second column, 11th line: The date should be October 14, 1959.

INDEX

Volume XLIV: Numbers 1123-1148, January 2-June 26, 1961

- Acheson, Dean, 438
Achilles, Theodore C., 31
Act for International Development, 950, 977, 1000
Act of Bogotá. *See* Bogotá, Act of
Adams, Grantley, 42, 351
Adams, Samuel C., Jr., 466
Adenauer, Konrad, 621
Advisory Committee on Labor and Management, creation and functions of, message (Kennedy), 291
Afghanistan:
 Article (Byroade), 125
 Informational media guaranty program, agreement with U.S. providing, 610
 Relief supplies, agreement amending 1954 agreement with U.S. for duty-free entry and defrayment of inland transportation charges, 317
 Technical cooperation, agreement with U.S. extending 1953 agreement, 201
Africa (*see also individual countries*):
 African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Cooperation, established, 586, 587
 Afro-Asian resolution on Angola, text of, 499; U.S. support, statement (Stevenson), 497
 All-African Peoples' Conference, U.S. greetings, message (Williams), 526
 Challenge of, addresses and remarks: Williams, 259, 911; Stevenson, 412
 Conference of African states at Monrovia, greetings to, message (Kennedy), 802
 Conference of African states on the development of education in Africa, message and remarks: Coombs, 936; Kennedy, 937; U.S. observer delegation to, 938
 Development programs for, address and statement (Stevenson), 534, 805, 806
 East Africa, U.S. teacher program in, 218
 East-West struggle for control in, question of, statement (Rusk), 299
 Economic, educational, and political problems of, addresses: Cummings, 915; Dulles, 767; Williams, 584
 Economic Commission for, U.N. *See* Economic Commission for Africa
 European Economic Community, association of African states with, joint communique (Hallstein, Kennedy), 869
 Freedom day celebrations, remarks (Kennedy), 638
 Fulbright program in, proposed expansion of, 459
 Hunger and protein deficiency in, address (Rowan), 406
 Self-determination and development in, joint communique (Bourguiba, Kennedy), 852
 Africa—Continued
 U.N. African members' resolution proposing sanctions against Union of South Africa, statement (Plimpton), 603; text, 604
 U.N. role in, joint communique (Kennedy, Nkrumah), 446
 U.S. information activities in, need for expansion of, letter (Eisenhower), 182, 183; report, 184, 185, 187
 U.S. Naval Task Force good-will visit to, statement (Rusk), 433
 U.S. policy and relations: addresses, remarks, and statements: Bowles, 484, 629; Cummings, 915; Kennedy, 446; Kotschnig, 377; Stevenson, 361; Williams, 373, 529, 730, 854, 912
 Visit of Assistant Secretary Williams, announcement of, 295; report on, 527
 African Pilot, 312
 Agency for International Development, proposed establishment and organization of, letter and statements: Kennedy, 978; Rusk, 953, 1003
 Agrarian reform. *See* Land reform
 Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Institute of, convention (1944) and protocol of amendment to, 65, 201, 317, 425, 537
 Agricultural surpluses, U.S., use in overseas programs: Agreements with: Afghanistan, 130; Bolivia, 698, 921, 922; Brazil, 65, 134, 734, 896; Burma, 1029; Chile, 318; China, 65, 425, 834; Colombia, 834; Cyprus, 501; France, 465; Greece, 789, 896; Iceland, 501, 734; India, 538; Indonesia, 65, 501; Iran, 698; Israel, 896; Korea, 202, 610, 941; Pakistan, 610, 790; Peru, 501; Spain, 985; Turkey, 282, 734, 790; U.A.R., 318, 425, 1029; Uruguay, 98; Viet-Nam, 653; Yugoslavia, 1029
 Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. *See* Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act
 AID role in, letter (Kennedy), 978
 Cuban refugees, proposed distribution to, letter and statement (Kennedy), 257, 310
 Emergency relief aid to: Chile, 492; Congo, Republic of the, 218, 312; Kenya, 312; Lebanon, 50; Libya, 312; Peru, 923; Tunisia, 597
 Food-for-peace program. *See* Food-for-peace program
 Grants to voluntary relief agencies for distribution in the Congo, 156
 Pakistan development, proposed use of for, 448
 Sales for foreign currencies. *See under* Foreign currency

- Agricultural surpluses, world, problem of, address (Martin), 824
- Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (1954):
- Administration of, delegation of authority for, Executive order, 159
 - Legislation amending and extending, statement (Martin), 1020
- Agriculture (*see also* Agricultural Sciences, Inter-American Institute of; Agricultural surpluses; and Food and Agriculture Organization):
- Africa, need for increased production, address (Williams), 528
 - EEC, common agricultural policy within, proposed establishment of, joint communique (Hallstein, Kennedy), 868
 - Exports of U.S. products, need to increase, message (Kennedy), 292
 - Importance in economic growth, statement (Frank), 461
 - Land reform. *See* Land reform
 - Latin America, need for diversified production, message (Kennedy), 476
 - Products, need for removal of restrictions on trade in, address and message; Hadraba, 269, 270; Kennedy, 293
 - U.S.-Canadian productivity, comparison with Communist, address (Kennedy), 842
 - World problems, joint communique (Hoolyoake, Kennedy), 403
- Agriculture, Department of, delegation of functions to for administration of P.L. 480, Executive order, 159
- Agronsky, Martin, 305
- Ahmed, Aziz, 448
- AID. *See* Agency for International Development
- Air transport. *See* Aviation
- Airmail, universal postal convention (1957) provisions re, 653, 896, 1029
- Albania, convention (1954) and protocol for protection of cultural property in event of armed conflict, 282
- Albright, Raymond J., 170
- Alemann, Roberto T., 920
- Alessandri, Jorge, 867
- Algerian question:
- French efforts to resolve, message (Kennedy), 709
 - General Assembly resolutions for solution of, text, 64
 - Negotiation and self-determination proposed for settlement, joint communique (Bourguiba, Kennedy), 852
 - Presidents Bourguiba and de Gaulle consultations on, statement (Rusk), 431
 - Tunisian position on, address (Bourguiba), 851
 - U.S. views on, statements: Rusk, 524; Wilcox, 62
- Alianza para Progreso. See* Alliance for Progress
- Aliens:
- Nonimmigrant, fingerprinting regulations re amended, 692
 - Permanent resident, limitation on travel to Cuba, 178
- All-African Peoples' Conference, 526
- Alliance for Progress:
- Cuban views, statement (Stevenson), 673
 - IDB role in, statement (Kennedy), 553
- Alliance for Progress—Continued
- Importance and objectives of, addresses, remarks, and statements: Ball, 861; Berle, 342, 617, 620, 763, 819; Dillon, 694, 695, 696, 698; Kennedy, 212, 616; Rowan, 799; Rusk, 759
 - Proposal for, address and message to Congress (Kennedy), 471
 - U.S.-Argentine exchange of views on, letters (Frondizi, Kennedy), 814
 - U.S. efforts to expedite and strengthen, memorandums (Ball), 918
- Ambassadorial talks, Warsaw (U.S.-Communist China), U.S. position, summary (Herter), 147
- Ambassadors, U.S. (*see also under* Foreign Service):
- Appointment of, statement (Rusk), 304
 - Negotiating authority of, statement (Rusk), 434
- American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, 47
- American Council on Education, conference on teacher problem in East Africa, 219
- American Foreign Ministers:
- Meeting on Cuban situation, question of, statement (Rusk), 433
 - Sanctions against Dominican Republic invoked at San José meeting, statement (Bonsal) and OAS Council report on, 273
- American Republics (*see also* Latin America), *Foreign Relations* volume on, released, 942
- American States, Organization of. *See* Organization of American States
- Amity treaties. *See* Friendship
- Amrein, Franz, 151
- Angola situation:
- Afro-Asian proposed resolution in Security Council, 499
 - U.S. position, statements: Carpenter, 498; Rusk, 521; Stevenson, 497
- Anguilla, 1954 convention concerning customs facilities for touring, 465
- Antarctica, peaceful uses of, U.S. proposal, summary (Herter), 146
- Anti-Semitism, reports on and efforts to prevent recurrences of, statement (Tree), 463
- ANZUS treaty:
- Role of, summary (Herter), 145
 - U.S.-Australian views, joint communique (Kennedy, Menzies), 372
- Apartheid* policy of Union of South Africa:
- U.N. consideration of, statements and resolutions: Bingham, 569, 570; Plimpton, 600; texts of resolutions, 572, 600
 - U.S. views of, address (Williams), 732
- Arab Republic, United. *See* United Arab Republic
- Arab states (*see also individual countries*):
- Development financing program, U.S. proposal for, statement (Herter), 149
 - Refugees, U.N. programs for, U.S. views and support, remarks and statement: Jones, 929; Wilcox, 28
- Arctic inspection, U.S. proposal, summary (Herter), 146
- Argentina:
- Alliance for Progress, exchange of views on, letters (Frondizi, Kennedy), 814
 - Food-for-peace mission visit to, 312

Argentina—Continued

- IFC investments in, 90
- Seminar on U.S. educational system, participation in, 311
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Bills of lading, international convention (1924) for unification of rules re, 1029
 - Educational exchange program, agreement amending 1956 agreement with U.S. for financing, 1029
 - GATT, declaration of provisional accession, 896
 - Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, convention (1944) on and protocol of amendment to, 425
 - Investment guaranty program, agreement with U.S. providing, 833
 - Naval vessels, agreement with U.S. for loan of, 169
 - Road traffic, convention (1949) on, with annexes, 201
 - U.S.-Argentine cooperation, statement (Kennedy), 920
- Armaments (*see also* Disarmament, Missiles, and Nuclear weapons):
 - Cuba, Soviet and Soviet-bloc military aid to, addresses and statements: Coerr, 253; Stevenson, 671, 680; Wadsworth, 111
 - Dominican Republic, OAS suspension of trade with, statement (Bonsal), 273, 274
 - Industry, need for and vastness of, address (Eisenhower), 180
 - International control, inspection, and reduction of:
 - Negotiations, need for adequate preparation for, address and report: Kennedy, 176; Sprague, 192
 - Soviet position, summary (Herter), 147
 - U.S. and Western proposals, addresses and summary: Bowles, 482; Gullion, 636, 638; Herter, 146
 - NATO, U.S. policy to strengthen, messages and remarks (Kennedy), 333, 647, 841, 905
 - Supply of arms to Laos and new African nations, need for international supervision of, statements: Department, 114; Rusk, 300, 303, 522
 - U.S. controls on shipments to the Congo, 546, 1009
- Armed forces:
 - Geneva conventions (1949) on treatment of wounded and sick in time of war, 609
 - In the Congo. *See* Congo situation
 - NATO, need to strengthen, address (Kennedy), 841
 - U.N., question of permanent force for, statement (Rusk), 521
- Armed forces, U.S.:
 - Aircraft. *See under* Aviation
 - Alleged use in Cuban situation, U.S. refutation of, messages and statements: Kennedy, 661; Khrushchev, 664; Stevenson, 667
 - Conventional forces in Europe, question of withdrawal of, statement (Rusk), 440
 - Dependents living abroad, rescinding of order limiting, message (Kennedy), 293
 - Disaster relief provided to Yemen, 271
 - In Japan, agreements with Japan re, address (MacArthur), 558, 559
 - In Korea, question of status-of-forces agreement re, statements (Chyung, Rusk), 437, 712
 - Limitation of expenditures abroad by personnel, message (Kennedy), 294

Armed forces, U.S.—Continued

- Military mission to Liberia, agreement extending 1951 agreement re, 834
 - Reorganization and strengthening of, proposed, message (Kennedy), 906
 - USAF crew of a C-130 shot down over Soviet Armenia, U.S. seeks contact with surviving members, texts of U.S. and Soviet notes, 257
 - U.S. Naval Task Force off African coast, question of orders to, statement (Rusk), 433
- ## Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia (*see also* Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and individual countries):
- Communist aggression in. *See under* Communism, Laos, and Viet-Nam
 - Economic Commission for, U.N. *See* Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
 - Economic development, U.S. views and aid, address and statement: Bowles, 484; Frank, 460
 - Fulbright program in, recommendation to enlarge, 459
 - Hunger and protein deficiency in, address (Rowan), 406
 - Summary of U.S. activities in (Herter), 146
 - U.S. relations with, reappraisal of, address (Bowles), 630
 - USIA broadcasts to, need for increase in, message (Kennedy), 905
 - Visit of Vice President Johnson to:
 - Announcement of, 750
 - Statements (Rusk), 762
 - Texts of joint communiques, 956
- ## Asia Foundation, contribution to Afghan development, address (Byroade), 130
- ## Asylum, right of, statements (Stevenson), 667, 670, 684
- ## Atlantic Alliance. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- ## Atlantic Community (*see also* North Atlantic Treaty Organization):
- Goals of:
 - Message (Kennedy), 333
 - Role of OECD in attaining, statement (Ball), 328, 329
 - New nations, role in aid to, address (Ball), 714
 - OECD role in, U.S.-German joint communique, 622
 - Role in U.S. foreign policy, statement (Rusk), 800
- ## Atlantic Fisheries, Northwest. *See* Northwest Atlantic Fisheries
- ## Atomic energy, peaceful uses of (*see also* Atomic Energy Agency):
- Agreements with: Australia, 465; Costa Rica, 390; France, 698; Ireland, 352, 574; Israel, 201; Italy, 574; Turkey, 734, 985
 - U.S.-Israeli cooperation, Department statement, 45
 - U.S. policy and views, message and summary: Eisenhower, 140; Herter, 146
- ## Atomic energy, nuclear weapons. *See* Nuclear weapons
- ## Atomic Energy Agency, International:
- Board of Governors, U.S. delegation to 21st session of, 651
 - Importance of, summary (Herter), 146
 - Progress and U.S. support of, statement (Wilcox), 92
- ## Atomic energy for mutual defense purposes, agreement with Italy for cooperation on uses of, 201, 941

Atomic radiation :

- Agreement with Australia re sampling by means of balloons in the upper atmosphere, 941
- U.N. Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, U.S. delegation to 9th session, 499

Attwood, William, 653

Australia :

- ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
- IFC investment in, 90
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Atomic energy, civil uses of, agreement with U.S. amending 1956 agreement, 465
 - GATT, protocol replacing schedule I, 537
 - GATT, rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 8th and 9th protocols of, 97
 - Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34
 - Radioactivity of upper atmosphere, agreement with U.S. re sampling by means of balloons, 941
 - U.S.-Australian views re international problems, text of joint communique (Kennedy, Menzies), 372

Austria :

- Chancellor Raab's leadership, message (Kennedy), 591
- Congo situation, resolution in General Assembly on, 62
- Fund for settlement of property losses of political persecutees established, 691
- Refugee camps, U.S. contributions to close, 454
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Counterpart settlement, agreement with U.S., 653
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 - GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65

Aviation :

- Air transport negotiations with : India, 727 ; Japan, 935 ; U.K., 963
- Aircraft :
 - Alleged use of U.S. aircraft in Cuban situation, messages (Khrushchev) and Soviet statement, 662, 664 ; U.S. refutation of, statements (Stevenson), 667, 676
 - C-130 shot down by Soviets over Soviet Armenia, U.S. requests information re, texts of U.S. and Soviet notes, 257
 - DC-3, use of in Berlin operations, statement (Rusk), 437
 - Delivery of French-built planes in Katanga, Republic of the Congo, statement (Stevenson), 365
 - Defection of Cuban Air Force pilots, statement (Stevenson), 667, 676
 - Exchange of information on atmospheric conditions affecting, need for, article (Landsberg), 279
 - Military air transport, need to increase capacity of, address (Kennedy), 211
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Air services transit, international, agreement (1944), 282, 501, 537
 - Air transport agreements with : Mexico, 282 ; New Zealand, 169 ; Pakistan, 834

Aviation—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

- Carriage by air, international, protocol amending 1929 convention for unification of rules re, 97
- Civil aviation convention (1944), international, 201, 985 ; protocol (1954) relating to amendments to, 282, 537, 698, 789
- Dhahran airfield agreement with Saudi Arabia, non-renewal of, Department statement, 490
- International recognition of rights in aircraft, convention (1948) on, 896
- U.S. aid to Viet-Nam for construction of jet runway, 84
- Ayub Khan, Mohammed, 448, 960
- Badeau, John S., 985
- Baig, M. O. A., 424
- Balance of payments :
 - Import restrictions, GATT provision re, 1018
 - U.S. position and steps to improve :
 - Addresses, messages, statements, and summary : Ball, 450 ; Braderman, 315, 316 ; Dillon, 331 ; Hadraba, 264, 269, 270 ; Herter, 150 ; Kennedy, 208, 287 ; Kotschnig, 378 ; Merchant, 4 ; Rusk, 324, 439
 - Decrease in duty-free exemptions, message (Kennedy) and proposed bill, 293, 382
 - German-U.S. discussions, statement (Rusk), 300 ; texts of joint communique (Kennedy, von Brentano) and U.S. aide-memoire re, 369
 - Impact of foreign aid expenditure on, message (Kennedy), 512
 - Industrialized nations cooperation for solution of, need for, statement (Ball), 327
 - Progress in, message (Kennedy), 904
 - Report of committee on U.S. economic position re, 215
 - U.S.-Canada review of, text of communique, 488
 - U.S. citizens' gold holdings abroad, disposal of, announcement and Executive order, 195
- Balance of power, shift in, address : Bohlen, 967 ; Bowles, 481
- Baldwin, Charles F., 390
- Balewa, Alhaji Sir Abuakar Tafawa, 918
- Ball, George W. :
 - Addresses, statements, and correspondence :
 - Alliance for Progress, U.S. efforts to expedite and strengthen, 918
 - Atlantic Community and the New Nations, 714
 - Battle Act, Department's views on legislation to amend, 775
 - Free-world economic cooperation, 449
 - Inter-American program, Department requests funds for, 864
 - Korea, U.S. relations with, 262
 - Newly developing nations and "New Frontier", 751
 - OECD convention, requesting ratification of, 326
 - Confirmation as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, 282
 - Meeting with Tunisian officials, 853
 - U.S. representative to 4th meeting of DAG, 515, 555
 - Visit to Europe for talks on economic and textile matters, 489, 825

- Bandung conference, address (Rowan), 407
- Barbour, Walworth, 941
- Barco, James W., 54, 66, 112, 199
- Bases, U.S. *See* Military bases
- Batt, William L., Jr., 245
- Battle, Lucius D., 466
- Battle Act, proposed amendment to:
Address and statement: Ball, 775; Kennedy, 212
Text of, 414
- Baudouin, King, 40
- Beale, Wilson T. M., Jr., 572
- Bédié, Konan, 177
- Behr, Frederic H., 170
- Belgium:
Congo situation. *See* Congo situation
Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
ICEM aid in resettlement of Belgian nationals from the Congo, article (Warren), 389
Prime Minister Lefevre, congratulations to, message (Kennedy), 803
Ruanda-Urundi. *See* Ruanda-Urundi
Treaties, agreements, etc.:
Friendship, establishment, and navigation, treaty and protocol with U.S., 383, 390
GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
Geneva conventions (1949) on treatment of prisoners of war, wounded and sick, and civilians, application to Republic of the Congo, 610*n*
International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169
Mutual defense assistance, agreement amending annex B of 1950 agreement with U.S., 201
OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
Radio regulations (1959), 609
U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 390
Wedding of King Baudouin, statements (Herter), 40, 41
- Benjamin, Robert S., 464
- Berding, Andrew H., 151
- Berle, Adolf A.:
Appointment as consultant to Secretary of State, 426
Chairman of Task Force on Latin America, 298
Latin American economic and social development, addresses on U.S. program for, 342, 617, 763, 818
Visit to Argentina, 437
- Berlin:
Quadripartite (France, Soviet Union, U.K., U.S.) status of, address (Dowling), 589
Soviet position on, address, report, and statement: Berding, 151; Herter, 147; Kennedy, 993; Rusk, 432
U.S. and Western reaffirmation of rights in, address, communique, remarks, report, statements, and summary: Adenauer, Kennedy, 622; Berding, 151, 152; Herter, 147; Kennedy, 993; Kennedy, von Brentano, 370; NATO, 40, 801; Rusk, 302, 335, 432, 433, 435, 437, 438, 440; U.S.-U.K. communique, 999
- Berlin—Continued
Universal postal convention (1957), application to, 134
West Berlin:
Freedom of, importance of maintaining, address and communique: Berding, 152; Adenauer, Kennedy, 622; Kennedy, von Brentano, 370; NATO, 801
Progress in economic development, address (Berding), 152
Berlin conference (Potsdam conference), *Foreign Relations*, volumes on, published, 721
Bernbaum, Maurice M., 318
Bicycles, tariff rates on imports:
Peril-point investigation called for, 50
Proclamation establishing new rates, 419
Biddle, Anthony J. Drexel, 653
Bills of lading, international convention (1924) for unification of rules re, 1029
Bingham, Jonathan B., 465, 569, 785
Biochemistry Congress, Fifth International, 96
Bizerte, Tunisian position re, address (Bourguiba), 851
Blair, William McCormick, Jr., 653
Blancké, W. Wendell, 65, 318
Bloodgood, Grant, 225
Blough, Roy, 215
Blumenthal, W. Michael, 742
Board of Foreign Scholarships, recommendations for improvement of Fulbright program, 459
Bogotá, Act of:
Address, remarks, and statement: Ball, 918; Coerr, 254, 255; Kennedy, 616; Rusk, 298
U.S. contribution to implement:
Request for, address, message, and statement: Ball, 864; Kennedy, 473, 474
Signing of appropriation bill, remarks (Kennedy), 971
- Bohlen, Charles E., 640*n*, 964
- Bolivia:
Development program, U.S.-Bolivian cooperation on, letters (Kennedy, Paz), 920
ICA loan, 531
Membership in ICEM, 387
Social revolution in, address (Coerr), 252
Treaties, agreements, etc.:
Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S., 698
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, protocol of amendment to convention on, 425
Military assistance, agreement with U.S. re furnishing of, 390
U.S. economic policies in, mission to review status of, 454
U.S. Operations Mission, designation of director, 170
- Bolster, Edward A., 935
- Bonds, German dollar, agreement re validation with Federal Republic of Germany, 597, 789
- Bonin Islands, U.S. compensation to former residents of, address (MacArthur), 558, 559
- Bonsal, Philip W., 273, 765, 941
- Boun Oum, Prince, 115
- Bourguiba, Habib, 431, 448, 691, 756, 848
- Bourguiba, Habib, Jr., 445

Bowles, Chester :

Addresses and letter :

The Decisive Decade, 480

Foundations of World Partnership, 629

Foreign aid, challenge to U.S., 703

Korean economy, U.S. views, 930

Confirmation as Under Secretary of State, 245

Braderman, Eugene M., 314

Bradford, Saxton, 985

Bramble, Harlan P., 426

Brand, Vance, 50, 170

Brannon, Cullen A., Jr., 170

Brazil :

Financial problems, U.S. and IMF aid, announcements :

Dillon, Mariani, 862; IMF, 863

Food-for-peace missions to, 312, 552

ICEM aid to Dutch settlers in, U.S. support of, article (Warren), 387

IDB meeting at Rio de Janeiro, statements (Dillon), 693

OAS suspension of trade with Dominican Republic, position on, 275

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 65, 134, 734, 896

Extradition, treaty with U.S., 164, 201, 941

GATT :

Declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896

Protocol relating to establishment of new schedule III, 201, 352

Rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th protocols of, 97, 201

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, convention (1944) on and protocol amending, 425

Nuclear research and training equipment, agreement with U.S. providing grant to assist in acquisition of, 653

Special services, agreement extending 1953 agreement with U.S., 318

U.S. naval vessels, agreements with U.S. for loan of, 244

Vocational education program, cooperative agreement with U.S. extending 1950 agreement, 318

U.S. relations with and cooperation in Latin American affairs, message (Kennedy), 256

World War II dead, salute to, message (Eisenhower), 48

Brentano, Heinrich von, 369, 439

Brezhnev, Leonid, 214

British Commonwealth (*see also* United Kingdom), censorship of Union of South Africa and withdrawal of, 602

Broadcasting agreement, North American regional, and final protocol, 896

Brown, Aaron S., 653

Bruce, David K. E., 390

Budget, address and messages (Kennedy), 209, 293, 903

Bulgaria, claims negotiations with U.S., 150, 597

Bureau of the Budget, review of department and agency requests for spending authority, message (Kennedy), 293

Burma :

ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 812

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

Agricultural commodities agreement amending 1958 agreement with U.S., 1029

GATT, declaration on relations with Poland, 97, 169

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 941

Burney, Leroy E., 281

Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, conventions on law of the sea, 609

Byroade, Henry A., 125

Cairo conference, 1943, volume on released, 1029

Calendar of international conferences and meetings (*see also subject*), 20, 91, 193, 272, 348, 423, 496, 563, 646, 735, 869, 981

Calhoun, John A., 789

Cambodia :

ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163

IMCO convention, 425

Cameroun :

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 177

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

IMCO convention, 985

International telecommunication convention (1952), 244

UNESCO constitution, 282

WMO convention, 134

Canada :

Assistant Secretary Cleveland to visit for consultations, 963

Joint U.S.-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, 6th meeting, announcement of, delegations, and text of communique, 372, 487

OECD, Canadian participation and membership in, 8, 327

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 812

Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, International Joint Commission report on, 772, 969

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

CANOL pipeline facilities, agreement with U.S. re disposition of, 34

Columbia River Basin, treaty with U.S. re cooperative development of, 201, 227, 492

Double taxation on estates and inheritances, convention for avoidance of, with U.S., 351, 352

GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896

GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97

Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34

OECD, convention on, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 65

Pilotage services on Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, agreement with U.S. governing coordination of, 834, 895

Postal convention with U.S., 244

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 390

Canada—Continued

U.S.-Canadian relations, remarks (Diefenbaker, Eisenhower, Herter), 227; joint communique (Diefenbaker, Kennedy), 371

Visit of President Kennedy, address to Parliament and joint communique (Diefenbaker, Kennedy), 839

Canal Zone:

Drivers' licenses issued in Panama and Canal Zone, U.S.-Panamanian agreement for reciprocal recognition, 202, 501

U.S. annuity payment to Panama for rights in, 381

CANOL pipeline facilities, agreement with Canada re disposition of, 34

Caramanlis, Constatine, 381, 686, 724

CARE. *See* Committee for American Relief Everywhere

Caribbean area (*see also individual countries*):

Air routes in, U.S.-U.K. negotiations on, 963

Cuban interventionist activities, statement (Wadsworth), 107

Sverdlovsk incident, 177

Caribbean Organization, agreement for establishment of and annexed statute, 134, 201

Carnahan, A. S. J., 501, 941

Carpenter, Francis W., 498

Castro, Fidel, 253, 667, 686

Catudal, Honoré M., 1010

CENTO. *See* Central Treaty Organization

Central African Republic:

International telecommunication conventions, 134, 609
UNESCO constitution, 282

U.S. aid, exchange of letters re (Daeko, Kennedy), 766

U.S. Ambassador, appointment, 65; confirmation, 318

Central America. *See* Caribbean area *and individual countries*

Central Treaty Organization:

9th Ministerial meeting:

Statements (Rusk), 756, 778

Text of final communique, 779

U.S. observer delegation to, 780

Purpose of, summary (Herter), 145

6th anniversary, exchange of messages (Baig, Rusk), 424

Century 21 Exposition, U.S. commissioner for, confirmation, 895

Ceylon:

Congo situation, proposed resolution in Security Council re, statements (Stevenson), 365, 367

ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163

GATT:

Declaration on provisional accession of Tunisia, 97

Declaration on relations with Poland, 97, 169

Protocol replacing schedule VI, 538

Rectifications and modification to texts of schedules, 8th and 9th protocols of, 97

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 812

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 574

Chad:

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

International telecommunication conventions, 134, 573

UNESCO constitution, 282

WHO constitution, 317

Chad—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

WMO convention, 317

U.S. Ambassador:

Appointment and confirmation (Blancké), 65, 318

Confirmation (Calhoun), 789

Chang, Do Young, 962

Chang, Lee Wook, 962

Chanlett, Mrs. Emil T., 742

Chapman, Gordon W., 941

Charter of the United Nations. *See* United Nations Charter

Chayes, Abram, 318, 776

Chiang Kai-shek, 958

Chile:

Earthquake, U.S. aid in reconstruction and rehabilitation, 474, 478, 492, 864, 867

Economic and social development in, U.S. aid, 254, 255

IFC investment in, 90

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813

Peace Corps project in, 1005

Seminar on U.S. educational systems, participation in, 311

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S. amending 1954 agreement, 318

GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896

GATT, rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th protocols of, 97, 169, 201

IDA, articles of agreement, 169

Investment guaranty program, agreement with U.S. re, 425

Loan of U.S. naval vessel, agreement amending 1960 agreement with U.S., 65

Satellite tracking facility at Magallenes Province, agreement with U.S. re reactivation of, 1029

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 742

China, Communist (*see also* Communism *and* Sino-Soviet bloc):

Activities in Asia, address (Kennedy), 210

Disarmament negotiations, question of inclusion in, statements (Rusk), 301, 309

Effort to expel U.S. from Far East, summary (Herter), 146

Emergence as world power, address (Bowles), 481

European migrants from, ICEM aid to, article (Warren), 387, 388

Menace to world peace, U.S.-New Zealand concern, joint communique (Kennedy, Holyoake), 404

People-to-people contacts in newly developing countries, address (Tubby), 973

Problem of communicating with, 187

Question of admittance of newsmen to, statement (Rusk), 438

U.N. representation of, question of, statements: Johnson, 958; Rusk, 303, 434, 523

U.S. policy toward, messages and statements: Eisenhower, 140; Johnson, 958; Khrushchev, 665; Rusk, 303, 434, 441, 523

China, Communist—Continued

- Warsaw ambassadorial talks, U.S. views, summary (Herter), 147
- China, Republic of:**
 - ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 - Governor of Taiwan, visit to U.S., 903
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 65, 425, 834
 - Educational exchange program, agreement amending 1947 agreement with U.S. re, 501
 - Loan of naval vessel, agreement with U.S. for, 318
 - Radio regulations (1959), 985
 - U.S. policy and commitments to, statements (Rusk), 303, 441
 - Visit of Vice President Johnson, announcement, and joint communique (Chiang Kai-shek, Johnson), 750, 958
- Chiriboga, José R., 83
- Cholera research project, conversion of to SEATO medical research laboratory, agreement with Thailand re, 501
- Chou Chi-joa, 803
- Chyung, Yil Hyung, 711
- Civil aviation. *See* Aviation
- Civil defense, proposed strengthening of and appropriation request for, message (Kennedy), 907
- Civil liberties, Cuban suppression of, statement (Stevenson), 679
- Civil servant, international, definition of, 54
- Civilian persons, Geneva convention (1949) relative to treatment in time of war, 609
- Claims:**
 - Austria, fund for settlement of property losses of political persecutees established, 691
 - Philippine-U.S. agreements re, 556, 574
 - U.S. claims against:
 - Austria, counterpart settlement agreement with, 653
 - Bulgaria, negotiations for settlement, 150, 597
 - East German dollar bonds, agreement (U.S.-German Federal Republic) re validation of, 597, 789
 - Germany, agreement on partial settlement for post-war economic assistance, 720, 834
 - Poland, protocol to 1960 agreement for settlement with, 34
- Clapper, Mrs. Raymond, 829
- Classified information, equipment, materials, or services related to defense, agreement with Sweden for safeguarding of, 282
- Cleveland, Harlan:
 - Addresses and remarks:
 - Office of U.N. Secretary-General, Soviet attacks on and proposal re, 809
 - Peace Corps, internationalizing concept of, 551
 - Problems of indirect aggression, mutual involvement, and nation-building in less developed areas, 858
 - The ethics of mutual involvement, 525
 - United Nations' capacity to act, 447
 - Assistant Secretary of State, confirmation, 390
 - Visit to Canada and Europe for consultations, 963

- Climatology, Commission for (WMO), 3d session of, article (Landsberg), 278
- Clothespins, action to modify tariff concessions on imports of, 50
- Coerr, Wymberley DeR., 251, 454
- Coexistence, Soviet policy of, address, message, and statement: Khrushchev, 666; Kohler, 925; Rusk, 443
- Coffee, trade problems in, U.S. efforts to solve, summary (Herter), 149
- Coffee Study Group, designation of as public international organization, Executive order, 976
- Coffin, Frank M., 318, 455
- Cold war:**
 - Dealing with challenging issues in, address (Rusk), 517
 - Position of Afghanistan in, address (Byroade), 125, 129
- Collective security (*see also* Mutual defense and Mutual security):
 - Arrangements for:
 - Map on, 722
 - Status of, message and summary: Eisenhower, 140; Herter, 144
 - Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. *See* ANZUS and Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
 - Europe. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - Latin America. *See* Organization of American States
 - Near and Middle East. *See* Central Treaty Organization
 - Principles of, U.S.-New Zealand reaffirm support of, joint communique (Hollyoake, Kennedy), 403
- Colombia:**
 - IFC investment in, 90
 - Peace Corps project in, 1005
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Economic assistance, agreement with U.S. providing for, 610
 - Educational exchange programs, agreement amending 1957 agreement with U.S. for financing, 201
 - Military equipment, materials, and services, agreement with U.S. re furnishing of, 698
 - Sugar agreement (1958), international, 389
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation (Freeman), 941; resignation (McIntosh), 98
- Colombo Plan, U.S. position and aid to countries of, statement (Achilles), 31
- Colonialism (*see also* Self-determination and Trust territories):
 - Africa, breakdown of in, addresses (Stevenson), 412; (Williams), 856
 - Imperial powers and colonized peoples, relations between, address (Bourguiba), 851
 - Soviet charge of imposition of on Congo, U.S. reply, statement (Wadsworth), 51
 - U.S. views re. remarks and statements: Bowles, 484; Rusk, 335, 441, 521; Stevenson, 360, 361, 363
- Columbia River basin, U.S.-Canadian treaty for cooperative development of:
 - Current action, 201
 - Letters and statement: Eisenhower, 228; Herter, 229; White, 492
 - Singing ceremony, remarks (Diefenbaker, Eisenhower, Herter), 227
 - Text of treaty, 234

Columbia University, Teachers College, contract with ICA to develop teachers for East Africa, 218

Commerce. *See* Trade

Commerce, Department of:

- Administration of program to encourage foreign travel in U.S., message (Kennedy), 291, 292
- Order re licenses for arms shipments to the Congo, 546
- Role in program of African development, address (Cummings), 917

Commercial officers, duties of, address (Merchant), 5

Commercial treaties. *See* Trade: Treaties

Commission for Climatology of World Meteorological Organization, 3d session of, article (Landsberg), 278

Committee for American Relief Everywhere, program for Afghanistan, address (Byroade), 131

Committee for Reciprocity Information:

- Functions of, 267, 418
- Notice of public hearings on GATT talks, 419

Committee on South-West Africa, U.N., statement (Bingham) and text of U.N. resolution, 570, 571

Commodity Trade, International. Commission on, purpose of and U.S. participation in, summary (Herter), 149

Commodity trade problems (*see also* Agricultural surpluses):

- Efforts of Economic Commission for Africa toward solution of, statement (Kotschnig), 379
- International consultations on rubber, article (Mellen), 78
- Less developed countries, addresses (Martin), 73, 823
- U.S. efforts to solve, summary (Herter), 149
- U.S.-Latin American cooperation in, address (Kennedy), 473

Common markets:

- European (*see also* European Economic Community; European Economic Cooperation, Organization for; and European Free Trade Association), statement (Herter), 149
- Latin American, address (Kennedy), 473

Communications. *See* Telecommunications

Communism (*see also* China, Communist; Sino-Soviet bloc; and Soviet Union):

- African attitude toward, address (Williams), 530
- Aggression and subversive activities in:
 - Cuba and Latin America, addresses, remarks, and statements: Berle, 343, 344, 618, 763, 819; Coerr, 252, 253, 255; Department, 923; Kennedy, 210, 659, 905; Rusk, 686, 762; Stevenson, 671; Wadsworth, 107, 111
 - Southeast Asia (*see also under* Laos):
 - Statements (Rusk), 548, 757, 758, 761, 845
 - Texts of communiques with Southeast Asian countries, 549, 956, 957, 958
- Economic policies. *See* Less developed countries: Economic offensive
- Influence in Germany, address (Dowling), 590, 591
- International, challenge and threat of and efforts to combat, addresses, communique, reports, and statements: Ball, 714; Bowles, 481, 630, 705; Cleveland, 858; Dulles, 337, 339; Kennedy, 210; Kohler, 925; NAC communique, 801; Rusk, 440, 948, 954, 1007; Sprague Committee report, 186, 187, 190; Tubby, 972

Communism—Continued

- Negotiating with Communists, address, communique, statements, and summary: Bowles, 482; NAC communique, 801; Rusk, 307, 520; Herter, 147
- Newly developing countries, activities and objectives in, addresses: Ball, 752; Bohlen, 967; Rusk, 516; Stevenson, 412
- North Korea, takeover in, Department study, 737
- Objectives of, addresses, messages, summary: Bohlen, 967; Bowles, 630; Eisenhower, 139, 140, 142, 180; Herter, 148; Kennedy, 662, 903
- President Kennedy-Premier Khrushchev exchange of views re, 992, 993
- Propaganda. *See under* Propaganda

Community development conference, regional, at Seoul, U.S. representative to, statement (Rusk), 757

Comptroller General of the U.S., 85

Compulsory settlement of disputes, optional protocol of signature to, 985

Conciliation Commission, Congo, report of, U.S. views, statement (Stevenson), 783

Conciliation Commission for Palestine, U.N., 30

Conferences and organizations, international. *See* International organizations and conferences

The Conferences at Cairo and Tchrán, 1943, volume released, 1029

Congo, Republic of (Brazzaville):

- Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 524
- President Youlou, visit to U.S., 963, 1008
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - International telecommunication convention (1952), 134
 - UNESCO constitution, 98
 - WHO constitution, 97

Congo, Republic of the (Léopoldville):

- Educators, U.S. training program for, 531
- Situation in. *See* Congo situation
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Geneva convention (1949) on treatment of prisoners of war, wounded and sick, and civilians, 609
 - Road traffic, convention (1949) on, with annexes, 698
 - UNESCO constitution, 282
 - WHO constitution, 941
- U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318
- U.S. relief aid to, 156, 218, 312

Congo situation:

- Addresses, remarks, and statements: Barco, 54, 199; Cleveland, 447, 526, 810, 858; Department, 565; Herter, 144; Kennedy, 210, 332; Klutznick, 564; Rusk, 296, 297, 299, 300, 304, 431, 433, 442, 516; Stevenson, 359, 364, 410, 412, 498, 532, 546, 781, 783, 805; Wadsworth, 51, 56; White House, 218; Williams, 856
- Arrest and death of Lumumba, U.S. and Soviet views re:
 - Statements: Barco, 55; Stevenson, 359, 364; Wadsworth, 52, 57
 - Text of Soviet draft resolution, 368
- Belgium, role in:
 - Soviet complaint re, statement (Barco), 199
 - Statement (Wadsworth), 58

Congo situation—Continued

Belgium, role in—Continued

Withdrawal of armed forces, U.N. resolutions calling for and Soviet request for, statements: Barco, 56; Stevenson, 360, 364, 366, 781, 782; texts of resolutions, 368, 785

Cause of, statement (Stevenson), 498

Conciliation Commission report on, General Assembly resolution and statement (Stevenson), 783

Congolese National Army, Soviet proposal for disarming, U.S. views, statement (Wadsworth), 59

Congolese Parliament proposed convening of by U.N., U.S. position, statement (Wadsworth), 59

General Assembly consideration of, proposed resolutions and statements: Stevenson, 781; Wadsworth, 56; texts of resolutions, 60, 784

Katanga Province, secessionist movement in, statements (Stevenson), 363, 365

Lessons learned from, statement (Rusk), 442

Outside interference in, U.S. position on, statement (Stevenson), 365

Polish position re, statement (Barco), 55

Security Council consideration of:

Statements: Barco, 54, 199; Stevenson, 359, Wadsworth, 51

Soviet veto of 4-Power resolution, 51, 56

Texts of resolutions, 368

Soviet position, statements: Barco, 54, 56, 199; Cleveland, 859; Stevenson, 360, 532, 806; Wadsworth, 51, 58, 59, 60

Tanauarive conference on, U.S. views, statement (Stevenson), 783

U.N. operations in:

Addresses and remarks: Cleveland, 447, 448, 526; Williams, 856

Australian-U.S. support of, text of joint communique (Kennedy, Menzies), 372

Financing of:

Soviet refusal to pay its contributions, statements: Barco, 200; Stevenson, 806

U.S. attitude toward and contribution to, statements: Department, 565; Klutznick, 564; Stevenson, 805

Objectives of, statements: Stevenson, 532; Wadsworth, 51, 53, 57

Need for support of:

Ghanaian-U.S. joint communique (Kennedy, Nkrumah), 446

Tunisian-U.S. joint communique (Bourguiba, Kennedy), 853

Soviet position, address and statements: Cleveland, 810, 811, 812; Department, 565; Klutznick, 564, 567

U.S. support and aid, addresses, statements and summary: Herter, 148; Kennedy, 210, 332; Rusk, 297, 300, 304, 516; Stevenson, 365, 412, 532; Wadsworth, 52, 54, 59, 60; White House, 218, 312

U.S. Naval Task Force off African coast, question of orders to re, statement (Rusk), 433

U.S. restrictions on shipments of military equipment, imposition of, 546, 1009

Congress, U.S.:

Documents relating to foreign policy, lists of, 162, 271, 313, 383, 562, 599, 645, 727, 935, 980, 1022

House of Representatives, Prime Minister Caramanlis of Greece address to, 726

Legislation, proposed:

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, amending and extending, statement (Martin), 1020
Duty-free allowance of \$100 for travelers returning to U.S., 382

East German dollar bond validation, agreement with Federal Republic of Germany on, statement (Davis), 597

Foreign aid program, letter, message, and statements: Kennedy, 507, 977; Rusk, 947, 1000

Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act (Battle Act), amendments to, 212, 444, 775

Peace Corps, letters (Kennedy), 401, 980

Sugar, Dominican Republic, relief from obligation to purchase, statement (Eisenhower), 18

Sugar Act of 1948, extension of, 195, 562

My relationship with, address (Eisenhower), 179

Presidential messages and reports. *See under* Eisenhower *and* Kennedy

Request for MSP documents, letter and certification prohibiting release to, (Eisenhower), 85

Role in development aid program, summary (Herter), 148

Senate approval requested for:

Columbia River development treaty with Canada, letter and statement: Eisenhower, 228; White, 492

ITU convention and radio regulations, revised, statement (Martin), 830

OECD convention, statements: Ball, Dillon, 326; Kennedy, 514

Oil pollution convention (1954), statement (Chayes), 776

Senate Foreign Relations Committee, hearings on Cuban situation, statements (Rusk), 760

Conseil de l'Entente, U.S. proposed aid to States of, letter (Herter), 19

Conservation, convention (1958) on fishing and conservation of living resources of the high seas, 317, 609, 698, 833

Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, 12th Ministerial Meeting of, statement (Achilles), 31

Conté, Seydou, 802

Contiguous zone and territorial sea, convention (1958) on, 317, 609, 698

Continental shelf, convention on (1958), 134, 317, 425, 609, 698, 833

Contingency fund:

Grant to Chile, 492

Request for appropriations and legislation for, message and statement: Kennedy, 905; Rusk, 955, 1005

Coombs, Philip H., 465, 936

Corbett, Jack C., 454

Corse, Carl D., 939

Cortada, James N., 318

Costa Rica :
 Seminar on U.S. educational systems, participation in, 311
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Atomic energy, agreement with U.S. for cooperation in civil uses of, 390
 Wheat agreement (1959), international, 985
 WMO convention, 65
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 741
 Council on Foreign Economic Policy, report of activities and resignation (Randall), 157
 Counterpart settlement agreement with Austria, 653
 Coyne, J. Patrick, 774
 Crockett, William J., 390
 Cuba :
 Aspirations of the people, neglect of, statement (Rusk), 297, 301
 Castro regime, U.S. views of, statements (Stevenson), 670, 674, 681
 Developments in, statements: Stevenson, 670; Wadsworth, 111
 Indirect aggression in, address (Cleveland), 859
 Situation in. *See* Cuban situation
 U.S.-Cuban relations. *See under* Cuban situation
 Withdrawal from: IBRD, 347; IFC, 91
 Cuban situation :
 Addresses, messages, remarks, and statements: Barco, 104; Berle, 763; Department, 663; Eisenhower, 18, 103, 219; Hagerty, 104; Kennedy, 256, 309, 474, 524, 659, 661, 934; Martin, 562; Rusk, 303, 433, 686, 690, 759, 760, 762; Soviet Union, 662; Stevenson, 667; Wadsworth, 104
 Armaments buildup from Soviets, statement (Stevenson), 671, 680
 Attempted invasion of Cuba :
 Question of U.S. role in, address, messages, remarks, and statements: Berle, 763; Department, 663; Kennedy, 659, 661; Khrushchev, 662; Rusk, 690, 762; Soviet, 662; Stevenson, 667, 668, 675, 676, 681
 Security Council consideration of Cuban charges, statements (Barco, Wadsworth), 104
 Communist activities. *See under* Communism
 Defection of Cuban Air Force pilots, statement (Stevenson), 667
 Exchange of prisoners for tractors proposal, statement (Kennedy), 934
 General Assembly debate on Cuban complaint, statements (Stevenson), 667
 Inter-American consultations on, statements (Rusk), 433, 759, 760
 Refugees :
 Aid to, letters and statements: Kennedy, 256, 309, 490; Ribicoff, 490; Stevenson, 670, 672; Wadsworth, 109
 Message (Kennedy), 661
 President's personal representative's reports on, letters, reports, and statement: Eisenhower, 219; interim report, 45; final report, 219; Voorhees, 45
 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on, statements (Rusk), 760

Cuban situation—Continued

Soviet position on, exchange of messages and statements: Barco, 112; Kennedy, Khrushchev, 661; Stevenson, 671, 675, 680, 681; U.S.-Soviet statements, 662; Wadsworth, 111
 U.S. views, address and statement: Kennedy, 659; Rusk, 686
 U.S.-Cuban relations :
 Address and statement: Kennedy, 474; Rusk, 524
 Cuban charges of U.S. plot of diplomatic isolation of, statements (Wadsworth), 105, 110
 Diplomatic and consular relations, termination of, statement (Eisenhower) and texts of notes, 103
 Guantanamo Naval Base :
 Effect of severance of relations on, statement (Hagerty), 104
 Water supply to, statement (Rusk), 303
 Harassment of U.S. citizens, statement (Wadsworth), 110
 Trade relations, statements (Rusk), 433, 690
 Regulations governing travel, 178
 U.S. sugar quota, determination of, proclamations and statements: Eisenhower, 18; Martin, 562; Stevenson, 677; texts of proclamations, 18, 592
 Validity of alleged instruction re Cuban charge of U.S. plan to annex, text of U.S. note denying (Bonsal), 765
 Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956, International, administration of, announcement and Executive order, 196
 Cultural relations and programs (*see also* Educational exchange and Exchange of persons) :
 Expansion of activities recommended, letter and report: Eisenhower, 182; Sprague Committee report, 188
 Importance to U.S. foreign policy, Board of Foreign Scholarships report, 459
 Latin America :
 Need for increase in exchange with, address and message (Kennedy), 473, 905
 Proposed use of Cuban refugees in, letter (Ribicoff), 491
 Sprague Committee report, letter (Eisenhower) and text of report, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187
 Programs with Communist countries, efforts to improve, 480
 SEATO cultural program, 96, 550
 Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 Cultural property, convention (1954) and protocol for protection in event of armed conflict, 282
 Iraq, agreement for exchange with, 243, 282
 Rumania, agreement for exchange with, 34
 USIA coordination and administration of certain activities re, Executive order, 196
 Washington cultural center, recommendation for, 189
 Cummings, H. J., 915
 Currency convertibility, 10-nation acceptance of under IMF, Department statement and IMF announcement, 346

Customs (*see also* Tariff policy) :

Duty-free allowance of \$100 for returning U.S. travelers, message (Kennedy) and text of proposed bill, 293, 382

Duty-free entry of relief supplies and packages, agreement with Paraguay re, 538

Privileges for Foreign Service personnel, agreements granting reciprocal, with Indonesia, 610; Peru, 465

Touring, convention (1954) concerning customs facilities for, 168, 389, 465

Cyprus :

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

Civil aviation convention (1944), international, 201

Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 789

UNESCO constitution, 609

Wheat and barley, grant, delivery, and free distribution of, memorandums of understanding with U.S. re, 501

WHO constitution, 425

Czechoslovakia :

Aid to Afghanistan, address (Byroade), 131

Arms supply to Cuba, statement (Wadsworth), 111

GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97

Masaryk, U.S. stamp honoring, reply to Czech complaint re, 17

Dacko, David, 766

Dadet, Emmanuel Domongo, 524

DAG. *See* Development Assistance Group

Dahomey :

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 685

Conseil de l'Entente States, U.S. aid, 19

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

(Civil aviation convention (1944), international, 985

Postal convention (1957), universal, 896

UNESCO constitution, 98

WMO convention, 698

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

Davis, Richard H., 597

Dean, Arthur H., 299, 478

Dean, Robert W., 170

Defense (*see also* Military bases, Mutual defense, and National defense) :

NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization

State Department concern with, remarks (Rusk), 396

Strategy, reappraisal of, addresses: Bowles, 629; Kennedy, 211

Strengthening of U.S. defenses, message and statement: Kennedy, 906; Rusk, 399

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

Classified information, equipment, materials, or services related to, agreement with Sweden for safeguarding of, 282

Greenland defense projects, agreement (1960) with Denmark establishing consultative committee on, with annex, 244

Patents and technical information in defense programs, agreement with Italy on arrangements respecting, 244

Defense—Continued

U.S.-Canadian arrangements for, joint communique (Diefenbaker, Kennedy), 843

U.S. collective defense arrangements, map, 722

U.S. defense policy, problem of threats to, address (Cleveland), 858

Defense, Department of :

Personnel, exchange program with State Department for training, 169

Reorganization of, 141

Defense support :

Aid to Turkey, 197

Pakistan, agreement amending 1955 agreement with, 610

De Gaulle, Charles, 62, 709, 848, 995, 997, 999

Denmark :

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896

GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97

Greenland defense projects, agreement with U.S. establishing consultative committee on, with annex, 244

IDA, articles of agreement, 34

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 789

OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65

Radio regulations (1959), 985

Shipbuilding program, agreement amending 1959 agreement with U.S. re, 1029

Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes, 425

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653

Visit of Prime Minister to U.S. and opening of "The Arts of Denmark" exhibit, 261

Department of Agriculture, delegation of functions to for administration of P.L. 480, Executive order, 159

Department of Commerce. *See* Commerce, Department of

Department of Defense. *See* Defense, Department of

Department of State. *See* State Department

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 96

Department of the Treasury. *See* Treasury, Department of the

Dependent territories (*see also* Colonialism and Trust territories), in Africa, U.S. views of, address (Williams), 732

Development Act, International, 950, 977, 1000

Development agency, international, proposed establishment and organization of, letter and statements: Kennedy, 978; Rusk, 953, 1003

Development Assistance Committee :

DAG proposals on, communique and resolution, 554

Objectives and role of, address and statement (Ball), 328, 453

Development Assistance Group :

Establishment and functions, addresses and statements: Achilles, 33; Ball, 718; Braderman, 316; Kennedy, 842; Rusk, 325

4th meeting of :

Statement (Kennedy), 514

- Development Assistance Group—Continued
4th meeting of—Continued
Texts of communique and resolutions and list of U.S. delegation, 553
U.S. representative (Ball) to, announcement of, 489
Programs of, statement (Dillon), 696
U.S.-German support, joint communique (Adenauer, Kennedy), 622
U.S. participation in, address (Ball), 753
Development Association, International. *See* International Development Association
- Development Loan Fund:
Alliance for Progress, DLF requested to expedite implementation of aid, memorandum (Ball), 919
Colombo Plan commitments of, statement (Achilles), 32
Establishment and functions, addresses and summary: Ball, 717; Coffin, 456; Herter, 148
Foreign currencies accrued under P.L. 480, use of, Executive order, 160
Guaranty authority, address (Coffin), 457
Integration with other aid programs, proposed, message (Kennedy), 510
Loans to: Africa, 375; Bolivia, 921; ECAFE members, 461; Iran, 50; Nigeria, 404, 502; Republic of Korea, 932; Turkey, 197; Yugoslavia, 85
Managing Director, confirmation (Coffin), 318; resignation (Brand), 170
- Dhahran airfield, nonrenewal of U.S.-Saudi Arabian agreement re, Department statement, 490
- Dick, Mrs. Jane Warner, 741
Diefenbaker, John G., 227, 371
Diem, Ngo Dinh, 956
Dillon, Douglas, S. 170, 330, 693, 862
Dinke, Berhnan, 910
- Diplomacy:
Changing styles of, report on U.S. informational activities, 185, 186, 192
Definition of, address (Bohlen), 965
Use of diplomatic channels in negotiations, statements (Rusk), 214, 434, 519, 522
- Diplomatic conference on maritime law, U.S. delegation to, announcement, 651
- Diplomatic representatives abroad, U.S. *See under* Foreign Service
- Diplomatic representatives in the U.S.:
Cuban, U.S. requests withdrawal of, texts of U.S. and Cuban notes, 103
Discrimination against:
Nigerian second secretary, U.S. regrets treatment of, text of note, 156
U.S. efforts against, 732; letter (Rusk), 976
- Duty-free entry privileges to Indonesian diplomatic and consular officers and personnel, agreement for, 610
- Presentation of credentials: Cameroun, 177; Congo, Republic of, 524; Dahomey, 685; Ecuador, 114; El Salvador, 910; Ethiopia, 910; Gabon, 524; Guinea, 802; Indonesia, 685; Italy, 961; Ivory Coast, 177; Mali, 77; Mauritania, 857; New Zealand, 910; Niger, 685; Nigeria, 114; Switzerland, 7; Tunisia, 445; Upper Volta, 685; Venezuela, 177
- Diplomatic rights and procedures, Vienna conference on, address (Duke), 415
- Disarmament (*see also* Armaments, Nuclear weapons, and Outer space):
Canadian-U.S. views on, joint communique (Diefenbaker, Kennedy), 843
Coordination and expansion of U.S. efforts, address (Kennedy), 212
German-U.S. discussions, joint communique (Adenauer, Kennedy), 622
Indonesian-U.S. views, joint communique (Kennedy, Sukarno), 713
NATO members views on, NAC communiqués, 39, 801
Need for, address (Eisenhower), 181
- Negotiations:
Hope for progress, statement (Rusk), 443
Issues and prospects for, address (Gullion), 634
Progress of, statements (Rusk), 520, 521
Question of Communist China's participation in, statements (Rusk), 301, 309
Question of resumption of, statement (Rusk), 436
New Zealand-U.S. views on, joint communique (Kennedy, Holyoake), 404
Soviet position, address and statement: Gullion, 635, 636; Stevenson, 568
U.S. and Western positions on, addresses, messages, remarks, and statements: Bowles, 482; Eisenhower, 140; Kennedy, 908, 998; Rusk, 436, 440, 442, 443, 517; Stevenson, 385
- Disarmament Administration, establishment of panel of experts to study discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests, 215
- Discrimination, U.S. efforts to eliminate incidents of, address, letter and note: Rusk, 975; Williams, 732; text of U.S. note, 156
- Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, U.N. Subcommittee on Prevention of, 463
- Disputes, compulsory settlement of, optional protocol of signature to, 985
- Djermakoye, Issoufou Saidou, 685
Djoli, Catherine, 531
- DLF. *See* Development Loan Fund
- Dollar bonds, German, agreement with Federal Republic of Germany re validation of, 597, 789
- Dominican Republic:
North American regional broadcasting agreement and final protocol, 896
OAS economic sanctions against for aggression in Venezuela, extension of, 273
U.S. friendship for, address (Kennedy), 474
U.S. purchase of sugar from:
Policy on, statement (Eisenhower), 18
Quota for, request for continuation of Presidential authority to determine, 562
Relief from Congressional obligation to purchase, requested, statement (Eisenhower), 195
Withdrawal of from: IFC, 34, 91; IBRD, 34, 347
- Dooley, Tom, 131
- Dorsinville, Max H., 785
- Double taxation, conventions for avoidance of on:
Income, with U.A.R., 64, 65
Estates and inheritances, with Canada, 351, 352

- Douglas, William O., 583
- Dowling, Walter C., 588
- Drivers' licenses issued in Panama and the Canal Zone, agreement with Panama for reciprocal recognition of, 202, 501
- Drought relief, aid to: Kenya, 312; Peru, 922; Tunisia, 853
- Drugs, narcotic, protocol (1948) bringing under international control drugs outside scope of 1931 convention, 425
- Duke, Angier Biddle, 245, 414, 733
- Dulles, Eleanor Lansing, 336, 767
- Earl of Home, 432, 579, 580, 710
- East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, 750
- East-West trade, Battle Act controls, proposed amendment, 212, 444, 775
- ECA. *See* Economic Commission for Africa, U.N.
- ECAFE. *See* Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, U.N.
- ECE. *See* Economic Commission for Europe, U.N.
- ECLA. *See* Economic Commission for Latin America, U.N.
- Economic Affairs, Joint U.S.-Canadian Committee on Trade and, 6th meeting, 372, 487
- Economic and Social Council, Inter-American. *See* Inter-American Economic and Social Council
- Economic and Social Council, U.N.:
 Commission on the Status of Women, U.S. representative, confirmation, 465
 Committee for Industrial Development, consideration of development programs, statement (Moscoso), 605
 Documents, lists of, 349, 652, 940, 984
 Economic commissions. *See* Economic Commission
 Human Rights Commission of, U.S. representative, confirmation (Tree), 390; resignation (Lord), 202
 Social Commission of, U.S. representative, confirmation, 741
 U.S. representative to, confirmation, 318
- Economic and technical aid to foreign countries (*see also* Agricultural surpluses, Colombo Plan, Development Loan Fund, Export-Import Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, International Bank, International Cooperation Administration, International Development Association, International Finance Corporation, Mutual security and other assistance programs, and United Nations: Technical assistance programs):
 Aid to: Afghanistan, 129, 132, 201; Africa, 375, 378; Asia, 461; Bolivia, 920; Brazil, 862; Chile, 492; Colombia, 610; Iceland, 169; Iran, 49; Ivory Coast, 985; Korea, 425, 538, 691, 931; Laos, 116; Mali, 202; Morocco, 935; Nigeria, 404; Senegal, 833, 896; Sierra Leone, 985; Somaliland, Trust Territory of, 318; Togo, 84, 134; Tunisia, 851, 853; Turkey, 198; Viet-Nam, 84; West Indies, 42, 43, 44; Yugoslavia, 352
 Administration of. *See under* Foreign aid programs
 Appropriation request for FY 1962, message (Kennedy), 513
 Asia, U.S.-Japanese cooperation in, address (MacArthur), 559
 Economic and technical aid to foreign countries—Con.
 Cuban skilled refugees, proposed utilization of, report (Voorhees), 223
 IAEA program, 92
 Impact on foreign opinion, report concerning, 185, 190, 191
 Peace Corps. *See* Peace Corps
 Proposed new program of. *See under* Foreign aid
 U.S. leadership in, letter (Fronzizi), 816
 U.S. pledge of, addresses (Kennedy), 175, 211
 Economic assistance to Germany, postwar, agreement for partial settlement of debts resulting from, 834
 Economic Commission for Africa, U.N.:
 3d session of:
 Address, message, and statement: Kennedy, 374; Kotschnig, 376; Williams, 373
 Assistant Secretary for African Affairs (Williams) meeting with delegates of, announcement, 295
 Proposal for use of, statement (Stevenson), 536
 Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, U.N.:
 Ambassador Harriman to meet delegates of, Department announcement, 489
 Committee on Industry and Natural Resources, 13th session, statement (Frank), 460
 4th regional technical conference on water resources development, article, (Bloodgood), 225
 Highway Subcommittee of Inland Transport Committee, 5th meeting of, report (Van Dyke), 163
 17th session, U.S. representative to, 574
 U.S. trade with members of, statement (Braderman), 314, 315, 316
 U.S. views of, statement (Frank), 460
 Economic Commission for Europe, U.N.:
 16th session, U.S. representative, confirmation, 741
 Steel Committee, U.S. delegation to 25th session, 537
 Economic Commission for Latin America, U.N.:
 9th session:
 Address (Berle), 821
 U.S. representatives, 788, 940
 Participation in Bolivian development program, letters (Kennedy, Paz), 920, 922
 Research projects, statement (Moscoso), 606
 Economic Community, European. *See* European Economic Community
 Economic Cooperation, African and Malagasy Organization for, formation of, address and message: Kennedy, 586; Williams, 587
 Economic cooperation agreement with Honduras, 734
 Economic Cooperation and Development, Organization for. *See* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
 Economic development (*see also* Economic and technical aid and Less developed countries):
 Afghanistan, programs and problems, article (Byroade), 127
 Africa:
 Conference at Yaoundé, message (Kennedy), 586
 Problems confronting, U.S. views of, addresses: Cummings, 915; Dulles, 770, 771; Williams, 528, 732, 913, 914

Economic development—Continued

Africa—Continued

U.S. cooperation and aid to, addresses and statements: Cummings, 916; Kotschnig, 377, 380; Stevenson, 534; Williams, 375, 529, 584

Asia (*see also* Colombo Plan):

Need for acceleration of, statement (Frank), 460

SEATO measures to advance, communique, 550

Challenge for U.S., address (Bowles), 483

Conditions necessary for, statement (Rusk), 301

Conseil de l'Entente States, proposed U.S. aid to, letter (Herter), 19

Debt and equity, role in, address (Coffin), 455

Industrial Development, U.N. Committee for, consideration of programs for, statement (Moscoco), 605

International Bank libraries on, 19

Latin America. *See under* Latin America

Long-term planning proposed, addresses, letter, messages, statements: Ball, 717; Bowles, 707, 931; Braderman, 315, 316; Kennedy, 511; Martin, 822; Rusk, 627, 749, 951, 1003

Need for cooperative effort of free-world industrialized nations. *See* Industrialized free-world nations

OECD. *See* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Relationship to social development, message (Kennedy), 475

Science and scholarship, role in, remarks (Rusk), 624

U.S. cooperation with: Argentina, 920; Bolivia, 920; Central African Republic, 766; Ecuador, 83; India, 959; Indonesia, 713; Korea, 712; Laos, 846, 847; Nigeria, 857; Pakistan, 448; Tunisia, 853; Venezuela, 821; Viet-Nam, 957

U.S. programs and policy for furthering, addresses, statement, and summary: Ball, 452; Herter, 148; Martin, 71; Moscoco, 608

U.S. support of U.N. programs for, statement (Stevenson), 385

Economic policy, international, coordination of, statement (Dillon), 331

Economic policy and relations, U.S. (*see also individual countries*):

Aid to foreign countries. *See* Economic and technical aid

Committee on U.S. economic position, meeting with President Kennedy, 215

Domestic economy, status of, addresses and messages: Bowles, 481; Eisenhower, 140, 142; Kennedy, 207, 287, 904

Foreign economic policy:

Balance-of-payments problem. *See* Balance of payments

Council on, report on activities (Randall), 157

Foreign aid program. *See* Foreign aid

Functions re assigned to Secretary of State, letter (Kennedy), 979

Latin America. *See* Latin America: Economic and social development

Message to Congress (Kennedy), 507

NATO, U.S. cooperation with members of, message (Johnson), 582

Objectives, address (Hadraba), 263, 264

Economic policy and relations, U.S.—Continued

Interdependence of, statement (Ball), 327

Economic Policy Committee (OEEC), 648

Economic relations and amity, treaty with Viet-Nam, 610, 652

Economy, free world, need for expansion of, address (Dillon), 10

ECOSOC. *See* Economic and Social Council

Ecuador:

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 114

Economic and social development, discussions re U.S. assistance, joint announcement, 83

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813

Territorial dispute with Peru, U.S. efforts, statement (Rusk), 433

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S., 734

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, protocol of amendment to 1944 convention, 201

Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, convention (1949) for establishment of, 653

Sugar agreement (1958), international, 352

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

Visit of President Velasco to U.S., announcement of, 592

Edible oils, use of U.S. surplus in food-for-peace program, 312

Education (*see also* Cultural relations and programs, Educational exchange, and Exchange of persons):

Afghanistan, U.S. aid to, address (Byroade), 130

Africa:

Conference on development of, U.S. observer delegation to, 938, remarks (Coombs), 936, and message (Kennedy), 937

Need for, addresses: Cleveland, 861; Dulles, 340, 341, 771; Williams, 528, 913

U.S. aid, 218, 380, 531

Cuba:

Destruction of academic freedom in, statement (Stevenson), 680

Refugee scholars and professionals, proposed use of in U.S. programs, letters and statement (Kennedy, Ribicoff), 310, 490

Educational foundation in Greece, agreement amending 1948 agreement re, 425

Federal aid to, need for, address (Kennedy), 209

International educational development, proposed foundation for, 189, 195

Latin America, need for expansion and aid, addresses and message: Berle, 620; Kennedy, 473, 476

Liberia, negotiations with U.S. for expanded program, 531

Role of education in development, remarks and statement: Moscoco, 606; Rusk, 626

Southeast Asia:

Need for in, joint communique (Johnson), 957, 959, 960, 961

SEATO programs, 96, 163

U.S. programs in less developed countries, use of foreign currencies for, proposed legislation, recommended, letter, report, and statement: Eisenhower, 183; Martin, 1021; report, 185, 188, 189, 195

Education—Continued

- Vocational education program in Brazil, cooperative agreement extending 1950 agreement re, 318
- Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, U.N.:
 - African education program, statements: Kotschnig, 380; Stevenson, 536
 - Constitution of, 98, 282, 609
 - Efforts to preserve Nubian monuments, President's request to Congress for U.S. participation in, 643
 - International peace corps, proposal for use of, remarks (Cleveland), 552
 - Race prejudice, studies of youth attitudes to reveal causes of, 463
- Educational exchange program, international (*see also* Cultural relations, Education, and Exchange of persons):
 - Agreements with: Argentina, 1029; China, 501; Colombia, 201; Israel, 896; Japan, 65
 - Board of Foreign Scholarships, recommendations for improvement of, 459
 - Communist activity in underdeveloped countries in field of, address (Tubby), 973
 - Latin America, seminar on U.S. educational systems, 311
- EEC. *See* European Economic Community
- EFTA. *See* European Free Trade Association
- Eisenhower, Dwight D.:
 - Addresses, remarks, and statements:
 - Columbia River treaty, signing of, 227
 - Communication satellites, promotion of commercial use of by NASA, 77
 - Cuba:
 - Diplomatic and consular relations with, termination of, 103
 - Refugees in the U.S., report on, 219
 - Sugar quota for, 18
 - Farewell to the Nation, 179
 - Sugar Act, extension and amendment of, 195
- Correspondence and messages:
 - Brazil's World War II dead, salute to, 48
 - IAEA activities, 93
 - Information activities abroad, comments on Sprague Committee report on, 182
 - NATO, progress and future of, 39
 - New Zealand Prime Minister, congratulations on taking office, 7
 - Secretary Herter, resignation of, exchange of letters with re, 143
- Executive orders, 159, 196, 197
- Foreign policy, summary of during term of office, statement (Herter), 143
- Goodwill trips, purpose of, summary (Herter), 145
- Message and letters to Congress:
 - Certification forbidding release of MSP documents, 87
 - Columbia River treaty with Canada, 228
 - IGC, use of mutual security funds for Office of, 85
 - State of the Union (excerpts), 139
- Meeting with President-elect Kennedy, discussion of world situation, joint statement (Hagerty, Salinger), 177
- Proclamations, 18, 49, 87, 162, 178

Electric power:

- Benefits of development of, joint communique (Johnson, Nehru), 960
- Columbia River treaty provisions for development, 231, 235, 236
- El Salvador:
 - Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 910
 - Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 - Recognition of Government by U.S., 344
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 282
- Emergency Force, U.N., financing operations of in the Congo, U.S. contributions and views, statements: Barco, 200; Department, 565; Klutznick, 564, 566
- Entente, Conseil de l', U.S. aid to, letter (Herter), 19
- Escapee Program, U.S., achievements of, remarks (Jones), 929
- Establishment, convention of, with protocol and declaration with France, 134
- Establishment, friendship, and navigation treaty and protocol with Belgium, 383, 390
- Estate-tax convention with Canada, 351, 352
- Estes, Thomas S., 985
- Ethiopia, Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 910
- Europe (*see also individual countries and* European organizations):
 - Collective security. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - Eastern Europe:
 - U.S. aid to, request for wider discretion for, letter and statement: Ball, 775; Kennedy, 444
 - U.S. policy toward, address (Kennedy), 212
 - Economic Commission for, U.N. *See* Economic Commission for Europe
 - Foreign Relations*, volume on, released, 897
 - ICEM, activities of and U.S. support, article and remarks: Jones, 929; Warren, 386
 - Integration of, U.S. support, message and communique; Kennedy, 334; Kennedy, Hallstein, 868
- Western Europe:
 - Aid to less developed countries, need for cooperation with U.S. in. *See* Industrialized nations.
 - Cooperation in Alliance for Progress program for Latin America, proposed, letter (Frondizi), 817
 - Development of trade with less developed countries, statement (Braderman), 316
 - Economic interdependence of with U.S., statement (Ball), 327
 - Economic recovery and U.S. aid, addresses: Ball, 752; Bohlen, 968; Bowles, 704
 - U.S. information activities in, 187, 188
 - U.S. relations with, problems of, address (Bowles), 484
 - Visits to:
 - Ambassador at Large Harriman, 381
 - Assistant Secretary Cleveland, 963
 - President Kennedy, remarks, report on, and texts of joint communiqués, 848, 909, 975, 991
 - Under Secretary Ball, 825
- European Communities, OECD protocol on relationship to, 13

- European Economic Community :
- Commission of :
 - President of, visit to U.S., joint communique (Kennedy, Hallstein), 868
 - U.S. collaboration with, exchange of messages (Hallstein, Kennedy), 295
 - Establishment and tariff policy of, address (Hadraba), 267, 268
 - GATT tariff negotiations with, 267, 939, 983
 - OECD relationship with, statement (Ball), 329
 - Role in Atlantic Community, U.S.-German communique, 622
 - U.S.-Canadian negotiations with and views on, 488, 843
 - U.S. support of, summary (Herter), 149
 - U.S. treaties of establishment with members of, 383
- European Economic Cooperation, Organization for :
- Achievements and role of, address and statement : Ball, 327; Rusk, 324
 - Acts of, OECD procedure for approval of, 14, 65
 - Aid to Turkey, 197
 - Convention (1948) on, protocol revising, 14
 - Economic Policy Committee, meeting of, statement (Kennedy), 648
 - Reconstitution of (*see also* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), address and summary : Ball, 452; Herter, 149
 - Visit of Under Secretary Ball for discussions, 489
- European Free Trade Association :
- Finnish association with, 982
 - OECD relationship with, statement (Ball), 329
 - U.S. negotiations with and operation of, address (Hadraba), 268
- European Migration, Intergovernmental Committee for. *See* Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
- Everton, John S., 941
- Exchange of persons program (*see also* Educational exchange), need for expansion of, letter and report : Eisenhower, 183; Sprague report, 185, 190, 195
- Executive branch of the Government, state of, address (Kennedy), 213
- Executive orders :
- Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (1954), administration of (10900), 159
 - Coffee Study Group, designation as public international organization (10943), 976
 - Cultural activities and trade fairs, administration of (10912), 197
 - Export Control Act of 1949, administration of (10945), 934
 - Food-for-peace director, duties of (10915), 216
 - Gold holdings abroad, disposal of by U.S. citizens and enterprises (10905), 196
 - Operations Coordinating Board, abolition of (10920), 345
 - Peace Corps, establishment and administration of (10924), 400
 - President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, establishment (10938), 774
- Exhibits :
- Danish exhibition in U.S., 261
- Exhibits—Continued
- U.S. holdings of international exhibits, proposed increase in, 189
- Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, U.N. :
- African program, address and statement : Stevenson, 534, 536
 - International peace corps, proposal for use of, remarks (Cleveland), 551
 - U.S. contributions and support, message, remarks, and statement : Eisenhower, 140; Kotschnig, 378; Stevenson, 277
- Export Control Act of 1949, administration of, Executive order re, 934
- Export-Import Bank :
- Alliance for Progress, approved credits for, memorandum (Ball) requesting expedition of, 918
 - Loans and credits :
 - To : Brazil, 863; Chile, 492; ECAFE members, 461; Iran, 50; Latin America, 254; Morocco, 935; Yugoslavia, 85
 - Use of foreign currencies accrued under P.L. 480, 159, 160
 - Role in new aid program, message (Kennedy), 510, 511, 512
 - Role in export promotion efforts, message (Kennedy), 291
- Exports (*see also* Trade) :
- Less developed countries, need for expansion of, addresses (Martin), 73, 823
 - Republic of Korea, problem of expansion of, letter (Bowles), 932
 - Rubber, international cooperation re, article (Mellen), 78
- Exports, U.S. (*see also* Tariffs and trade, general agreement on; *and* Trade) :
- Contribution to U.S. economic strength, address (Hadraba), 263, 269, 270, 271
 - Military goods to Congo (Léopoldville), imposition of controls on, 546, 1009
 - Promotion program for expansion of, addresses, message, and statement : Braderman, 315; Coffin, 458; Kennedy, 288, 291; Merchant, 3
- Extradition treaty with Brazil :
- Current actions, 201, 941
 - Text of, 164
- Faleshty*, Soviet ship, 117
- FAO. *See* Food and Agriculture Organization, U.N.
- Far East. *See* Asia *and individual countries*
- Federal Reserve Act, recommended amendment of, message (Kennedy), 290
- Fenoaltea, Sergio, 961
- Fingerprinting, regulations amended re nonimmigrant aliens, 692
- Finland :
- EFTA, association with, 982
 - IFC investments in, 90
 - Nuclear materials acquired through IAEA, 92
 - Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896

Finland—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

- GATT, 8th protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
- IDA, articles of agreement, 169
- Radio regulations (1959), 1029
- Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 390

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 390

Finletter, Thomas K., 426

Finnie, Earl O., 170

Fish and fisheries:

Fish meal, international meeting on, U.S. delegation, 500

Fishing and conservation of living resources of the high seas, convention on, 317, 609, 698, 833

Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, convention (1949) for establishment of, 653

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries. *See* Northwest Atlantic Fisheries

Fisk, James Brown, 215

Flaxseed oil, proclamation terminating import fees on, 593

Flint, James C., 501

Food and Agriculture Organization, U.N.:

Freedom-from-hunger campaign, U.S. council for, appointment of, 829

International meeting on fish meal, U.S. delegation, 500

Food-for-peace program:

Aid to: Bolivia, 921, 922; Brazil, 552; Congo, Republic of the, 218; Kenya, 312; Morocco, 772; Tunisia, 853

Committee, report to President and list of members, 217

Council, appointment of, 829

Director, role of, memorandum (Kennedy) and Executive order, 216

Edible oils available for, 312

Expansion of, address (Kennedy), 212

Integration with other aid programs, proposed, message (Kennedy), 510, 512

International food-for-peace conference, summary (Herter), 150

Latin America, proposed use of in:

Address and statement (Kennedy), 473, 552

Visit of mission to study, 212, 312

Role in foreign policy, statement (Rusk), 952

State Department liaison officer, appointment (Harlan), 426

U.S.-Canadian joint communique re, 489

Foreign Aid, Task Force on, 919, 951

Foreign aid programs, U.S. (*see also* Economic and technical aid to foreign countries *and* Mutual security):

Administration of, proposed changes, address, letter, and statements: Kennedy, 211, 978; Rusk, 953, 1003

Challenge and problems of, address (Bowles), 703, 705

Effect on balance of payments, address (Merchant), 4

Elements of proposed new program, addresses and message: Ball, 717; Bowles, 629, 707; Kennedy, 507; Rusk, 518, 626, 747, 1003

Expansion of, need for, address (Bowles), 483, and report (Sprague), 190, 191

Foreign aid programs, U.S.—Continued

Legislation requested for:

Eastern Europe, amendments to Battle Act and Presidential request for wider discretion in aid to, letter and statement: Ball, 775; Kennedy, 444

New program, letter, message, and statement: Kennedy, 507, 977; Rusk, 1000

Need for public support and understanding of basis of, addresses: Bowles, 709; Rowan, 797

Planning of, consideration of foreign and domestic public opinion in, Sprague report, 190

Purposes of, addresses and statements: Achilles, 32; Bowles, 632, 705; Rusk, 747, 750, 947, 950

Relation to trade program, address (Martin), 822

Foreign currency:

Convertibility of, IMF announcement re, 346

Proceeds from sales of agricultural surpluses: Administration of, delegation of functions re, Executive order, 159

Repayments and uses of, proposed legislation, statement (Martin), 1020

Uses of for development purposes, statements: Frank, 461; Kennedy, 552

Foreign Economic Policy, Council on, report of activities and resignation of chairman, 157

Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, establishment of, announcement, Executive order, and letter (Kennedy), 773

Foreign policy, U.S.:

Briefings and conferences on, announcement and statement (Rusk), 431, 432

Day-to-day aspects of, address (Rusk), 323

Definition and evolution of, address (Bohlen), 965

Educational and cultural exchange programs, importance to, address (Coffin), 459

Eisenhower administration, summary of under: Eisenhower, 140; Herter, 144

Foreign economic policy. *See under* Economic policy and relations

Formulation of, remarks (Rusk), 395

Legislation. *See under* Congress

Objectives of, addresses, message, remarks, and statement: Bowles, 481, 629; Eisenhower, 139, 180; Rusk, 624, 1000

Problems confronting, addresses: Bowles, 481; Rusk, 515

Reappraisal by new administration, address (Bowles), 629

Role of Secretary of State and President in, statements (Rusk), 306, 439

Role of U.S. citizens in, addresses, message, and statement: Kennedy, 910, 911; Rusk, 308; Williams, 854, 857

Foreign Relations of the United States, published:

The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference), 1945, 721

The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943, 1029

1940, Volume I, The American Republics, 942

1942, Volume III, Europe, 897

Publication of proposed, 728

Foreign Scholarships, Board of, recommendations for improvement of Fulbright program, 459

Foreign Service (*see also* International Cooperation Administration and State Department) :

African posts, visit of Assistant Secretary Williams to, 295, 527

Ambassadors and chiefs of mission :

Appointments, confirmations, and resignations, 65, 66, 98, 170, 202, 282, 318, 390, 426, 465, 574, 653, 741, 789, 897, 941, 985

Considerations in appointment of, statement (Rusk), 304

Role of, letter (Kennedy), 979

Commercial attachés overseas, proposed increase in, message (Kennedy), 291

Consulate general at Freetown, Sierra Leone, raised to Embassy status, 734

Consulates :

Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, closed, 353

Colón, Panama, remains open, 352

Arequipa, Peru, established, 245

Customs privileges for personnel of, agreements with : Indonesia, 610 ; Peru, 465

Diplomatic and consular posts, greetings to, message (Rusk), 244

Director General, appointment (Thompson), 742

FSI. *See* Foreign Service Institute

Personnel in Cuba :

Harassment of, 110

Withdrawal of, texts of U.S.-Cuban notes, 103

Representation allowance, address (Duke), 415

Role of, address (Bohlen), 964

Science attachés, role of, 191

Trade promotion activities, address (Merchant), 5

West Indies, U.S. mission accredited to, proposed establishment of, 897

Foreign service center, proposed establishment, address (Duke), 417

Foreign Service Institute :

Area training program, 422

Director, designation (Strom), 1029

Labor affairs training program, 245

Role in training personnel for informational activities, proposed, 188

Formosa. *See* China, Republic of

Foundation for International Educational Development, proposal for, 189, 195

France :

Aid in Niger meningitis epidemic, 492

Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346

ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163

Germany, problems of. *See* Berlin and Germany

Liberatization of restrictions on dollar-area imports, 269, 983

NATO alliance, position re, statement (Rusk), 689

Nuclear tests, French attitude on, effect on test ban negotiations, statement (Rusk), 524

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S. amending 1959 agreement, 465

France—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

Atomic energy, civil uses of, agreement amending 1956 agreement with U.S., 698

Caribbean Organization, agreement establishing and annexed statute, 134

Communications satellites, agreement with U.S. on cooperation in intercontinental testing of, 653

Convention of establishment, protocol and declaration (1959) with U.S., 134

GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896

GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97

IDA, articles of agreement, 169

International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 833

OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65

Tunisian-French relations, address (Bourguiba), 851

U.S. Ambassador, resignation (Houghton), 66 ; confirmation (Gavin), 390

Visit of President Kennedy, 909, 931, 995, 999

Visit of Under Secretary Ball, 489

Frank, Isaiah, 460

Fraser, Hugh, 42

Fredericks, J. Wayne, 897

Freedom :

Definition of in Africa, address (Williams), 912

Future prospects of, address (Tubby), 974

Movement toward, address (Williams), 730

Promotion of doctrine of, message (Kennedy), 903, 910

Freedom from hunger :

FAO campaign, appointment of U.S. council, 829

Problem of, address (Rowan), 406

Freedom of information (*see also* Press, The) :

Cuban suppression of, statement (Stevenson), 678

Free press and information policies, address (Rowan), 796

News media, importance of freedom and independence of, 193, 194

Freeman, Fulton, 941

Freeman, Ross E., 170

Frequency Registration Board, International, 831

Friendship, commerce, and navigation, treaties with : Belgium, 383, 390 ; France, 134 ; Italy, 424, 425, 501 ; Pakistan, 164, 169, 318 ; Viet-Nam, 610, 652

Fronzizi, Arturo, 815

FSI. *See* Foreign Service Institute

Fulbright program, recommendations for improvement, 459

Gabon :

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 524

Treaties, agreements, etc. :

International telecommunication convention (1952), 244

UNESCO constitution, 282

WIIO constitution, 169

U.S. Ambassador, appointment, 65 ; confirmation, 318

- Gagarin, Yuri Alekseyevitch, 714
- Galbraith, J. Kenneth, 653
- Gandhi, Mohandas K., U.S. commemorative stamp, 262
- Garcia, Carlos P., 957
- Garcia, Hector, 351
- Gardner, Richard N., 426
- Garroway, Dave, 305
- Garst, Jonathan, 552
- GATT. *See* Tariffs and trade, general agreement on
- Gavin, James M., 390
- General Assembly, U.N.:
- Algerian question, consideration of, statement (Wilcox) and text of resolution, 62
 - Apartheid* policy of Union of South Africa, consideration of, statements (Plimpton) and texts of resolutions, 600
 - Committee I (Political and Security):
 - Disarmament, consideration of postponed until 16th session, statement (Stevenson) and text of resolution, 568
 - Korean question debate in, statements (Stevenson, Yost) and text of resolution, 736
 - Nuclear weapons and tests, U.S. position on proposed resolutions, statement (Wilcox), 94
 - Committee V (Administrative and Budgetary), question of financing U.N. force in the Congo, statement (Klutznick), 564
 - Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories, Portuguese cooperation with requested, statement (Stevenson), 498
 - Congo situation, consideration of, statements and texts of resolutions: Stevenson, 781; Wadsworth, 56; resolutions, 60, 784
 - Cuban complaint of U.S. aggression, consideration of, statements (Stevenson), 667
 - Documents, lists of, 62, 124, 281, 349, 651, 741, 940, 1028
 - 15th session:
 - Issues before, U.S. position on, address (Stevenson), 805
 - U.S. representatives to, list of, 424
 - Resolutions:
 - Algerian question, 64
 - Apartheid* policy of Union of South Africa, request for abandonment of, 604
 - Colonialism, 27
 - Congo situation, 62, 784, 785
 - Cuban situation, texts of Mexican and 7-power, 685
 - Disarmament, consideration of, postponed until 16th session, 569
 - Ruanda-Urundi, Trust Territory of, future of, 787
 - South-West Africa, question of administration by Union of South Africa, 571
 - South-West Africa, consideration of Union of South Africa actions re, statement (Bingham) and text of resolution, 569
- Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests:
- French attitude on testing, effect on, statement (Rusk), 524
 - Negotiations:
 - Importance of and U.S. objectives, address and statement (Rusk), 433, 517, 520, 521
 - Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests—Continued
 - Negotiations—Continued
 - NATO members views, NAC communique, 801
 - Need for successful conclusion of, joint statement (Kennedy, Macmillan), 579
 - Progress of, message and statements: Johnson, 580, 583; Rusk, 690
 - Resumption of:
 - Date set for resumption of, statement (Rusk), 299
 - Postponement of, U.S. request for agreed to, statement (Rusk), 299*n*
 - Successful conclusion hoped for and U.S. delegation, statement (Kennedy), 478
 - U.K.-U.S. draft treaty, articles, and three annexes, 870
 - U.S. and Soviet positions and proposals, address, report, and statements: Gullion, 634; Kennedy, 755, 993; Rusk, 435
- Geneva conference (1954) on Indochina, statements and U.K. and Soviet aide memoire: Kennedy, 543; Rusk, 846, 847; texts of aide memoire, 545
- Geneva conventions (1949) on treatment of prisoners of war, wounded and sick, and civilians, 609
- Geneva international conference for settlement of the Laotian question. *See under* Laos situation
- Geneva plenipotentiary conference of the ITU, decisions and accomplishments, statement (Martin), 830
- Germany:
- Berlin. *See* Berlin
 - Reunification of:
 - Soviet views re, addresses and report: Berding, 153; Dowling, 589, 591; Kennedy, 993
 - Western proposals and views re, address, report, and communique: Adenauer, Kennedy, 622; Berding, 152; Dowling, 588, 589, 590; Kennedy, 993; Kennedy, von Brentano, 370; NATO, 39, 801
 - Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, ser. D, vol. XI, released, 692
- Germany, East:
- Communist influence in, address (Dowling), 590, 591
 - Dollar bond validation, agreement (U.S.-German Federal Republic) re, 597, 789
 - Situation in, address (Berding), 151, 152
- Germany, Federal Republic of:
- Aid to:
 - Afghanistan, address (Byroade), 131
 - Bolivia, letters (Kennedy, Paz), 921, 922
 - Niger, medical supplies to combat meningitis epidemic in, 492
 - Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
 - Development of, address (Dowling), 588, 589
 - Discussions with U.S. re political and monetary problems, statement (Rusk), 300, texts of joint communique (Kennedy, von Brentano) and U.S. aide memoire, 369
 - Liberalization of controls on imports, 269
 - Relations with U.S., remarks (Rusk), 334
 - Revaluation of deutsche mark, 450
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - GATT, declaration on relations of Poland with, 574
 - Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34
 - International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169

Germany, Federal Republic of—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

Mutual defense assistance program, agreement amending annex to 1955 agreement re return of equipment furnished by U.S. under, 538

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 833

OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65

Postwar economic assistance debt, agreement with U.S. on partial settlement of, 720, 834

Radio regulations (1959), 134

Validation of German dollar bonds, agreement with U.S. re, 597, 789

Visit of Chancellor to U.S., remarks (Adenauer, Kennedy, Rusk), and text of joint communique, 621

Visit of Under Secretary Ball, 489

Ghana:

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

GATT, declaration on relations with Poland, 97, 169

GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97, 896

IDA, articles of agreement, 169

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

Visit of President to U.S., exchange of remarks (Nkrumah, Kennedy) and joint communique, 445; statement (Rusk), 436

Gilmore, Eugene A., 466

Gizenga, Antoine, 360, 361

Gold crisis (*see also* Balance of payments):

Decrease in U.S. holdings of, measures to halt, message (Kennedy) and charts, 287

Holdings abroad by U.S. citizens and enterprises, disposal of, announcement and Executive order, 195

Reduction in U.S. reserves, 371

Good Offices Committee, OAS, Cuban indifference to, statement (Wadsworth), 107

Grant assistance:

Aid to: Iceland, 84, 169; Nigeria, 404, 502

Importance of, address (Coffin), 457

Purpose of, message (Kennedy), 511

Great Britain. *See* United Kingdom

Great Lakes:

Agreement with Canada governing coordination of pilotage system on, 823, 895

Areas requiring registered pilots, proclamation designating, 162

Greece:

Economic problems of, NATO members views, NAC communique, 802

Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 789, 896

GATT:

Declaration on provisional accession of Tunisia, 97

8th protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97

Procès-verbal extending validity of 1959 declaration extending standstill provisions of article XVI: 4, 201

Greece—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

GATT—Continued

Protocol relating to establishment of new schedule III-Brazil, 201

International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169

OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65

U.S. educational foundation, agreement amending 1948 agreement with U.S. re, 425

Visit of Prime Minister to U.S., 381, 686, 724

Green, Marshall, 962

Greenland defense projects, agreement (1960) with Denmark establishing consultative committee on, with annex, 244

Gregory, Clark S., 654

Gromyko, Andrei A., 479, 710

Gross, Gerald C., 831

Guantanamo Naval Base:

Cuban intervention in supplying of water to, question of, statement (Rusk), 303

Effect of termination of relations with Cuba on, statement (Hagerty), 104

Guaranty of private investment. *See* Investment guaranty program

Guatemala:

Exchange of international and official publications and government documents, 1958 conventions on, 134

Housing projects in, 255

IDA, articles of agreement, 34

Seminar on U.S. educational systems, participation in, 311

Gulfer, Bernard, 390

Guinea:

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 802

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653

Guirma, Frederic, 685

Gulick, James W., 594

Gullion, Edmund A., 634

Habana, University of, faculty of in U.S., proposed use of, statement (Kennedy), 310

Hadraba, Theodore J., 263, 832

Hager, Eric H., 170

Hagerty, James C., 104, 177

Haiti:

Aircraft, convention (1948) on international recognition of rights in, 896

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, protocol of amendment to 1944 convention, 201

International telecommunication convention (1959), with annexes, 653

Load line convention, international, 317

U.S. Operations Mission, designation of director, 170

Halbrestadt, Harry J., 170

Hallstein, Walter, 295, 868

Hammarskjöld, Dag, 447, 808, 812

Hanes, John W., Jr., 386

Hare, Raymond A., 390, 422

Harriman, W. Averell:

Confirmed as Ambassador at Large, 318

- Harriman, W. Averell—Continued
 International conference at Geneva for settlement of Laotian question, delegate to, 848; statement, 1023
 Meetings with:
 ECAFE delegates, announcement, 489
 Western European leaders, announcement, 381
 Visit to Iran, announcement, 445
 Hart, Parker T., 741, 985
 Haworth, Leland J., 895
 Hays, Brooks, 390
 Heads of government meetings, administration policy re, statements (Rusk), 300, 304, 308, 443
 Heads of universities conference, SEATO program, U.S. participants, 96
 Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of, 96
 Health and sanitation:
 Africa, need for higher standards in, address (Williams), 528
 Cuban refugees, health services for, statement (Kennedy), 310
 Effects of climate on, WMO commission recommends study of, article (Landsberg), 280
 IAEA activities in field of, statement (Wilcox), 92
 Programs in less developed countries, use of foreign currencies for, proposed legislation, statement (Martin), 1021
 SEATO cholera research laboratory, 550
 WHO. *See* World Health Organization
 Health Organization, World. *See* World Health Organization
 Hedayat, Khosro, 49
 Heller, Walter W., 573, 648
 Helmand Valley project, U.S. contributions to, address (Byroade), 129, 132
 Herter, Christian A.:
 Correspondence:
 Columbia River treaty with Canada, 229
 Conseil de l'Entente, proposed U.S. aid to States of, 19
 Nigerian diplomat, regret for treatment of, 156
 Remarks and statements:
 NATO, progress and future, 40, 41
 New State extension, ceremony dedicating, 154
 Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada, welcome to U.S., 227
 Wedding of King Baudouin, 40, 41
 Resignation, exchange of letters (Eisenhower, Herter), 143, 144, 170
 High Commissioner for Refugees, U.N.:
 Refugees under mandate of, article (Warren), 387
 U.S. support for, remarks (Jones), 929
 High seas, convention on, 134, 317, 425, 609, 698, 833
 Highway Subcommittee, ECAFE Inland Transport Committee, report on 5th meeting of (Van Dyke), 163
 Hill, Rey M., 466
 Hilsman, Roger, 318
 Hochoy, Solomon, 42
 Holmes, Julius C., 941
 Holyoake, Keith, 7, 403
 Home, Earl of, 432, 579, 580, 710
 Honduras:
 Economic cooperation, agreement with U.S., 734
 IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 Honduras—Continued
 Seminar on U.S. educational systems, participation in, 311
 U.S.-Honduran trade agreement (1935), terminated in part, 178, 318
 Hong Kong:
 Parcel post, agreement with U.S. re, 318
 Touring, convention (1954) concerning customs facilities for, 168
 Hope, A. Guy, 318
 Hope, SS, 713
 Houghton, Amory, 66
 Housing:
 New program, suggested, address (Kennedy), 209
 Projects in Chile and Guatemala, 255
 Self-help programs in Latin America, message (Kennedy), 476
 Hughes, Thomas L., 941
 Hughes, William P., 170
 Human rights:
 Anti-Semitic problem, U.N. efforts to solve, statement (Tree), 463
 Apartheid, U.S. support of U.N. views on, statement (Plimpton), 600, 601
 Security Council resolution to safeguard in Congo, 56
 U.S. representative to U.N. Commission on, confirmation (Tree), 390; resignation (Lord), 202
 U.S. support of principles of, address, statement, and summary: Herter, 148; Kennedy, 175; Stevenson, 360
 Hungary, revolution in, Cuban views, statement (Stevenson), 669
 Hydroelectric power, Columbia River development program contribution to, statement (White), 494
 Hydrological Meteorology, Commission for (WMO), 1st session of, 650
 IAEA. *See* Atomic Energy Agency, International
 IA-ECOSOC. *See* Inter-American Economic and Social Council
 IBRD. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
 ICA. *See* International Cooperation Administration
 Iceland:
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 501, 734
 Economic stabilization program, agreement with U.S. providing assistance grant, 84, 169
 IMCO convention, 244
 Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 833
 OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 789
 ICEM. *See* Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
 ICJ. *See* International Court of Justice
 IDA. *See* International Development Association
 IDB. *See* Inter-American Development Bank
 IFC. *See* International Finance Corporation
 Ignacio-Pinto, Louis, 685

ILO. *See* International Labor Organization
 IMCO. *See* Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
 IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
 Immigration:
 Cubans in United States, estimate of, 309
 Fingerprinting regulations re nonimmigrant aliens amended, 692
 Mauritanian quota, proclamation, 49
 Procedures, improvement of, message (Eisenhower) 142
 U.S. policy, remarks (Jones), 928
 Imports (*see also* Customs; Exports; Tariff policy, U.S.; Tariffs and trade, general agreement; *and* Trade):
 Dollar-area imports, relaxation of restrictions on, address, communique, and statement: Braderman, 314, 316; Hadraba, 264, 268, 269; U.S.-Canadian communique, 488
 GATT talks on removal of import restrictions, 293, 418, 832, 983
 Inaugural address (Kennedy), 175
 Income tax, convention with U.A.R. for avoidance of double taxation on, 64, 65
 Independence, movement toward by dependent peoples.
 U.S. views and General Assembly resolution, remarks and statements: Stevenson, 535; Wadsworth, 21, 26; Williams, 260, 857; text of resolution, 27
 India:
 Civil aviation consultations with U.S., resumption of, 727
 Dispute with Pakistan over Indus waters, settlement of, 147
 ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 Economic development. U.S.-Japanese aid, 559
 IFC investment in, 90
 International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, proposed meeting in Delhi, U.K.-U.S.S.R. message to Prime Minister Nehru, 711
 Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Agricultural commodities, agreement amending 1960 agreement with U.S., 538
 GATT, 8th protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34, 201
 U.S. aid to, statement (Rusk), 759
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653
 U.S. issuance of commemorative stamp honoring Gandhi, remarks (Rusk), 262
 Visit of Vice President Johnson, joint communique (Johnson, Nehru), 959
 Indirect aggression, Communist, problems of, address (Cleveland), 858
 Indochina (*see also* Cambodia, Laos, *and* Viet-Nam)
 Geneva conference (1954) discussions, 543, 548
 Indonesia:
 Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 685
 Rubber exports, importance of, article (Mellen), 82
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 65, 501

Indonesia—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued
 Duty-free entry privileges to diplomatic and consular officers and personnel, reciprocal, agreement with U.S., 610
 GATT, 8th protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 IMCO convention, 465
 U.S. relations with, exchange of messages (Kennedy, Sukarno), 261
 Visit of President Sukarno to U.S., exchange of greetings and text of communique (Kennedy, Sukarno), 712
 Indus River Basin:
 Development fund agreement, 34, 201
 Settlement of dispute over, summary (Herter), 147
 Industrial Development, U.N. Committee for, statement (Moscoso), 605
 Industrialization, importance in economic growth, statement (Frank), 461
 Industrialized free-world nations:
 Increased interdependence of, address (Rusk), 324
 Need for cooperative effort in aid to less developed countries, addresses, communiqués, messages, and statements: Ball, 328, 451, 751; Bourguiba, 851; Bourguiba, Kennedy, 853; Bowles, 708; Dillon, 332; Hallstein, Kennedy, 869; Kennedy, 288, 289, 293, 333, 508, 841; Kennedy, Macmillan, 579; Rusk, 325, 439, 519, 953, 1002; U.S.-German joint communique, 622
 Relations with less developed countries, major issues of, address (Ball), 753
 Inflation, problem of, address (Martin), 73
 Information Activities Abroad, President's Committee on, recommendations and extracts from report of and letters (Eisenhower, Sprague) re, 182
 Information activities and programs (*see also* United States Information Agency):
 Freedom of information. *See* Freedom of information
 Improvement and expansion of, proposed, letters (Eisenhower, Sprague) and report, 182
 Informational media guaranty program:
 Agreement with Afghanistan providing for, 610
 Continuation and expansion of, proposed, 194
 International and official publications and government documents, conventions (1958) for exchange of, 134
 Need for informed public, address (Rowan), 795
 Information Agency, U.S. *See* United States Information Agency
 Inheritances, convention for avoidance of double taxation on, with Canada, 351, 352
 Inspector General and Comptroller, Office of, use of MSP funds for, letter (Eisenhower), 85
 Intelligence activities, U.S., proposed review of, message (Kennedy), 907
 Intelligence Advisory Board, Foreign, establishment of, announcement, Executive order, and letter (Kennedy), 773
 Interagency committee, strengthening of, report (Randall), 159

- Inter-American affairs, need for increased Canadian participation, address (Kennedy), 841
- Inter-American Commission for Women, U.S. delegate, appointment, 742
- Inter-American Development Bank :
 Administration and role in Latin American development programs; message and statements: Ball, 864, 865, 866; Dillon, 697; Kennedy, 475, 476, 553
 Aid to Bolivian development program, negotiations re, letters (Kennedy, Paz), 921, 922
 Board of Governors 2d annual meeting, statements (Dillon), 693
 First annual report, published, 695
 Loans of, statement (Dillon), 697
 Organization and establishment of, address and summary: Berle, 620; Herter, 149
- Inter-American Economic and Social Council :
 Ministerial level meeting of :
 Development of U.S. position on agenda items, memorandum (Ball), 919
 Proposal for and purposes of, address, remarks, and statements: Berle, 821; Kennedy, 616, 766, 970; Rusk, 759
 Need for use of, statement (Dillon), 697
 Participation in Bolivian development program, letters (Kennedy, Paz), 920, 922
 Role in Alliance for Progress, address and message (Kennedy), 472, 476
- Inter-American Fund for Social Progress :
 Administration of, message and statement: Ball, 866; Kennedy, 476
 Request for appropriations, address, message, and statement: Coerr, 255; Ball, 864; Kennedy, 474
 Signing of appropriation bill, remarks (Kennedy), 971
- Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, convention (1944) on and protocol of amendment to, 65, 201, 317, 425, 537
- Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission, 3rd meeting, U.S. delegation to, 895
- Inter-American Peace Committee, 273
- Inter-American system, address (Berle), 617
- Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, convention (1949) for establishment of, 653
- Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration :
 Council and Executive Committee, 13th and 16th sessions, article (Warren), 386
 U.S. support for and accomplishments of, remarks (Jones), 929
- Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization :
 Conference on oil pollution of the sea, statement (Chayes), 777
 Convention (1948) on, 97, 244, 425, 465, 609, 985
 2d Assembly of, U.S. delegation, 572
 Subcommittee on Tonnage Measurement, meeting and work of, 595
- International affairs of foreign countries, ethics of mutual involvement in, remarks (Cleveland), 525
- International Atomic Energy Agency. *See* Atomic Energy Agency, International
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (*see also* International Development Association) :
 Articles of agreement, 34, 573
 Cuba and Dominican Republic, withdrawal from, 34, 91
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—Continued
 Economic development libraries, 19
 Financial statement, 347
 Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34, 201
 Loans in Latin America, 254
 Portugal, membership in, 572
- International civil servant, definition, 54
- International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. *See under* Laos situation
- International conferences. *See* International organizations and conferences
- International Cooperation Administration (*see also* Development Loan Fund, Economic and technical aid, Investment guaranty program, and Mutual security) :
 Administration of :
 Latin American aid programs, message and statement: Ball, 866; Kennedy, 477
 Relief aid in: Chile, 492; Tunisia, 597
 Aid to: Afghanistan, 133; Africa, 375; Chile, 255; Guatemala, 255; Lebanon, 50; Libya, 313; Niger, 492; Nigeria, 404, 502; Peru, 923; Senegal, 833; Turkey, 197; Viet-Nam, 84
 Alliance for Progress, ICA requested to expedite implementation of projects for, memorandum (Ball), 918
 Appointments and designations of representatives to: Congo, Republic of the, 353; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 654; Ivory Coast, 65; Malagasy Republic, 65; Mali, 466; Yemen, 501
 Audit report on drought relief program in Peru, Department statement, 923
 Consultant, appointment (Johnson), 426
 Cuban skilled refugees, proposal for utilization in Latin American programs, report (Voorhees), 223, 224
 Defense support aid to Turkey, 197
 Deputy Director for Congressional Relations, appointment (Salter), 466
 Director of, confirmation (Labouisse), 390
 Education programs in Africa, 218, 531, 913
 Industrial resources program, purpose of, statement (Frank), 461
 Integration with other aid programs, proposed, message (Kennedy), 510
 Regional community development conference at Seoul, statement (Rusk), 756
 Regional Director for Latin American Operations, designation (Hill), 466
 Special assistance loan to Bolivia, 531, 921, 922
 Special Assistant to Director, appointment (Waters), 353
 Technical training of Asians in Japan, address (MacArthur), 559
 U.S. Operations Missions :
 Designations of Directors to: Bolivia, 170; Haiti, 170
 Establishment of at Lomé, Togo, 84
 Visit of survey team to *Entente* States, letter (Herter), 19
- International Court of Justice :
 South-West Africa, proposed consideration of Union of South Africa's actions in, statement (Bingham), 569, 570

- International Court of Justice—Continued
- Treaty provision for settlement of disputes by, proposed, statement (Chayes), 777
- International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956, administration of, announcement and Executive order, 196
- International Development Agency, proposed establishment and organization of, letter and statement: Kennedy, 978; Rusk, 953, 1003
- International Development Association:
 - Articles of agreement, 34, 97, 169
 - Purpose, statement (Achilles), 32
 - U.S. support of, statement and summary: Braderman, 316; Herter, 149
- International Finance Corporation:
 - Articles of agreement, 34, 609
 - Cuba and Dominican Republic withdrawal from, 34, 91, 347
 - Investments in 1960, report, 90
- International Joint Commission, U.S.-Canada, report on Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, 772
- International labor conference, U.S. delegation to 45th session, 1027
- International Labor Organization:
 - International peace corps, proposal for use of, remarks (Cleveland), 552
 - Participation in African educational and economic conferences, statement (Kotschnig), 380
- International law (*see also* International Court of Justice) U.S. support of, summary (Herter), 146
- International Monetary Fund (*see also* International Bank):
 - Aid to: Brazil, 863; Turkey, 197; Yugoslavia, 85
 - Articles of agreement, 573
 - Currency convertibility under art. VIII, acceptance by 10 members, announcement, 346
 - Portugal, membership in, 572
 - U.S. drawing rights in, use of, message (Kennedy), 289, 290
- International organizations and conferences (*see also subject*):
 - Administration of, Soviet tripartite proposal re (*see also* United Nations: Office of Secretary-General), address and statements: Cleveland, 811, 813, 814; Rusk, 688, 691
 - Calendar of international meetings, 20, 91, 198, 272, 348, 423, 496, 563, 646, 735, 869, 981
 - Canadian role in, address (Kennedy), 842
 - Involvement in national affairs, remarks (Cleveland), 526
 - Participation of government scientists in international conferences, policy re, 96
 - Potential for action by, remarks (Cleveland), 860
 - Problem of protecting political independence of weak nations, address (Cleveland), 860
 - Role in foreign policy, remarks (Rusk), 624
 - U.S. planning for and participation in, recommendations re, 189, 192
- International Peace and Security Act, 954, 977, 1006
- International peace corps, proposal for, remarks (Cleveland), 551
- International Rubber Study Group, work of, article (Mellen), 78, 202
- International Telecommunication Union, 830
- Investment guaranty program:
 - Agreements with: Argentina, 833; Chile, 425; Morocco, 643, 653; Panama, 244; Sierra Leone, 1029
 - DLF and ICA role in, address (Coffin), 457
 - Scope of, summary (Herter), 148
- Investment of private capital abroad:
 - Africa, U.S. investment in, addresses (Williams), 375, 585
 - Good practices in, need for Government encouragement of, 193
 - Importance of, message (Kennedy), 287
 - Latin America, need for proper handling in, address (Berle), 819
 - Less developed countries, importance and problem of in, addresses and statement: Martin, 74, 75, 823; Moscoso, 608
 - Peru, address (Coerr), 254
 - Protection of. *See* Investment guaranty program
 - U.S. encouragement and support of, address, statements, and summary: Achilles, 33; Coffin, 457, 458; Frank, 462; Herter, 148
- Iran:
 - Afghan-Iranian relations, article (Byroade), 126
 - Agricultural commodities, agreement amending 1960 agreement with U.S., 698
 - Economic development program, discussions with U.S. re, joint statement, 49
 - Invitation to visit Tehran, acceptance by Ambassador Harriman, 445
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 941
- Iraq:
 - Cultural agreements with U.S., 243, 282
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 34, 169
- Ireland:
 - Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
 - Nuclear weapons, U.S. position on Irish resolution prohibiting transfers of, statement (Wilcox), 95
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding on, 65
 - Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653
- Isenberg, Max, 574
- Isolationism, change in U.S. position on, address (Bohlen), 966
- Israel:
 - Atomic energy activities, Department statement, 45
 - Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 - Palestine refugees, U.N. programs for, U.S. views and support, remarks and statements: Jones, 929; Wilcox, 28
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S., 896
 - Educational exchange programs, agreement amending and extending 1956 agreement with U.S., 896
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession to, 97
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 97

Israel—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

- International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169
- Nuclear research and training equipment and materials, agreement with U.S. for acquisition of, 201
- Violation of armistice agreement, Jordan complaint in Security Council, statement (Plimpton), 649
- U.S. Ambassador, confirmation (Barbour), 941; resignation (Reid), 170

Italy:

- Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 961
- Commemoration of centennial of unification, remarks and proclamation (Kennedy), 486
- Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
- IFC investments in, 90
- Liberalization of restrictions on dollar-area imports, 269, 983
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Aircraft, convention (1948) on international recognition of rights in, 896
 - Atomic energy, civil uses of, agreement amending 1957 agreement with U.S., 574
 - Atomic energy, mutual defense uses of, agreement with U.S. for cooperation in, 201, 941
 - Classified patent applications, agreement with U.S. approving procedures for reciprocal filing of, 244
 - Friendship, commerce and navigation, agreement supplementing 1948 treaty with U.S., 424, 425, 501
 - International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocol, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 - Patents and technical information in defense programs, agreement (1952) with U.S. on arrangements re, 244
 - Technical cooperation program for Trust Territory of Somaliland, agreement with U.S. amending and extending 1954 agreement, 318
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 741

ITU. *See* International Telecommunication Union

Ivory Coast:

- Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 177
- Conseil de l'Entente, proposed U.S. aid to States of, 19
- ICA representative in, designation, 65
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Air services transit, international agreement (1944), 537
 - Civil aviation convention, international, 1954 protocol amending articles of, 698
 - Economic, technical, and related assistance, agreement with U.S. providing, 985
 - IMCO convention, 97
 - Postal convention (1957), universal, 1029
 - Telecommunication conventions, international, 244
 - UNESCO constitution, 98
 - WHO constitution, 169
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

Jacques, Sidney B., 170

Japan:

- Air transport consultations with U.S., 935
- DAG membership, 33
- ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
- Liberalization of controls on imports, 270
- Relations with Korea, joint statement (Chyung-Rusk), 712
- Tariff concessions renegotiated with U.S., announcement and lists of concessions, 826
- Trade union leader, meeting with President Kennedy, 404
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Educational exchange, agreement amending 1958 agreement with U.S. for financing, 65
 - GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653
 - U.S.-Japanese relations, address (MacArthur), 556
 - Visit of Senator Sparkman to, announcement of, 757
- Jean, Arch K., 466
- Johnson, Byron L., 426
- Johnson, Lyndon B.:
 - Tour of South and Southeast Asia:
 - Announced, 750
 - Statement (Rusk), 762
 - Texts of joint communiqués, 956
 - Message and statement:
 - NATO, U.S. support of, 581
 - Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests, 580
 - National Advisory Council for the Peace Corps, appointment as chairman of, 583
- Johnson, U. Alexis, 789
- Johnstone, James R., 170
- Joint Commission (U.S.-Canada), International, report on Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, 772
- Jones, Marshall P., 466
- Jones, Roger W., 282, 928
- Jordan:
 - Complaint against Israel in Security Council re violation of armistice agreement, statement (Plimpton), 649
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 426
- Justice, International Court of. *See* International Court
- Kampmann, Viggo, 261
- Kasavubu, Joseph, 52, 53, 57, 360, 361
- Kee, Robert, 439
- Kennan, George F., 465
- Kennedy, John F.:
 - Addresses, remarks, and statements (*see also* Meetings with *infra*):
 - Act of Bogotá, remarks on signing bill to implement, 971
 - Africa, U.S. policy, 731, 917
 - Africa freedom day celebration, 638
 - Ambassador Moscoco, appointment to Venezuela, 764
 - Argentine-U.S. cooperation, 920

Kennedy, John F.—Continued

Addresses, remarks, and statements—Continued

- Canada-U.S. relations and aims, 837
 - Congo situation, U.S. supports U.N. in, 332
 - Cuban refugees, measures for aiding, 309
 - Cuban situation. *See* Cuban situation
 - El Salvador, recognition of government of, 344
 - Food-for-peace programs in Latin America, 552
 - Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests, 478, 755
 - IA-ECOSOC ministerial talks on development in Americas, calling for, 766
 - IDB, role in Alliance for Progress, 553
 - Inaugural address, 175
 - Italian unification, centennial of, 486
 - Korea, 1st anniversary of revolution, 691
 - Laos, position of administration re problem of, 543, 544
 - Latin America:
 - Alliance for Progress in, 471
 - Ambassador Stevenson's mission to, 970
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 647, 995, 996
 - Operations Coordinating Board, abolition of, 345
 - OECD convention, ratification of, 514
 - OEEC, Economic Policy Committee of, 648
 - Pan American Day celebration, 615
 - Peace Corps, establishment and functions of, 400
 - President Bourguiba accepts invitation to visit U.S., 448
 - Press, the, self-discipline of, 796
 - Secretary Rusk to attend SEATO Council of Ministers meeting, 334
 - Soviet man-in-space achievement, congratulations on, 639
 - State of the Union, 207
 - Textile industry, U.S., program for assistance to, 825
 - Tractors-for-freedom movement, 934
 - U.S. citizens role in foreign policy, 854
- Appointment of members of the National Advisory Council for the Peace Corps, 583

Correspondence and messages:

- African conference on education, salute to, 937
- Alliance for Progress, exchange of views with President Frondizi of Argentina, on, 814
- Bolivia, U.S. cooperation in development program, exchange of letters with President Paz, 920
- Brazil, U.S. relations with, greetings to President-elect Quadros and retiring President Kubitschek, 256
- Central African Republic, U.S. aid to, exchange of letters with President Daeko re, 766
- Chancellor Raab of Austria, re service to his country, 591
- Conference of African States, greetings to, 802
- Cuban refugees in U.S., aid to, 256, 490
- Cuban situation, repudiation of Soviet allegations, exchange of messages with Premier Khrushchev, 661
- Economic Commission for Africa, 3d session of, greetings to, 374
- Economic conference at Yaoundé, greetings to, 586

Kennedy, John F.—Continued

Correspondence and messages—Continued

- European Economic Community, U.S. collaboration with Commission of, exchange of telegrams with President Hallstein, 295
 - Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, letter to members of, 774
 - General de Gaulle, support and friendship for, 709
 - Inauguration, acknowledgments of congratulations, exchanges with: Indonesia, 261; Mexico, 310; Soviet Union, 214; Yugoslavia, 444
 - NATO:
 - 12th anniversary of signing of treaty of, 580
 - U.S. support, message to NAC, 333
 - Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, letter to Secretary Udall requesting views on, 969
 - Prime Minister Lefevre of Belgium, congratulations to, 803
 - Sierra Leone, congratulations on independence of, 733
 - Soviet Union, congratulations on: Launching of space vehicle to Venus, 369; Man-in-space achievement, 640
 - Sylvanus Olympio, greetings upon inauguration as President of Republic of Togo, 639
 - United Nations, need for public understanding of, 447
 - West Indies, defense areas agreement with, 351
- Decision on imports of twines and cordage, 313
- Executive orders, 216, 345, 400, 774, 934, 976
- Meetings with:
- EEC Commission President, communique, 868
 - Heads of State and officials of, statements and joint communiques: Argentina, 920; Australia, 372; Canada, 371; Congo, Republic of, 1008; EEC Commission, 868; France, 909, 991, 995, 997, 999; Germany, 369, 621; Ghana, 445; Greece, 724; Indonesia, 712; Japan, 404; New Zealand, 403; Soviet Union, 848, 909, 975, 992, 999; Tunisia, 848, 852; U.K., 544, 579, 995, 999
- President Eisenhower, discussion of world situation, joint statement (Magerty, Salinger), 177
- Special economic committee, 215
- Messages, letters, and reports to Congress:
- Duty-free allowance of \$100, recommendation, 382
 - Balance-of-payments deficit, measures recommended to restore U.S. equilibrium in, 287
 - Foreign aid, 507, 977
 - Inter-American Fund for Social Progress, request for appropriations for, 475
 - Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, proposed amendment to, 444
 - Peace Corps, requesting legislation for establishment of, 401, 980
 - UNESCO campaign to save Nubian monuments, request for funds for, 643
 - Urgent National Needs, 903
- Participation in foreign policy briefings, announcement, 431, 432
- Proclamations, 344, 420, 487, 592, 593, 721, 939
- Visit to Europe, remarks, report to Nation, statements, and joint communiques, 848, 909, 975, 991

- Kenya :
 Drought and famine, U.S. relief aid, 312
 Education program, U.S. aid, 218
 Kettelhut, Marvin C., 170
 Khan, Mohammed Ayub, 448, 960
 Khrushchev, Nikita S. :
 Address and messages :
 Congo situation, 811
 Cuban situation, 253, 664
 President Kennedy, congratulations on inauguration, 214
 Space vehicle to Venus, launching, 369
 Meeting with President Kennedy at Vienna, address, announcement, communique, message, and statement : Department, 848; Kennedy, 910, 992; Tubby, 975; U.S.-U.S.S.R. communique, 999
 Self-proclaimed leader of nationalist revolutions, statement (Rusk), 442
 Killian, James R., Jr., 774
 King Baudouin, 40
 Kitchen, Jeffrey C., 897
 Klutznick, Philip M., 318, 424, 564
 Knight, Douglas M., 96
 Kohler, Foy D., 924
 Kohler, Max A., 651
 Kootenai River, Columbia River treaty provisions for, development of, 228, 232, 237
 Korea, north :
 Communist takeover of, Department study, released, 737
 Economic conditions in, letter (Bowles), 932
 Representation at U.N., question of, U.S. and Republic of Korea views on, statements : Chyung-Rusk, 711; Stevenson, Yost, 736
 Korea, reunification of, U.N. debate on, U.S. position, statements and resolution : Chyung-Rusk, 711; Stevenson, 736; Yost, 740; text of resolution, 740
 Korea, Republic of :
 Economic situation and prospects, U.S. views on, letter (Bowles), 930
 Foreign Minister Chyung, visit to U.S., joint statement (Chyung, Rusk), 711
 ICA regional community development conference at Seoul, statement (Rusk), 757
 Reform in exchange system, U.S. views, statement (Ball), 262
 Revolution in, 1st anniversary of, statement (Kennedy), 691
 Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 202, 610, 941
 Economic, technical, and related assistance, agreement with U.S. providing, 425, 538
 Insured parcel post, agreement with U.S., 34
 U.S. naval vessels, agreement with U.S. extending period of loan of, 241
 U.S. economic aid, 691
 U.S. forces in, question of status-of-forces agreement on, statement (Rusk), 437
 U.S.-Korean friendly relations, Military Revolutionary Committee pledges of, exchange of notes, 962
 Kotschnig, Walter M., 376
- Kuwait :
 Nonimmigrant passport visas, agreement with U.S. for reciprocal granting of, 244
 UNESCO constitution, 282
- Labor :
 Advisory Committee on Labor and Management, creation and functions of, message (Kennedy), 291
 International labor affairs, FSI training program in, 245
 Involvement of labor organizations in world affairs, 193
 U.S. unemployment problems, measures to relieve, address (Kennedy), 207
 Labor conference, international, U.S. delegation to 45th session, 1027
 Labor Organization, International :
 International peace corps, proposal for use of, remarks (Cleveland), 552
 Participation in African educational and economic conferences, statement (Kotschnig), 380
 Labouisse, Henry R., 390
 Laking, George Robert, 910
 Land reform :
 Bolivia, address (Coerr), 252
 Cuba, revolutionary promises betrayed, statement (Stevenson), 680
 Latin America :
 Act of Bogotá recommendations, 254, 255
 Problem of, message (Kennedy), 476
 Southeast Asian countries, problem of in, 960, 961
 Landsberg, Helmut E., 278
 Laos :
 Economic and technical aid for, U.S. proposal, statement (Rusk), 847
 Situation in. *See* Laos situation
 Visit of Prince Souvanna Phouma to U.S., remarks, (Rusk), 687, 689
 Laos situation :
 Addresses, messages, remarks, and statements : Cleveland, 859; Department, 76, 114, 115; Harriman, 1023, 1024, 1025; Kennedy, 210, 543, 544, 993; Rusk, 299, 300, 303, 436, 519, 522, 548, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 844, 845, 847
 Background of, Department statement, 115
 Cease-fire :
 Call for, text of U.K.-U.S.S.R. message and U.S. statement, 710
 Problem of, statements (Rusk), 686, 688, 756, 761
 SEATO conference position on, statement (Rusk), 759
 U.S. repeats call for, statement (Harriman), 1023
 Verification of. *See* International Commission for Supervision and Control *infra*
 Violation of, statements : Harriman, 1024; Rusk, 844
 Communist intervention in, communique, note, and statements : Kennedy, 543; Department, 114; Rusk, 436, 519, 548, 845; SEATO communique, 549; U.S. note, 15
 Geneva international conference for settlement of :
 Cambodian proposal for, 545
 Date set for, U.K.-Soviet message, 710

Laos situation—Continued

- Geneva international conference for settlement of—
Continued
 - Invitation to U.S. to participate and list of other participants, U.K.-Soviet message, 711
 - Prince Sihanouk's participation, question of, statement (Rusk), 760
 - Secretary Rusk's participation, question of, statement (Rusk), 756
 - U.S. proposal for a neutral Laos, statement (Rusk), 844
 - U.S. repeats call for cease-fire in Laos, statement (Harriman), 1023
 - International Commission for Supervision and Control:
 - Meeting of, proposed, statement (Rusk), 299, 300; text of U.K.-U.S.S.R. proposal, 710
 - Need for support and cooperation with, statement (Harriman), 1023
 - Report on Laos situation, statement (Rusk), 844
 - Role of, remarks (Rusk), 757, 847
 - Neutral and independent government, question and problem of establishment of:
 - Australian-U.S. views, joint communique (Kennedy, Menzies), 372
 - Canadian-U.S. views, joint communique (Diefenbaker, Kennedy), 843
 - Indian-U.S. views, joint communique (Johnson, Nehru), 960
 - Indonesian-U.S. views, joint communique (Kennedy, Sukarno), 713
 - New Zealand-U.S. views, joint communique (Holyoake, Kennedy), 404
 - Soviet-U.S. views, joint communique (U.S.-U.S.S.R.), 999
 - U.S. proposal and views, remarks: Kennedy, 993; Rusk, 689, 757, 761, 762, 844
 - Pathet Lao activity, statements: Harriman, 1025; Kennedy, 543; Rusk, 758
 - SEATO Council consideration of problems of, statements (Rusk), 547, 759, and text of communiqués, 117, 549
 - Soviet proposals and role in:
 - Aide-memoire and notes, 16, 545, 710, 711
 - Diplomatic maneuvers, remarks (Rusk), 687, 690
 - Intervention in, U.S. cites evidence of, statements and note: Department, 114; Kennedy, 543; Rusk, 436; U.S. note, 15
 - Khrushchev-Kennedy discussions, 993, 999
 - Soviet reply to British proposals, U.S. views, statement (Rusk), 686
 - U.S. views on, addresses, joint communique, and statements: Cleveland, 859; Department, 76, 115; Kennedy, 210, 543; Kennedy, Macmillan, 544, 999; Rusk, 299, 300, 303, 436, 522; U.S. note, 15
- ## Latin America (*see also* Caribbean, Inter-American, Operation Pan America, Pan American, Organization of American states, and individual countries):
- Alliance for Progress. *See* Alliance for Progress
 - Communist activities in. *See under* Communism
 - Cuban subversion in, statement (Stevenson), 671
 - Cultural exchange program in:
 - Need for expansion of, address (Kennedy), 473

Latin America—Continued

- Cultural exchange program in—Continued
 - Proposed use of Cuban refugee scholars in, letter (Ribicoff), 491
 - Economic and social development: (*see also* Alliance for Progress; Bogotá, Act of; Inter-American Development Bank; Inter-American Economic and Social Council; and Inter-American fund):
 - Need for cooperative effort, address and statements: Berle, 617; Rusk, 297, 301
 - Problems of, address and message: Berle, 343; Kennedy, 509
 - Reaction to U.S. proposals, statement (Rusk), 523
 - Role of OAS in, remarks (Kennedy), 616
 - U.S. efforts to promote, address, statement, and summary: Herter, 149; Kennedy, 212, 970
 - Economic Commission for. *See* Economic Commission for Latin America
 - EEC effect upon trade with, joint communique (Hallstein, Kennedy), 869
 - Food-for-peace programs in:
 - Statement (Kennedy), 552
 - Visit of U.S. mission to study, 212, 312
 - Fulbright program in, recommendation to enlarge, 459
 - ICA regional director, designation, 466
 - Immigrants to, need for semiskilled, article (Warren), 387
 - Investment guaranty program in, 833
 - Military assistance program for, proposed, statement (Rusk), 955
 - Severance of relations with Cuba, U.S. reply to Cuban charge of pressure for, statement (Wadsworth), 105, 110
 - Trade, expansion of, address (Berle), 818
 - U.S. information activities in:
 - Need for reinforcement of, letter (Eisenhower), 182; Sprague Committee report, 184, 185, 186, 187
 - USIA broadcasts, proposed increase in, message (Kennedy), 905
 - U.S. policy toward, addresses and statements: Berle, 342; Bowles, 629; Coerr, 251; Kennedy, 175, 210, 212; Rusk, 437
 - Visit of Ambassador Stevenson to, statement (Kennedy), itinerary, and members of party, 970
- ## Latin America, Interdepartmental Task Force on, establishment and membership of and statement (Rusk), 298
- Law of the sea:
 - Conventions on, 134, 317, 425, 609, 698, 833, 985
 - Diplomatic conference on maritime law, U.S. delegation, 651
 - Le, Kong, 114
 - Lebanon:
 - Drought, U.S. relief aid, 50
 - Radio regulations (1959), 985
 - U.S. emergency military aid, summary (Herter), 146
 - Lefevre, Theo, 803
 - Lend-lease program:
 - Liberian debt, use of funds from settlement of, 531
 - U.K., U.S. aid, address (Bowles), 704

- Less developed countries (*see also* Newly independent countries) :
- Aid to (*see also* Economic and technical aid *and* Economic development) :
 - GATT program of, 983
 - IAEA assistance, statement (Wilcox), 92
 - NATO views on, NAC communique, 801
 - Need for cooperative effort of free-world industrialized nations. *See* Industrialized free-world nations.
 - Role of DAG and OECD :
 - Addresses and statements: Ball, 328, 718, 753; Dillon, 10, 332; Kennedy, 514; Rusk, 325
 - DAG communique and resolution, 554
 - U.S.-German discussions, aide memoire and joint communique, 370, 371; statement (Rusk), 439
 - Basic problems facing, joint communique (Johnson-Nehru), 960
 - Challenge to U.S., address (Dulles), 336
 - Economic offensive of Soviet Union and Communist countries, addresses, communique, message, report, and statement: Bowles, 481, 705; Byroade, 131; Dulles, 337; Kennedy, 508; NAC communique, 40; Rowan, 799; Sprague report, 190
 - Income, need to stabilize, address (Martin), 823
 - International peace corps, question of use in, remarks (Cleveland), 551
 - Need for internal reform and self-help, message (Kennedy), 509, 511
 - Private investment, U.S. *See* Investment of private capital abroad
 - Revolution of rising expectations in, addresses: Bowles, 704; Rowan, 797; Rusk, 515
 - Rubber, importance of as export product, article (Mellen), 78
 - Trade problems (*see also* Commodity trade), statement (Braderman), 315, 316
 - U.S. information activities in, report and recommendations re, 187, 189, 190, 193
 - U.S. policy toward, addresses, message, and report: Ball, 751; Bowles, 483; Kennedy, 842, 903, 904, 994; Martin, 71, 72
 - Libby Dam project, treaty for development of Columbia River provisions concerning, 228, 232, 237, 493, 495
 - Liberia :
 - Expanded education program in, U.S.-Liberia negotiations for, 531
 - Rubber exports, importance of, article (Mellen), 82
 - Submission in Security Council of resolution on Congo situation, statements (Stevenson) and text of resolution, 365, 367, 368
 - U.S. military mission, agreement extending 1951 agreement, 834
 - Libraries, IPRD economic development, 19
 - Libya :
 - Drought, U.S. aid, 313
 - U.S. military operations in, memorandum of understanding re problems arising from, 202
 - Lima, Francisco Roberto, 910
 - Lincoln, Murray D., 217
 - Lindt, August R., 7
 - Linseed oil, proclamation terminating import fees on, 593
 - Lippmann, Walter, 719
 - Lister, Ernest A., 963
 - Little, William Roy, 466
 - Living standard, newly independent nations demand for improvement, address (Martin), 71
 - Load line convention (1930), international, 317
 - Loans, U.S. (*see also* Development Loan Fund, Export-Import Bank, *and* International Cooperation Administration), need of long-term borrowing authority in development aid programs, addresses, letter, message, and statements: Bowles, 708; Kennedy, 511, 977; Rusk, 749, 951, 1003
 - Loeb, James, 741
 - López Mateos, Adolfo, 311
 - Lord, Mrs. Oswald B., 202
 - Louchheim, Mrs. Katie, 985
 - Lumumba, Patrice, 52, 55, 57, 359, 364, 368
 - Luxembourg :
 - Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
 - Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 - GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97, 169
 - International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocol, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 789
 - MacArthur, Douglas H., 390, 556
 - MacLeish, Archibald, 643
 - Macmillan, Harold; meetings with President Kennedy at: Key West, Florida, 544; London, 848, 995, 999; Washington, 304, 579
 - Macomber, William B., Jr., 426
 - Maiga, Abdoulaye, 77
 - Makerere College of Uganda, 218
 - Malagasy Republic :
 - African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Cooperation, established, 586, 587
 - ICA representative in, designation, 65
 - Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - IMCO convention, 609
 - Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 985
 - UNESCO constitution, 282
 - WHO constitution, 425
 - WMO convention, 98
 - Malaya :
 - ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 - Rubber industry, article (Mellen), 79, 82
 - Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Civil aviation, protocol (1954) relating to amendments to 1944 international convention on, 789
 - Compulsory settlement of disputes, optional protocol of signature concerning, 985
 - Cultural property, convention (1954) and protocol for protection in event of armed conflict, 282

Mataya—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

GATT:

Declarations on provisional accessions of Israel, Tunisia, and Switzerland, 97

Declaration on relations with Yugostavia, 97

8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97

Law of the sea, conventions on, 317

Radio regulations (1959), 985

Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes and final protocol, 390

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 390

Mali:

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 77

ICA representative, designation, 466

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Civil aviation, protocol (1954) relating to amendments to 1944 international convention on, 282

Economic, technical, and related assistance, agreement with U.S. providing for, 202

UNESCO constitution, 98, 282

Universal postal convention (1957), 833

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

Management, Advisory Committee on Labor and, creation and functions of, message (Kennedy), 291

Manley, Norman, 350

Mann, Thomas C., 741

Mansfield, Mike, 762

Mariani, Clemente, 862

Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental. *See* Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

Maritime law, diplomatic conference on, U.S. delegation to, announcement, 651

Marshall plan, 450, 716, 748, 752

Martin, Edwin M.:

Addresses and statements:

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, proposed legislation amending and extending, 1020

Economic development, problems of promoting, 71

Sugar Act of 1948, legislation extending, 562

Telecommunication convention, international, and radio regulations, revision of, 830

Trade and aid programs, relationship between, 822

Chairman, U.S. delegation to U.S.-Indian civil aviation consultations, 727

Participation in discussions on Iranian development, 50

Martin, Graham A., 741

Masaryk, Thomas, 17

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, centennial celebration, remarks (Rusk), 624

Mauritania:

Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 857

IMCO convention, 985

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

U.S. immigration quota, proclamation, 49

WHO constitution, 698

Mayobre Cova, José Antonio, 177

Mazzocco, William J., 65

McCausland, Nicholas, 245

McConaughy, Watter P., 741

McCraeken, Paul W., 215

McGhee, George C., 353

McGovern, George, 312

McIntosh, Dempster, 98

McKone, John R., 302a

Mellen, Sydney L. W., 78, 202

Meningitis epidemic, U.S. aid to Niger and Upper Volta, 492

Menzies, Robert Gordon, 372

Merchant, Livingston T., 3, 390

Meteorological Organization, World. *See* World Meteorological Organization

Mexico:

IFC investment in, 90

Social revolution in, address (Coerr), 252

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Air transport, agreement with U.S., 282

IDA, articles of agreement, 169

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, protocol of amendment to 1944 convention, 201

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 741

U.S.-Mexican relations, exchange of messages (López Mateos, Kennedy), 310

Miami, University of, use of Cuban refugee scholars by, letter (Ribicoff), 491

Miami Cuban Refugee Emergency Center, work of, report (Voorhees), 220

Miehener, James A., 829

Middle East. *See* Near and Middle East

Migration, European, Intergovernmental Committee for. *See* Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

Mikoyan, Anastas I., 107

Military assistance (*see also* Military equipment, materials, and services, Military mission, Mutual defense, and Mutual security):

Agreement with Bolivia concerning, 390

Appropriation request for and legislative proposals concerning, letter, messages, and statements: Kennedy, 513, 905, 977; Rusk, 955, 1006

Need for continuation of, message (Eisenhower), 142

Role of Secretary of State in, 979

Soviet aid to Afghanistan, article (Byroade), 132

Viet-Nam, U.S. aid to, joint communique (Johnson, Ngo Dinh Diem), 956; statements (Rusk), 757, 758, 759, 761

Military bases, U.S., overseas:

Guantanamo Naval Base:

Treaty rights re, statement (Hagerty), 104

Water supply to, question of, statement (Rusk), 303

Measures to reduce U.S. dollar expenditures by, message (Kennedy), 293, 294

Libya, memorandum of understanding re problems of U.S. military operations in, 202

Saudi Arabia, nonrenewal of Dhahran airfield agreement, 490

Scotland, proteus Polaris base in, statement (Rusk), 437

West Indies, defense areas agreement with. *See under* West Indies

Military Committee, NATO, 647

- Military equipment, materials, and services :
Disposition of, agreements amending agreements with :
Germany, 538 ; Norway, 352
Furnishing of, agreement with Colombia, 698
Imposition of export controls on shipments to Congo
(Léopoldville), 546, 1009
- Military establishment, U.S. :
Measures to strengthen, address and message
(Kennedy), 211, 906
Need for, address (Eisenhower), 180
Role in foreign policy objectives, 191
- Military mission, U.S., agreement extending 1951 agree-
ment with Liberia re, 834
- Millar, John Y., 170
Millard, Maxwell D., 537
- Missiles :
NATO stockpile of, NAC communique, 40
U.S. program :
Acceleration of, address (Kennedy), 211
Expenditures for and status of, message (Eisen-
hower), 141
- Mokaddem, Sadok, 756
- Monetary stabilization (*see also* International Monetary
Fund), U.S. grant to Iceland for, 84
- Morales Carrión, Arturo, 426, 897
- Morgan, George A., 466
- Morocco :
Economic development program, U.S. aid, 935
Treaties, agreements, etc. :
Food for peace, agreement with U.S., 772
IDA, articles of agreement, 169
Investment guaranties, agreement with U.S. providing
for, 643, 653
Radio regulations (1959), 1029
Telecommunication convention (1959), international,
985
U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 941
- Moscow declaration (1960), guide of action for inter-
national communism, address (Kohler), 925
- Moscoso, Teodoro, 605, 741, 764
- Mutual cooperation and security, treaty with Japan,
address (MacArthur), 560, 561
- Mutual defense assistance agreements (*see also* Defense
support, Military mission, *and* Ships and shipping) :
Atomic energy, agreement with Italy for cooperation on
the uses of, 201, 941
Belgium, agreement amending annex B of 1950 agree-
ment, 201
Military equipment and supplies, agreements concern-
ing. *See under* Military equipment
Norway, agreement amending annex C of 1950 agree-
ment, 734
- Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act, proposed amend-
ment of :
Address and statement : Ball, 775 ; Kennedy, 212
Text of, 444
- Mutual defense treaties and arrangements (*see also*
ANZUS treaty, Central Treaty Organization, Mutual
Security, North Atlantic Treaty Organization,
Organization of American States, *and* Southeast Asia
Treaty Organization) :
Treaty with Japan, address (MacArthur), 560, 561
- Mutual defense treaties and arrangements—Con.
U.S. collective defense arrangements, map of, 722
- Mutual security and other assistance programs (*see also*
Agricultural surpluses, Collective security, Defense
support, Economic and technical aid, Foreign aid pro-
grams, Military assistance, Mutual defense, *and*
Peace Corps) :
Basis of, address (Ball), 717
Effect on balance-of-payments problem, address (Ball)
451
Cuban refugees, use of funds for, 47
Investment guaranty program. *See* Investment guar-
anty program
Latin American aid programs, use of funds for adminis-
trative expenses of, statement (Ball), 868
Prohibition of release of documents of, and use of
funds for IGC, letter and certification (Eisen-
hower), 85
Special assistance loan to Bolivia, 531
Yugoslavia, aid to for reform of foreign exchange and
trade systems, 85
- Mutual understanding and cooperation, treaty with Pan-
ama, 381
- NAC. *See* North Atlantic Council
- Narcotic drugs, protocol (1948) bringing under inter-
national control drugs outside scope of 1931 conven-
tion, 425
- NASA. *See* National Aeronautics and Space Administra-
tion
- National Advisory Council for the Peace Corps, appoint-
ment of members of, 583
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration, promo-
tion of commercial use of communication satellites,
statement (Eisenhower), 77
- National defense and security (*see also* Collective security,
Defense, Mutual defense, *and* Mutual security) :
Advancement and status of, message (Eisenhower), 141
Civil defense, importance of to, message (Kennedy),
907
Information programs, relationship to, letter (Sprague)
and report, 184, 191
Need for, influence on American life, address (Eisen-
hower), 180
Strengthening of and reorganization for, message (Ken-
nedy), 906
- National Security Council, recommendation of *ad hoc*
committee of Planning Board of on Communist propa-
ganda, 479
- National Security Institute, recommendation for estab-
lishment of, 185, 188
- Nationalism :
African, aspirations of, address (Williams), 528
Ambitions and demands of, address (Martin), 71
Irresistible force of, statement (Wadsworth), 23
Tunisian views, address (Bourguiba), 850
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Naval vessels. *See under* Ships and shipping
- Navigation, establishment, and friendship treaty and
protocol with Belgium, 383, 390

- Navigation, friendship, and commerce treaty with Italy, agreement supplementing, 424, 425, 501
- Near and Middle East (*see also individual countries*):
 Collective security. *See* Central Treaty Organization
- Refugees, problems of and aid to; remarks and statement: Jones, 929; Wilcox
- U.S. policy in, summary (Herter), 145, 148
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 959
- Netherlands:
 Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
 Revaluation of guilder, 451
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Carriage by air, international, protocol amending 1929 convention for unification of certain rules relating to, 97
 GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169
 OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 Sugar agreement (1958), international, 465
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation (Rice), 653; resignation (Young), 202
- Netherlands Antilles, U.S. consulate at Aruba, closing, 353
- Neutrality:
 Address and statements: Ball, 716; Rusk, 303, 442
 Laotian, U.S. program for, statement (Rusk), 844
- Nevis, convention (1954) concerning customs facilities for touring, 465
- New Guinea, Trust Territory of, convention (1949) on road traffic, with annexes, 985
- New York City, host to the United Nations, address (Stevenson), 410
- New York *Times*, editorial on Cuba cited, statement (Barco), 113
- New Zealand:
 Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 910
 Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Civil air transport, agreement with U.S. supplementing 1946 agreement, 169
 GATT, declaration on relations with Poland, 97, 169
 GATT, 8th protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 IMCO convention, 97
 Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34
 Sugar agreement (1958), international, 169
 U.S. relations with, letters (Eisenhower-Holyoake), 7
- Newly independent nations (*see also* Less developed countries):
 Battle Act amendment sought for aid to, statement (Ball), 776
 Diplomatic relations with, address (Duke), 416
 Nation-building in, addresses: Ball, 717, 719; Cleveland, 861
 Problems confronting, address (Dulles), 339
- Newly independent nations—Continued
 U.N. contributions to, address and statement: Dulles, 340; Wadsworth, 25
 U.S. policy toward, addresses: Bohlen, 967; Kennedy, 175; Stevenson, 806
 U.S.-Indonesian views, joint communique (Kennedy, Sukarno), 713
- N'Goua, Joseph, 524
- Nicaragua:
 Drugs, narcotic, protocol (1948) bringing under international control drugs outside the scope of 1931 convention, 425
 IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653
- Nichols, Clarence W., 500
- Niger:
 Ambassador, to U.S., credentials, 685
 Conseil de l'Entente, proposed U.S. aid to States of, 19
 Meuingitis epidemic, medical assistance for, 492
 Treaties, agreement, etc.:
 Civil aviation convention (1944), international, 985
 Telecommunications convention (1952), international, 34
 UNESCO constitution, 282
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318
- Nigeria:
 Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 114
 Economic and political developments in, addresses: Cummings, 915; Dulles, 769
 Prime Minister Balewa, visit to U.S., 918
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Air services transit agreement (1944), international, 282
 GATT:
 Accession to, 34
 Acknowledged applicable rights and obligations of U.K., 501, 538
 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 IIBRD, articles of agreement, 573
 IFC, articles of agreement, 609
 IMF, articles of agreement, 573
 Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 734
 UNESCO constitution, 98, 282
 WHO constitution, 244
 Treatment of diplomat of, U.S. regret for, text of note, 156
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318
 U.S. economic mission visit to, 857
 U.S. grant assistance, 404, 502
- Nishiyama, Akira, 935
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 436, 445
- Nolting, Frederick E., Jr., 574
- Nongovernmental organizations, role of re the United Nations, address (Stevenson), 804
- Nonintervention principle, relationship to practice of mutual international involvement, address (Cleveland), 860

- Non-self-governing territories (*see also* Self-determination and Trust territories):
- Committee on information from, Portugal requested to cooperate with, statement (Stevenson), 498
 - U.N. Charter declaration regarding, statement (Wadsworth), 22, 24
- North American regional broadcasting agreement and final protocol, 896
- North Atlantic Alliance. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- North Atlantic Council:
- Message (Kennedy), 332
- Miuiisterial meetings:
- Paris (Dec. 1960), message (Eisenhower), statements (Herter), and text of communique, 39
 - Oslo (May 1961), statements (Rusk), text of communique, and U.S. delegation, 756, 800
 - U.S. permanent representative to, confirmation, 426
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization:
- Assembly of and SHAPE headquarters, remarks on visit to (Kennedy), 995, 996
 - Council of. *See* North Atlantic Council
 - Military Committee, meeting of, remarks (Kennedy), 647
 - Nuclear weapons stockpile, statements: Rusk, 438; Wilcox, 95
 - Progress and future of, message and statement: Eisenhower, 39; Herter, 41
 - Role of, remarks and summary: Herter, 145; Kennedy, 995
 - Strengthening of:
 - Need for, Canadian-U.S. joint communique, 843
 - German-U.S. views, joint communique, 370
 - U.S. proposals and views, addresses, message, remarks, and statement: Bohlen, 968; Johnson, 581; Kennedy, 647, 841, 905; Rusk, 303, 689
 - Support of:
 - German-U.S. joint communique, 622
 - U.S. pledge, message (Kennedy), 332
 - Treaty, 12th anniversary of signing, message (Kennedy), 580
 - U.S. relationship to, reappraisal of, address (Bowles), 629
 - Unity of, addresses: Johnson, 581; Kennedy, 210
- North Korea: *A Case Study in the Techniques of Takeover*, Department study released, 737
- Northwest Atlantic Fisheries:
- International commission for, 11th meeting of, 984
 - International convention for, declaration of understanding re. 734, 789, 833
- Norway:
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Disposition of equipment and materials, agreement amending 1953 agreement with U.S. re, 352
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 - GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 - Mutual defense assistance, agreement amending annex C of 1950 agreement with U.S., 734
 - Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding, 833
- Norway—Continued
- Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 - Patent applications for inventions re defense, agreement for safeguarding secrecy of, 34
 - Shipbuilding program, agreement for financing with U.S., 34, 425
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 426
 - N'Thepe, Aimé-Raymond, 177
 - Nubian monuments, UNESCO campaign to preserve, request to Congress for U.S. participation in, 643
 - Nuclear energy. *See* Atomic energy and Nuclear weapons
 - Nuclear Energy Commission, Inter-American, 3rd meeting, U.S. delegation to, 895
 - Nuclear research and training equipment and materials, agreements for the acquisition of, with: Brazil, 653; Israel, 201; Yugoslavia, 834
 - Nuclear weapons:
 - Distribution of:
 - Dangers of, statement (Rusk), 443
 - Irish proposed resolution prohibiting, U.S. position, statement (Wilcox), 95
 - Israeli assurance of nonproduction of, Department statement, 45
 - NATO stockpile, U.S. supply, address, communique, message, remarks, and statements: Kennedy, 647, 841, 905; NAC communique, 40; Rusk, 438; Wilcox, 95
 - Question of U.K. unilateral nuclear disarmament, statement (Rusk), 442
 - Tests, cessation and control of:
 - Geneva conference on. *See* Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests
 - Question of Communist China's participation in negotiations, statement (Rusk), 301, 309
 - U.S. panel of experts established to study, 215
 - U.S. position on, address and statement: Kennedy, 213; Wilcox, 94
 - Tests, Japanese protest of U.S. tests in the Pacific, address, (MacArthur), 558, 559
 - Nyasaland. *See* Rhodesia and Nyasaland
 - OAS. *See* Organization of American States
 - OCB. *See* Operations Coordinating Board
 - Oceanographic research stations in West Indies, agreements with U.K. re, 425
 - OECD. *See* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
 - OEEC. *See* European Economic Cooperation, Organization for
 - Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, reconstitution of, message (Kennedy), 907
 - Oil:
 - CANOL pipeline facilities, agreement with Canada re disposition of, 34
 - Oil pollution convention (1954), Senate approval sought for, statement (Chayes), 776
 - Trade with Dominican Republic, suspension of, 273, 274, 275, 276
 - Olmstead, Freeman B., 302*n*

- Olympio, Sylvanus, 639
- Operation Pan America (*see also* Latin America: Economic and social development), address, message, remarks, and statement: Dillon, 694; Kennedy, 472, 475, 616
- Operations Coordinating Board:
- Abolition of, statement (Kennedy) and Executive order, 345
 - Sprague Committee report on, 183, 185, 194
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development:
- Convention of, with supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding:
 - Current actions, 65, 537, 653
 - Texts of, 11
 - U.S. ratification:
 - Request for, address and statements: Ball, 326; Dillon, 330; Kennedy, 212; Rusk, 323
 - Statement announcing (Kennedy), 514
 - Development Assistance Committee. *See* Development Assistance Committee
 - Development Assistance Group. *See* Development Assistance Group
 - Economic Policy Committee of, U.S. delegation to meeting of, 573
 - Establishment and functions of, addresses, communique, message, remarks, and statements: Ball, 452; Bowles, 629; Canadian-U.S. communique, 843; Dillon, 10; German-U.S. communique, 622; Kennedy, 507, 509, 648, 842; Rusk, 323, 749, 953; text of Ministerial meeting communique, 8
 - Membership of, 8, 324
 - Ministerial meeting of, remarks and statement (Dillon) and text of communique, 8
 - NATO cooperation with, message and communique: Kennedy, 334; NAC communique, 40
 - OAS cooperation with, statement (Dillon), 696
 - U.S.-Canadian views on, joint communique, 488
 - U.S. participation in, messages and remarks: Dillon, 8, 9; Johnson, 582; Kennedy, 290
- Organization for European Economic Cooperation. *See* European Economic Cooperation, Organization for
- Organization of American States:
- Council of:
 - Consideration of further economic sanctions against Dominican Republic, statement (Bonsal), report, and U.S. note, 273
 - Interim U.S. representative to, designation, 897
 - Cuban situation:
 - Challenge to OAS, statement (Stevenson), 670, 671, 673
 - Cuban charge of U.S. plan to annex, U.S. note to OAS Council denying, 765
 - Efforts to resolve, statements (Wadsworth), 106, 107
 - Economic and social development programs for Latin America, role in, statement (Ball), 865, 866
 - OECD, cooperation between, statement (Dillon), 696
 - Permanent educational center, proposed, letter (Ribicoff), 491
 - Role of, and U.S. support, address and summary: Herter, 145; Kennedy, 473
- Organization of American States—Continued
- Strengthening, U.S. views, address, message, and remarks (Kennedy), 212, 477, 615
 - U.S. Ambassador, question of appointing replacement, statement (Rusk), 758
- Outer space:
- Communication satellites, promotion of commercial use of by NASA, statement (Eisenhower), 77
 - International cooperation in exploration of, proposed, addresses and communique: Bowles, 482; Johnson, Nehru, 960; Kennedy, 213
 - Peaceful uses of, U.S. proposals for, summary (Herter), 146
 - Soviet achievements:
 - Launching of space vehicle to Venus, messages (Kennedy, Khrushchev), 369
 - Man-in-space accomplishment, message and statement (Kennedy), 639, 640
 - Tracking stations, agreements for establishment, with: Chile, 1029; U.K., 318, 501, 610, 698
 - U.S. achievements and objectives, message (Kennedy), 908
- Pakistan:
- Afghan-Pakistani relations, article (Byroade), 126
 - Dispute with India over Indus waters, settlement of, 147
 - ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 - Finance Minister, meeting with President Kennedy, 448
 - Invitation to Ambassador Harriman to visit, acceptance of, 489
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 610, 790
 - Air transport agreement, agreement with U.S. revising route annex to, 834
 - Amity, friendship, and commerce, treaty with U.S., 164, 169, 318
 - Carriage by air, international, protocol amending 1929 convention for unification of certain rules relating to, 97
 - Defense support, agreement amending 1955 agreement with U.S. relating to, 610
 - GATT:
 - Declaration on provisional accession of Tunisia, 97
 - Declarations on relations with: Poland, 97, 169; Yugoslavia, 97
 - 5th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97, 169
 - Protocol relating to negotiations for establishment of new schedule III-Brazil, 352
 - Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34, 201
 - Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes, 698
 - Visit of Vice President Johnson, joint communique (Johnson, Khan), 960
 - Palestine, U.N. Conciliation Commission for, work of, statement (Wilcox), 30
 - Palestine Refugees, U.N. Relief and Works Agency for:
 - Review of program of, statement (Wilcox), 28
 - U.S. support, remarks (Jones), 929
 - Palmer, Joseph II, 318

- Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1961, proclamation, 344; remarks (Kennedy), 615
- Pan American Union, purposes and functions, address (Berle), 619
- Pan Pacific Exposition-World Science, U.S. commissioner for, confirmation, 895
- Panama:
- Annuity payment by U.S., 381
 - Cuban invasion of, statement (Wadsworth), 107
 - Drivers' licenses issued in Panama and the Canal Zone, agreement with U.S. for reciprocal recognition of, 202, 501
 - Investment guaranty program, agreement with U.S., 244
 - Seminar on U.S. educational systems, participation in, 311
 - U.S. consulate at Colón to remain open, 352
- Papua, Territory of, convention (1949) on road traffic, 985
- Paraguay:
- Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, convention (1944) on and protocol of amendment to, 317, 537
 - Relief supplies and packages, agreement with U.S. amending 1957 agreement re duty-free entry and exemption from internal taxation, 538
- Parcel post agreements, with: Hong Kong, 318; Korea, 34
- Parsons, J. Graham, 574
- Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, 772, 969
- Passports (*see also* Visas):
- Cuba, special endorsement needed for travel to, 178
 - Nonimmigrant passport visas, agreement with Kuwait for reciprocal granting of, 244
- Patents:
- Applications, agreement with Italy approving procedures for reciprocal filing of, 244
 - Applications for inventions re defense, agreement for safeguarding secrecy of, 34
 - Patents and technical information in defense programs, agreement with Italy, on arrangements respecting, 244
- Pathet Lao, activities in Laos, statements: Harriman, 1025; Kennedy, 543; Rusk, 758
- Patterson, Richard S., 728
- Paz Estenssoro, Victor, 920
- Peace:
- Maintenance of, statements, (Rusk), 307, 308, 440
 - Progress toward, address (Eisenhower), 181
 - U.S. efforts for, address and message (Kennedy), 176, 910
- Peace Committee, Inter-American, 273
- Peace Corps:
- African interest in, address (Williams), 913
 - Aid projects in South and Southeast Asia, 957, 959, 960, 961
 - Establishment of:
 - On temporary pilot basis, Executive order and statement (Kennedy), 400
 - Request for legislation establishing on permanent basis, letter and message (Kennedy), 401, 980
 - Statement proposing (Kennedy), 212
 - Integration with other aid programs, proposed, message (Kennedy), 510, 513
- Peace Corps—Continued
- Internationalizing, question of, remarks (Cleveland), 551
 - National Advisory Council for, appointment of members of, 583
 - Role and importance of, address, letter, and statements: Bohlen, 969; Kennedy, 979; Rusk, 523, 953, 1005
- Peaceful coexistence, Soviet position, address, message, and statement: Khrushchev, 666; Kohler, 925; Rusk, 443
- Peanut oil, proclamation terminating import fees on, 593
- Pentfield, James K., 789
- Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry, Foreign Service officers to study with, 245
- Person-to-person diplomacy:
- In U.S. relations with African people, remarks (Williams), 260, 261
 - Use of to promote trade expansion, statement (Braderman), 316, 317
- Peru:
- Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
 - Drought relief aid to, administration of, Department statement, 923
 - Territorial dispute with Ecuador, U.S. efforts, statement (Rusk), 433
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
- Agricultural commodities, agreement amending 1960 agreement with U.S., 501
 - Customs privileges for Foreign Service personnel, agreement with U.S. granting reciprocal, 465
- GATT:
- Declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 - 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 - Protocol of organizational amendments to, 390
 - Protocol of rectification to French text, 352
 - Protocols amending preamble, parts I, II, and III, and articles XXIX and XXX of, 352
 - Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, convention (1944) on, and protocol of amendment to, 65
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 741
 - U.S. consulate established at Arequipa, 245
 - Visit of President Prado to U.S., proposed, announcement of, 592
- Peterson, Avery F., 574
- Petroleum. *See* Oil
- Philip, M. M., 727
- Philippines:
- Claims under 1950 agreement with U.S., agreement for adjustment of, 555, 574
 - ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 - Peace Corps projects in, 1005
 - Visit of Vice President Johnson, announcement, 750, joint communique (Garcia, Johnson), 957
- Pineapples, new tariff rates established on imports of, proclamation, 419
- Plimpton, Francis T. P., 424, 465, 600, 649
- Point 4 program, address (Ball), 717

- Poland:**
 Congo situation, proposed resolution in Security Council, statement (Barco), 55
 Frozen funds in U.S., projects for use of, address and statement: Ball, 776; Kennedy, 212
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Claims, protocol to agreement for settlement with U.S., 34
 GATT, declaration on relations with Contracting Parties, 97, 573
 Postal convention (1957), universal, 653
 Surplus property, agreement with U.S. re payment of arrearages on 1946 agreement, 574
- Polaris submarine program:**
 Action to step up, address (Kennedy), 211
 Base in Scotland, statement (Rusk), 437
 U.S. supply to NATO, address (Kennedy), 841
- Ponce Luque, Alejandro Teodoro, 114**
- Population explosion and trends:**
 Addresses: Ball, 715; Martin, 72, 75
 Latin America, addresses and message: Berle, 343; Coerr, 251; Kennedy, 509
- Portugal:**
 African territories (*see also* Angola), problems of, address (Dulles), 768
 Membership in IBRD and IMF, 572
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 IBRD and IMF, articles of agreement, 573
 Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 833
 OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision 1958), 425
- Postal agreements and conventions:**
 Insured parcel post, agreement with Korea, 34
 Parcel post, agreement with Hong Kong, 318
 Postal convention with Canada, 244
 Universal postal convention (1957), with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding airmail with final protocol, 134, 653, 833, 896, 1029
- Potsdam conference, *Foreign Relations* volumes on, published, 721**
- Poullada, Leon B., 742**
- Prado, Manuel, 592**
- President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad, recommendations and extracts from report of, and letters (Eisenhower, Sprague) re, 182**
- Press, the:**
 Cuban suppression of free press, statement (Wadsworth), 108, 109, 111
 Foreign policy briefings, invitation to attend, 431, 432
 Freedom of. *See* Freedom of information
 Newsmen:
 Accredited to State Department, obligation of, statement (Rusk), 296
 Exchange with Communist China, efforts for, statement (Rusk), 438
 Role in combating communism, address (Tubby), 474
 Self-discipline of, address (Kennedy), 796
- Prisoners of war, Geneva convention (1949) on treatment of, 609**
- Private capital, investment abroad. *See* Investment of private capital abroad**
- Private enterprise:**
 Communication satellites program, role in, 77
 Development of less developed countries, role in, address and message: Coffin, 457, 458; Kennedy, 478
 Investment abroad. *See* Investment of private capital abroad
- Proclamations by the President:**
 Bicycles and pineapples, establishing new tariffs on imports (3394), 420
 Centennial of Italian unification, 1961 (3398), 487
 Great Lakes Pilotage Act, designation of restricted waters under (3385), 162
 Honduran trade agreement (1935), terminated in part (3390), 178
 Immigration quota for Mauritania (3384), 49
 Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1961 (3392), 344
 Peanut oil, flaxseed, and linseed oil, termination of import fees on (3402), 593
 Sugar quota for Cuba, (3383), 18; (3401), 592
 United Nations Day, 1961 (3415), 939
 Wool fabrics, modification of duty on imports (3387), 87
 World Trade Week, 1961 (3408), 721
- Propaganda:**
 Communist:
 Attacks on U.S. in Latin America, addresses (Berle), 343, 344
 Broadcasts to Latin America, message (Kennedy), 905
 Media, operations, and policy, address (Tubby), 973
 U.S. program of intercepting, discontinued, 479
 Cuban, charges against U.S. in Security Council, statements (Wadsworth), 106, 108, 109, 110
 Need for moratorium on, remarks (Stevensou), 276
 Soviet Union:
 Sprague Committee report, 184, 192, 193
 Use of democratic terms and Russian classics, address (Kohler), 926, 928
- Property, cultural, convention (1954) and protocol for protection in event of armed conflict, 282**
- Property, surplus, agreement with Poland re payment of arrearages on 1946 agreement, 574**
- Proteus polaris base in Scotland, statement (Rusk), 437**
- Protocol, perspectives in, address (Duke), 414**
- Public Law 480. *See* Agricultural surpluses and Agricultural Trade**
- Public opinion, importance and need for consideration of in formulating foreign policy, remarks and report: Rusk, 398; Sprague Committee report, 184, 185, 190, 196**
- Public service and servants:**
 Initiative and responsibility, address (Kennedy), 213
 Need to strengthen, remarks (Rusk), 640
- Publications:**
 Congressional documents relating to foreign policy, lists of, 162, 271, 313, 383, 562, 599, 645, 727, 935, 980, 1022

Publications—Continued

- Cuban refugees, list of reports and surveys on, 224
Distribution of American books and publications abroad, recommendations re, 194
Exchange of international and official publications and government documents, 1958 conventions on, 134
Monthly Climatic Data for the World, U.S. publication sponsored by WMO, 280
Official publications, agreement with Viet-Nam for exchange of, 698
State Department :
 Foreign Relations of the United States, published :
 The Conference at Berlin (The Potsdam Conference), 1945, 721
 The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943, 1029
 1940, Volume V, The American Republics, 942
 1942, Volume III, Europe, 897
 German war documents, volume XI, released, 692
 Lists of recent releases, 66, 98, 170, 202, 245, 353, 466, 502, 654, 742, 790, 898, 942, 986, 1030
 North Korea: A Case Study in the Techniques of Takeover, released, 737
 The Situation in Laos, 115
 United Nations, lists of current documents, 62, 124, 281, 349, 464, 651, 741, 940, 984, 1028
Puerto Rico :
 Economic development programs in, statement (Moscoso), 605, 606, 608
 Educational workshop for Latin American teachers to observe U.S. methods, 311
 "Operation Bootstrap," 764
 Political status of, statement (Wadsworth), 24
Quadros, Janio, 437
Raab, Julius, 591
Racial discrimination :
 Incidents involving diplomats, U.S. efforts to eliminate, address, announcement, note, and letter: Department announcement, 732; Rusk, 975; text of U.S. note, 156; Williams, 732
 International relations and problem of, address (Rowan), 407
 Manifestations of anti-Semitism, statement (Tree), 463
Radio. *See* Telecommunications
Radio and television directors and commentators invited to foreign policy briefings, 431, 432
Radioactivity, atomic :
 Agreement with Australia re sampling by means of balloons in the upper atmosphere, 941
 U.N. Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, U.S. delegation to 9th session, 499
Randall, Clarence B., 157
RB-47 incident, Soviet release of fliers, statement (Rusk), 302, 302n
Reams, R. Borden, 318
Reciprocal trade agreement (1935) with Honduras, agreement terminating portions of, 318; proclamation re, 178
Reciprocity Information, Committee for :
 Functions of, 267, 418
 Notice of public hearings on GATT talks, 419
Reconstruction and Development, International Bank for. *See* International Bank
Red Cross, American National, assistance with Cuban refugee problem, 47
Red Cross, International :
 Examination of detained persons in the Congo, U.S. views on, statement (Wadsworth), 53; text of 4-Power draft resolution, 56
 International Committee of the, protocol renewing and amending agreement (1955) re relations with the International Tracing Service, 169
Refugees, U.S. Committee for, 48
Refugees and displaced persons :
 Arab refugees, U.S. and U.N. aid and efforts to solve problem of, statement (Wilcox), 28
 Austrian refugee camps, U.S. contributions to close, 454
 German :
 Claims on German dollar bonds, statement (Davis), 598
 Flight from East Germany, addresses: Berding, 153; Dowling, 599
 ICEM aid to, article (Warren), 386
 International Tracing Service, agreement and protocols relating to 1955 agreement, 168
 Ruanda-Urundi, amnesty for political refugees, General Assembly resolution and statement (Bingham), 786, 788
 U.S. philosophy and policies on problems of, remarks (Jones), 928
Reid, Ogden R., 170
Reiner, Herbert, 734
Reinhardt, G. Frederick, 741
Reischauer, Edwin O., 653
Relief and rehabilitation. *See* Refugees and individual countries
Relief supplies and packages :
 Afghanistan, agreement for duty-free entry and defrayment of inland transport charges with, 317
 Paraguay, agreement amending 1957 agreement for duty-free entry and exemption from internal taxation on, 538
"Renunciation of force" principle, summary (Herter), 145
Representation allowance, address (Duke), 415
Research (*see also* Science) :
 Economic development, need for program of, statement (Rusk), 952
 Increased Government participation in, address (Eisenhower), 181
 Industrial development research programs, statement (Moscoso), 605, 606, 608
 Information activities, importance of research in, Sprague Committee report, 188
 SEATO fellowship program for, announcement of, 163
Revolution of rising expectations, addresses: Bowles, 704; Rusk, 515
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of :
 ICA representative, appointment, 654
 ICEM, withdrawal from, 387

Rhodesia and Nyasaland—Continued

- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 - GATT, procès-verbal extending validity of 1959 declaration extending standstill provisions of article XVI:4, 201
 - Radio regulations (1959), 609
 - Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes and final protocol, 134
- Ribicoff, Abraham, 257, 309, 310, 490
- Rice, John S., 653
- Rivkin, Arnold, 857
- Roa, Raúl, 104, 667
- Road traffic, convention (1949) on, with annexes, 201, 653, 698, 985
- Roberts, Ralph S., 574
- Rockefeller Public Service Awards, remarks (Rusk), 640
- Rocket, Rover nuclear, appropriation for development of, 909
- Rome Treaty, 268, 295
- Romulo, Carlos, 407
- Romulo-Snyder agreement (1950), memorandum of understanding with Philippines re, 555, 556, 574
- Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor, 424
- Rover nuclear rocket, appropriation for development of, 909
- Rowan, Carl T., 405, 426, 795
- Ruanda-Urundi, Trust Territory of :
 - Administration and future of, U.S. views, statement (Bingham), and text of General Assembly resolution, 785
 - Security Council consideration of Soviet complaint of Belgian violation of trusteeship agreement, statement (Barco) and proposed resolution, 199, 200, 201*n*
- Rubber Study Group, International, work of, article (Mellen), 78, 202
- Rubin, Seymour J., 454
- Rumania :
 - Cultural and other exchanges, agreement with U.S., 34
 - Road traffic, convention (1949) on, 653

Rusk, Dean—Continued

- Addresses, remarks, and statements—Continued
- China, Communist—Continued
 - Participation in disarmament negotiations, question of, 301, 309
 - U.N. representation question, 303, 434, 523
 - U.S. views re, 441
- Colonialism, U.S. attitude, 441, 521
- Communist penetration in Western Hemisphere, 686
- Congo situation, 296, 297, 299, 300, 304, 431, 433, 439, 442, 516
- Cuban situation, 297, 301, 303, 433, 524, 686, 690, 759, 760, 762
- DC-3, use in Berlin operation, 437
- Defense, U.S., strengthening of, 399
- Democracy, 441
- Diplomatic channels, use of for negotiations, 214, 434, 519, 522
- Disarmament, negotiations on and U.S. position, 301, 309, 436, 440, 442, 443, 517, 520, 521
- Foreign aid program, 518, 626, 747, 947, 1000
- Foreign policy. *See under* Foreign policy
- Geneva conference on discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests, 299, 433, 435, 520, 521, 524, 690
- German-U.S. relations, 300, 334, 439, 623
- Greece, visit of Prime Minister to U.S., 686
- Heads of government meetings, views on, 300, 304, 308, 443
- ICA regional community development conference at Seoul, U.S. representative, 757
- India :
 - Dedication of postage stamp honoring Gandhi, 262
 - U.S. aid, 759
- Interdepartmental Task Force on Latin America, establishment of, 298
- Japanese goods, proposed boycott against, 435
- Laos situation. *See* Laos situation : Addresses
- NATO, proposals for strengthening of, 303, 438, 689
- Latin America :
 - Inter-American consultations on problems of, 758, 760
 - Sino-Soviet bloc influence in, 762
 - U.S. program for development, 297, 301, 437, 523, 759
- Neutrality, 303, 442
- Nuclear weapons, danger of distributing, 443
- OECD, review of, 323
- Peace, 307, 308, 440
- Peace Corps, 523
- Press corps, obligation to the public, 296
- Presidential coat of arms, symbolism on, 305
- President Nkrumah of Ghana, visit of, 436
- Polaris base in Scotland, 437
- Peripheral wars, 763
- RB-47 fliers, Soviet release of, 302
- Rio de Janeiro protocol of 1942, U.S. views, 433
- Rockefeller Public Service Awards, 640
- Secretary of State :
 - Appointment as and role of, 306, 439
 - Travels of, 434
- Soviet Union :
 - Coexistence policy, 443
 - Negotiating with, 303, 307, 308, 520
 - U.S. relations with, 302, 442

Rusk, Dean—Continued

- Addresses, remarks, and statements—Continued
 - Tripartitism in international organizations and conferences, 688, 691
- United Nations:
 - Armed force, permanent, question of, 521
 - Strengthening, 522
 - U.K. unilateral nuclear disarmament, question of, 442
 - U.S. Naval Task Force off African coast, 433
 - Vice President Johnson's visit to Southeast Asia, 762
 - Viet-Nam, situation in, 757, 758, 759, 761
- Confirmation as Secretary of State, 202
- Correspondence and messages:
 - CENTO, sixth anniversary, message to Secretary General Baig, 424
 - Diplomatic and consular posts, greetings to, 244
 - Interstate bus facilities, desegregation of, Department support of, 975
- Interview by Robert Kee for British television network, transcript of, 439
- Interview on "Today" TV show, 305
- Meetings:
 - CENTO, 9th Ministerial meeting, statements and text of communique, 756, 778, 780
 - Greek Prime Minister, welcome to U.S., 724
 - Korean Foreign Minister, joint statement, 711
 - NATO Ministerial meeting, statements and text of communique, 756, 800
 - SEATO, 7th Council of Ministers meeting, statements and text of communique, 334, 434, 547, 689, 759
 - Soviet Foreign Minister, agreed statement, 479
 - Tunisian President and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 756
 - U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 579
 - News conferences, 296, 431, 519, 686, 756
- Russell, Francis H., 318
- Rutter, Peter, 170
- Ryukyu Islands, U.S.-Japanese cooperation in social and economic development of, address (MacArthur), 558, 559
- Safety of life at sea:
 - Convention (1948) on, 501
 - International load line convention (1930), 317
- St. Christopher, Nevis, and Anguilla, customs facilities for touring, convention (1954), 389, 465
- St. Lawrence River, agreement with Canada re pilotage system for vessels navigating, 834, 895
- Salinger, Pierre, 177
- Salter, John L., 466
- Samii, Cyprus, 50
- Sanctions:
 - Dominican Republic, OAS extension of economic sanctions against, 273
 - Union of South Africa, proposed imposition of by African U.N. members, statement (Plimpton) and text of resolution, 602, 604
- Sarasin, Pote, 117
- Satellites, earth (*see also* Outer space):
 - Communications satellites:
 - Agreements with, France, 653; U.K., 610
 - Appropriation for study of, increase in, 909

Satellites, earth—Continued

- Communications satellites—Continued
 - Commercial use of, promotion by NASA, statement (Eisenhower), 77
 - International cooperation in developing, proposed, address (Kennedy), 213
 - Tracking stations, agreements with: Chile, 1029; U.K., 318, 501, 610, 698
- Satterthwaite, Joseph C., 741
- Saudi Arabia:
 - Dhahran airfield agreement with U.S., nonrenewal of, Department statement, 490
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 - Postal convention (1957), universal, 896
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 741
- Schmidt Pritchard and Company v. United States*, 50, 420
- Scholarship and science, international exchange in, remarks (Rusk) 625, 627
- Science (*see also* Atomic energy, Nuclear weapons, Outer space, Satellites, and Research):
 - Climatology, WMO meeting and need for worldwide exchange of data on, article (Landsberg), 279, 280
 - International conferences, State Department policy re attendance of government scientists, 96
 - International cooperation in research, contributions and proposed increase of, addresses and remarks: Kennedy, 176, 213, 473; Rusk, 625
 - Role of scientific and technological programs in U.S. foreign policy, 191
 - Scientific development, problem to less developed areas, address (Martin), 72
- Scotland, Proteus polaris base in, statement, (Rusk), 437
- Sea, law of the. *See* Law of the sea
- SEATO. *See* Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
- Seaver, Robert E., 651
- Secretary-General, U.N. *See* United Nations: Office of the Secretary-General
- Secretary of State:
 - Appointment as, statement (Rusk), 439
 - Problems and responsibilities of, statements: Garroway, 305; Rusk, 306
 - Role in proposed new foreign aid program, letter and message (Kennedy), 510, 979
 - Travel of, statement (Rusk), 434
- Security Council, U.N.:
 - Angola, consideration of situation in, U.S. position on, statement (Stevenson), and draft resolution, 497
 - Congo problem, consideration of. *See under* Congo situation
 - Cuba, consideration of complaint of U.S. intended aggression, statements (Barco, Wadsworth), 104
 - Documents, lists of, 281, 349, 464, 652, 940, 1028
 - Israeli violation of armistice agreement, consideration of Jordan complaint re, statement (Plimpton), 649
 - Racial problem in Union of South Africa, action re, statement (Plimpton), 601
 - Resolutions on Congo situation:
 - Measures to restore order in the, 368
 - Safeguarding of civil and human rights in the, 56

Security Council, U.N.—Continued

Ruanda-Urundi, Trust Territory of, attacks on Belgium as administrator of, statement (Barco), 199, 200, 201*n*

U.S. views on, statement (Stevenson), 385

U.S. representatives to: confirmations, Plimpton, 465, Stevenson, 202, Yost, 353; resignation (Barco), 66

Veto:

Soviet use of, 56*n*

U.S. position on use of, summary (Herter), 148

Self-determination:

Application to Algerian question, statement (Wilcox) and text of General Assembly resolution, 63

Soviet attitude toward, address (Dowling), 591

U.S. position on, addresses, remarks, and statements: Bohlen, 967; Bourguiba, 850; Rowan, 800; Stevenson, 277, 385, 499; Wadsworth, 22, 24; Williams, 912

Self-help, new concept in aid programs, address and message: Kennedy, 476; Rusk, 749

Senegal:

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Air services transit, international agreement (1944), 501

Economic, financial, technical, and related assistance, agreement with U.S., 896

ICAO, Assembly of, protocol re sessions of, 537

IMCO convention, 97

Law of the sea, conventions on, 833

Technical cooperation, agreement with U.S., 833

Telecommunications conventions, international, 34, 244

UNESCO constitution, 98, 282

WHO constitution, 97

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 318

Seward, William H., 728

Shergalis, William, 676

Ships and shipping:

Diplomatic conference on maritime law, U.S. delegation, 651

Great Lakes, proclamation designating areas requiring registered pilots, 162

IMCO convention (1948), 97, 244, 425, 465, 609, 985

Licenses for arms shipments to the Congo, required for U.S.-registered vessels, 546

Tonnage measurement rules, need for universal agreement on, article (Gulick), 594

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Load line convention (1930), international, 317

Navigation, friendship, and commerce, treaties with: Belgium, 383, 390; Italy, 424, 425, 501

Pilotage services on Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, agreement with Canada governing coordination of, 834, 895

Safety of life at sea, convention (1948) on, 501

Shipbuilding program, agreements with: Denmark, 1029; Norway, 34, 425

U.S. naval vessels, loan of. *See infra*

U.S. naval vessels:

Paleshty, U.S. rejection of Soviet charges of harassment, exchange of notes, 117

Loan of, agreements with: Argentina, 169; Brazil, 244; Chile, 65; Republic of China, 318; Korea, 244

Ships and shipping—Continued

U.S. naval vessels—Continued

Naval Task Force, off African Coast, background on change of orders to, statement (Rusk), 433

Polaris submarine program, 211, 437, 841

Soviet charge of halting the tanker *Sverdlovsk*, U.S. reply to, texts of U.S. and Soviet notes, 177

Shoaib, Mohammed, 448

Sidya, Souleymane Ould Cheikh, 857

Sierra Leone:

GATT, accession to, 983

Independence, congratulations on, message (Kennedy), 733

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Economic, technical, and related assistance, agreement with U.S., 985

Investment guaranties, agreement with U.S. providing, 1029

Sugar agreement (1958), international, cessation of application to, 941

U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 941

U.S. consulate general at Freetown, elevation to Embassy status, 734

Sihanouk, Prince Norodom, 760

Singer, Daniel M., 96

Sino-Soviet bloc (*see also* Communism and individual countries):

Activities in Africa, address (Williams), 530

Aid to Afghanistan, address (Byroade), 131

Exchange of persons with, Sprague Committee report, 185, 190

Economic offensive. *See* Less developed countries: Economic offensive

Propaganda. *See* Propaganda: Communist

Relations with Cuba, statements: Rusk, 762; Stevenson, 672

Subversive activities. *See* Communism

Slater, Joseph Elliott, 574

Smith, Gerard C., 170

Social Commission of ECOSOC, U.S. representative, confirmation, 741

Social development:

Africa, importance of in, address and statement: Kotschnig; 377, 380; Williams, 913

Ecuador, discussions re U.S. assistance, joint announcement, 83

Korean program of, letter (Bowles), 931

Latin America. *See under* Latin America

Measures for, proposals to committee of U.N. Economic and Social Council, statement (Moscoso), 606

Need for emphasis on, addresses and statements: Martin, 822; Rusk, 952, 1004; Stevenson, 807, 808

Objective of foreign aid program, address and remarks: Dillon, 10; Rusk, 749

Relationship to political development, address (Kennedy), 474

West Indies, U.S. aid to, 42, 43, 44

Social development fund. *See* Inter-American Fund for Social Progress

Somali :

- UNESCO constitution, 282
- Universal postal convention (1957), 134
- WHO constitution, 573
- U.S. technical aid to, 318
- Songolo, Alphonse, 53, 58
- South Africa, Republic of. *See* Union of South Africa
- South and Southeast Asia. *See* Asia and individual countries
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization :
 - Cholera research project, Thai-U.S. agreement re conversion of to medical research laboratory, 501
 - Council of Ministers, 7th meeting :
 - Addresses, remarks, and statements: Kennedy, 334, 544; Rusk, 434, 547, 689, 759
 - Communique, 549
 - Laos situation, consideration of, remarks, statements, and texts of communique: Department, 76; Kennedy, 544; Rusk, 689, 759; SEATO communique, 117, 549
 - U.S. delegation, 550
 - Council Representatives, meeting of, text of communique, 117
 - Heads of universities conference, announcement, 96
 - Research fellowship program (1961-62), announcement of, 163
 - Role of, summary (Herter), 145
 - U.S.-Australian support of, text of joint communique (Kennedy, Menzies), 372
 - U.S.-Thai support, joint communique, 959
- South-West Africa, Territory of :
 - International telecommunication convention (1959), with annexes, 698
 - U.N. consideration of Union of South Africa's administration of, statement (Bingham) and text of U.N. resolution, 569
- Souvanna Phouma, Prince, 115, 116, 687, 689
- Soviet Union (*see also* Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Communism, Sino-Soviet bloc, and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) :
 - Afghanistan, interest in and policy toward, address (Byroade), 125, 128, 131, 132
 - Africa, imperialism in, address (Stevenson), 412, 413
 - Algerian question, Soviet position, statement (Wilcox), 63
 - Armaments, Soviet refusal to agree to international control and reduction of, summary (Herter), 147
 - Belgium, charges against for actions in the Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi, statement (Barco), 199
 - Berlin situation. *See* Berlin
 - Coexistence policy of, address, message, and statement: Khrushchev, 666; Kohler, 925; Rusk, 443
 - Colonialism of, statement (Wadsworth), 23
 - Congo situation. *See* Congo situation
 - Cuban situation. *See* Cuban situation
 - Disarmament position, address, statement, and summary: Gullion, 635, 636; Herter, 147; Stevenson, 568
 - ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 - Economic offensive in less developed countries. *See* Less developed countries: Economic offensive

Soviet Union—Continued

- Faleshty*, complaint of harassment by U.S. Navy of, exchange of notes, 117
- Foreign Minister Gromyko meeting with Secretary Rusk on international situation, agreed statement, 479
- Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests. *See* Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests
- German reunification, Soviet views on, addresses and report: Berding, 153; Dowling, 589, 591; Kennedy, 993
- IAEA, Soviet nonsupport of, statement (Wilcox), 93
- Khrushchev. *See* Khrushchev
- Korean reunification, Soviet position in U.N. debate on, statements (Stevenson), 736, 738
- Laos situation, Soviet role in. *See under* Laos
- Launching of space vehicle to Venus, messages (Kennedy, Khrushchev), 369
- Man-in-space achievement, U.S. congratulations on, statement and message (Kennedy), 639, 640
- Newly independent countries, Soviet policy, address (Bohlen), 967
- Nuclear weapons, control and inspection of, Soviet position, statement (Wilcox), 94
- Outer space: peaceful uses of :
 - Proposed U.S.-Soviet cooperation in, address (Kennedy), 213
 - U.N. committee, Soviet position, summary (Herter), 146
- Propaganda. *See* Propaganda
- Publication of information re USAF survivors of C-130 shot down over Soviet Armenia, texts of U.S. and Soviet notes, 257
- Security Council, use of veto in, 56*n*
- Sverdlovsk*, allegations re U.S. halting of, text of U.S. and Soviet notes, 177
- Travel restrictions, U.S.-Soviet :
 - Lists of closed areas: Soviet, 124; U.S., 120
 - U.S. proposal to abolish, U.S. announcement and note, 118
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Continental shelf, convention on (1958), 134
 - High seas, convention on (1958), 134
 - Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 833
 - Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 985
 - Territorial sea and contiguous zone, convention on (1958), 134
- U.S.-Soviet relations :
 - Addresses and statements: Bohlen, 969; Bowles, 630; Kennedy, 210; Rusk, 302, 442
 - Ambassador Thompson-Premier Khrushchev discussions, 214
 - Exchange of messages (Kennedy, Brezhnev, Khrushchev), 214
 - President Kennedy-Premier Khrushchev discussions, 992, 999

- Soviet Union—Continued
- United Nations:
 - Activities of Soviet U.N. employees, 55
 - Soviet attacks against. *See* United Nations: Office of Secretary-General
 - Spain:
 - ICEM aid in resettlement of Spanish nationals from Morocco, article (Warren), 387
 - IFC membership, 91
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S., 985
 - Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 789
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 - Radio regulations (1959), applicable also to Spanish Provinces in Africa, 609
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653
 - Sparkman, John J., 757
 - Sparks, Edward J., 789
 - Special assistance:
 - Afghanistan, article (Byroade), 130
 - Loan to Bolivia, 531
 - Yugoslavia, agreement providing, 352
 - Special Fund, U.N., 148
 - Special services program, agreement with Brazil extending 1953 agreement, 318
 - Specialized agencies, U.N.:
 - Aid to Afghanistan, article (Byroade), 131
 - U.S. support, address and statements: Kotschnig, 378; Stevenson, 536; Williams, 375
 - Spilhaus, Dr. Athelstan, 895
 - Sporting competitions, international, recommended encouragement of U.S. participation in, 193
 - Sprague, Mansfield, 183
 - Sprout, Allan, 215
 - State Department (*see also* Foreign Service, International Cooperation Administration, *and* Peace Corps):
 - Administration of P.L. 480, delegation of functions to, Executive order, 159
 - AID, proposed establishment in, 978
 - Alliance for Progress, State Department role in, memorandum (Ball), 919
 - Ambassador at Large, confirmation (Harriman), 318
 - Appointments and designations, 170, 245, 318, 426, 466, 501, 574, 742, 897, 941, 985, 1029
 - Assistant Secretaries of State:
 - Confirmations: Cleveland, 390; Coombs, 465; Crockett, 390; Hays, 390; McConaughy, 741; Talbot, 742; Tubby, 426; Williams, 282
 - Resignation (Smith), 170
 - Role in Department, statement (Rusk), 296, 299
 - Budget of, increase in, address (Bohlen), 966
 - Campaign to erase race incidents involving diplomats, 732
 - Chief of Protocol, duties, address (Duke), 417
 - Counselor (McGhee), confirmation, 353
 - Deputy Under Secretaries of State, confirmations: Johnson, 798; Jones, 282
 - Foreign aid program, role in administration of, 953, 1003
 - Foreign policy briefings, announcement, 431, 432
 - State Department—Continued
 - Interim U.S. Representative to the Council of OAS, designation, 897
 - Legal Adviser: confirmation (Chayes), 318; resignation (Hager), 170
 - Mutual Security Program funds, use of for Office of Inspector General and Comptroller, letter (Eisenhower), 85
 - New State extension, dedication and description of, 154
 - Personnel, exchange program with Defense Department for training, 169
 - Policy officer, problems confronting, remarks (Rusk), 397
 - Publications. *See under* Publications
 - Resignations, 143, 144, 170, 202
 - Role in foreign policy, statement (Rusk), 396
 - Secretary of State: confirmation (Rusk), 202; resignation (Herter), 143, 144, 170
 - U.S. delegate to Inter-American Commission for Women, appointment, 742
 - U.S. representative to Economic Commission for Europe of ECOSOC, confirmation, 741
 - U.S. representative to Social Commission of ECOSOC, confirmation, 741
 - Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs confirmation (Ball), 282
 - Under Secretary of State: confirmation (Bowles), 245; resignation (Dillon), 170
 - USIA, structural relationship with, Sprague Committee report, 188, 195
 - State of the Union, address and message: Eisenhower, 139; Kennedy, 207
 - Status-of-forces agreement with Korea, question of, statements: Chyung, Rusk, 712; Rusk, 437
 - Steel Committee (ECE), U.S. delegation to 25th session, 537
 - Steinbeck, John, cited, 408
 - Stern, Philip M., 426
 - Stevenson, Adlai E.:
 - Addresses and statements:
 - African development, 534
 - Angola situation, U.S. position, 497
 - Congo situation, U.S. views on, 359, 532, 781
 - Cuban situation, repudiation of charges of U.S. aggression, 667
 - Disarmament, U.S. support of consideration of at 16th session of General Assembly, 568
 - Korean reunification, U.S. views, 736
 - United Nations, guardian of peace, 410
 - United Nations, U.S. policy and support, 276, 384
 - United Nations and nongovernmental organizations, 804
 - Mission to South America, statement (Kennedy), itinerary, and members of party, 970
 - U.S. representative to the U.N. and the Security Council, confirmation, 202
 - Stevenson, William E., 96
 - Stikker, D. U., 801
 - Stockdale, Edward G., 653

- Strauss, Elliott B., 65
 Strom, Carl W., 1029
 Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 463
 Sudan:
 Membership in IFC, 91
 Nubian monuments, U.S. aid to save, President's request to Congress for, 643
 Sugar:
 Cuban quota, determination of, proclamations and statements: Eisenhower, 18; Martin, 562; Stevenson, 677; texts of proclamations, 18, 592
 International sugar agreement (1958), 169, 352, 389, 465, 941
 Sugar Act of 1948, extension and amendment of, statements: Eisenhower, 195; Martin, 562
 Sukarno, Dr., 262, 712
 Summit diplomacy and meetings, administration policy toward, statements (Rusk), 300, 304, 308, 443
 Supreme Court, bicycles and spring clothespins, invalidation of tariff rates on, 50
 Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, 996
 Surplus property, agreement with Poland re payment of arrearages on 1946 agreement, 574
Sverdlovsk incident, 177
 Sweden:
 Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Classified information, equipment, materials, or services related to defense, agreement with U.S. for safeguarding of, 282
 GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
 OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 Radio regulations (1959), 1029
 Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 390
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 574
 Switzerland:
 Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 7
 Diplomatic and consular representation of U.S. in Cuba, assumption of responsibility for, 104
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 Aircraft, international recognition of rights in, convention (1948) on, 896
 GATT, declaration on provisional accession to, 97
 GATT, declaration on relations with: Poland, 97, 169; Yugoslavia, 97
 OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 390
 Symington, James, 312
 Taiwan. *See* China, Republic of
 Takita, Minoru, 404
 Talbot, Phillips, 742
 Tanganyika:
 Education program, U.S. aid, 218
 IFC investment in, 90
 Peace Corps projects in, 1005
 Tauntenwald, Theodore, Jr., 985
 Tariff Commission, U.S., 50, 593
 Tariff policy, U.S. (*see also* Customs; *and* Tariffs and Trade, general agreement on):
 Bicycles and pineapples, new tariff rates on imports of established, announcement and proclamation, 419
 Cuban sugar quota, determination of, proclamations and statements: Eisenhower, 18; Martin, 562; Stevenson, 677; texts of proclamations, 18, 592
 Objectives of, message (Kennedy), 293
 Peanut oil, flaxseed, and linseed oil, proclamation terminating import fees on, 593
 Spring clothespins and bicycles, action to modify concessions on, 50
 Twines and cordage, decision re escape-clause action on imports of, 313
 Wool fabric imports, modification of duty on, proclamation, 87
 Tariffs and trade, general agreement on:
 Accession of Nigeria, 34
 Analysis of, address and article: Catudal, 1010; Hadraha, 265
 Consultations under articles XII and XVIII: B re import restrictions for balance of payments reasons, 418, 832, 983
 Contracting Parties:
 18th session of:
 Problems confronting and U.S. delegation to, 832
 U.S. delegation report on, 982
 List of, 1012
 Declarations, procès-verbal, and protocols:
 Ancey protocol of terms of accession to, 538
 Declarations on provisional accessions of: Argentina, 896; Israel, 97; Switzerland, 97; Tunisia, 97
 Declarations on relations with: Yugoslavia, 97, Poland, 97, 169, 573
 Procès-verbal extending validity of 1959 declaration extending standstill provisions of article XVI:4, 201
 Protocol of rectification to French text, 352
 Protocol relating to establishment of new schedule III-Brazil, 201, 352
 Protocol replacing schedule I (Australia), 537
 Protocol replacing schedule VI (Ceylon), 538
 Protocols amending and modifying, 352, 390, 501, 985
 Rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, protocols of, 97, 169, 201, 537, 538, 896
 Torquay protocol and schedules of tariff concessions annexed to, 538
 Japan, tariff concessions renegotiated with, lists of modifications, 826
 1961 GATT tariff negotiations conference at Geneva:
 Address (Hadraha), 267
 EEC-U.S. views, joint communique (Hallstein, Kennedy), 868
 Tariff negotiations with EEC, 267, 488, 843, 939, 933
 U.S. delegation, public advisers named for phase two of conference, 938
 U.S. supplemental list of imports, correction to, 161
 Task Force on Foreign Aid, 919, 951
 Task Force on Latin America, Interdepartmental, establishment and membership of and statement (Rusk), 298

- Taxation:**
 Changes recommended to improve U.S. balance-of-payments position, message (Kennedy), 290, 293
 Double taxation, conventions for avoidance of, with: Canada, 351, 352; U.A.R., 64, 65
 Reforms in Latin America, address (Coerr), 254, 255
 Relief supplies and packages, agreement with Paraguay for exemption from internal taxation, 538
 Tonnage taxes on foreign vessels entering ports, computation of, address (Gulick), 594
- Teachers:**
 Need for in less-developed areas, address (Martin), 74
 Peace Corps to provide, message (Kennedy), 402
 U.S. aid to East Africa, 218
- Technical aid to foreign countries. See Economic and technical aid to foreign countries**
- Technical assistance, U.N. See under United Nations**
- Tehran conference, 1943, volume on, released, 1029**
- Telecommunication Union, International, 830**
- Telecommunications:**
 Communications satellites. *See under Satellites*
 International telecommunication convention (1952), 34, 134, 244, 425
 International telecommunication convention (1959), with annexes and final protocol:
 Current actions, 134, 244, 390, 425, 573, 609, 653, 698, 734, 789, 985, 1029
 Request for Senate approval, statement (Martin), 830
 North American regional broadcasting agreement (1950) and final protocol, 896
 Radio regulations (1959), with appendixes, annexed to international telecommunication convention (1959):
 Current actions, 134, 609, 834, 985, 1029
 Request for Senate approval, statement (Martin), 830, 831
 Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision 1958) annexed to international telecommunication convention (1952) with appendixes and final protocol, 34, 425
 Television, need for U.S. expansion of overseas broadcasting, 194
- Telles, Raymond, 741**
- Territorial waters:**
 Convention on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, 134, 317, 425, 698, 833
 Continental shelf, convention on, 317, 425, 698
- Textiles:**
 U.S. program of assistance for textile industry, address and announcement: Kennedy, 825; Martin, 824
 Under Secretary Ball's visit to Europe for discussions on problems of, 825
- Thailand:**
 Community development project in, SEATO communique re, 550
 ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
 Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 SEATO cholera research project, agreement with U.S. re conversion of to medical research laboratory, 501
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 653
- Thailand--Continued**
 Visit of Vice President Johnson, joint communique (Johnson, Thanarat), 958
 Thanarat, Sarit, 958
 Thompson, Llewellyn E., 214
 Thompson, Tyler, 742
 Thorp, Willard L., 454
 Tillett, Mrs. Gladys A., 465
 Timberlake, Clare H., 434
 Tito, Josip Broz, 444
 Tobago. *See West Indies*
- Togo:**
 Congratulations on inauguration of first President, letter (Kennedy), 639
 Economic and technical assistance, agreement with U.S., 84, 134
 UNESCO constitution, 282
 U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 742
- Tonnage measurement rules, need for universal agreement on, article (Gulick), 594**
- Touring. See Travel**
- Tracing Service, International, agreement and protocols relating to 1955 agreement, 169**
- Tracking stations (Project Mercury), agreements for cooperation in establishment and operation of, with: Chile, 1029; U.K., 318, 501, 610, 698**
- Tractors-for-freedom movement, support urged for, statement (Kennedy), 934**
- Trade (see also Agricultural surpluses, Customs, Economic policy, Exports, Imports, Sugar, Tariff policy, Trade agreements, and Trade centers):**
 Afghanistan trade relations, article (Byroade), 128
 Africa, need for expansion of and cooperation in, statement (Kotschnig), 379
 Commodity trade problems. *See Commodity trade*
 Industrial nations-less developed countries trade problems, address (Ball), 754
 International, expansion of:
 Effect of boycotts on efforts for, statement (Rusk), 435
 GATT program for, 832
 OECD role. *See Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*
 U.S.-Canadian cooperation in, joint communique (Diefenbaker, Kennedy), 843
 U.S. efforts, address and statement: Braderman, 316; Coffin, 458
 OAS suspension of trade in arms, petroleum, and trucks with Dominican Republic, statement (Bonsal), report, and text of U.S. note, 273
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:**
 Bills of lading, international convention (1924) for unification of rules re, 1029
 Elimination of obstacles to international trade and investment, convention with U.A.R., 64, 65
 Friendship, commerce, and navigation treaties. *See Friendship*
 Honduran trade agreement (1935) with U.S., terminated in part, 178, 318

Trade—Continued

- U.S. foreign trade:
 - Battle Act controls. *See* Battle Act
 - Developments during 1960, statement (Braderman), 314
 - Efforts to expand, address (Rusk), 324
 - Foreign aid program, relationship between, address (Martin), 822
 - Japanese-U.S. trade, address (MacArthur), 558, 559, 560
 - Latin America-U.S., address (Berle), 818
 - State Department role, remarks (Rusk), 396
 - U.S. policy, address (Hadraba), 263
 - World Trade Week, 1961, proclamation, 721
 - Yugoslavia, U.S. aid for reform of foreign trade and exchange systems, 85
- Trade Agreements, Interdepartmental Committee on, correction to supplemental list of imports for GATT negotiations, 161
- Trade Agreements Act of 1934, and extensions, address and article: Catudal, 1011; Hadraba, 264, 267
- Trade and Economic Affairs, U.S.-Canada Committee on, 372, 487
- Trade centers, fairs, and missions:
 - U.S. participation and promotion of, address, message, and statement: Braderman, 317; Hadraba, 271; Kennedy, 291
 - USIA coordination and administration of activities re, announcement and Executive order, 196
- Trade Committee, OECD, functions of, address (Rusk), 325
- Trans-Asia Highway, proposed, 163
- Travel:
 - Cuba, U.S. advice to and limitations on citizens traveling to, 110, 178
 - Limitation on duty-free allowance for returning U.S. travelers, message (Kennedy) and proposed bill, 382
 - Road traffic, convention (1949) on, with annexes, 201, 653, 698, 985
 - To U.S., encouragement and promotion of, message, report, and statement: Braderman, 317; Kennedy, 291; Sprague Committee report, 193
 - Touring, convention (1954) concerning customs facilities for, 168, 389, 465
 - Travel restrictions, U.S.-Soviet:
 - U.S. proposal to abolish, U.S. announcement and note re, 118
 - Lists of closed areas: Soviet, 124; U.S., 120
- Treasury, Department of the:
 - Measures to restore U.S. balance-of-payments position, Presidential message to Congress and charts, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294
 - Treasury Exchange Stabilization Fund, credit to Brazil, 863
- Treaties, agreements, etc., international (*for specific treaty, see country or subject*):
 - Current actions on, 34, 64, 97, 134, 168, 201, 244, 282, 317, 352, 389, 425, 465, 501, 537, 573, 609, 653, 698, 734, 789, 833, 896, 941, 985, 1029
 - Interpretation of, proposal concerning, statement (Chayes), 777
- Treaty of Rome, 868
- Tree, Mrs. Marietta P., 390, 463
- Trinidad. *See* West Indies
- Tripartitism, Soviet proposal for administration of international organizations (*see also* United Nations: Office of Secretary-General), address and statements: Cleveland, 811, 813, 814; Rusk, 688, 691
- Trust territories, U.N. (*see also individual territory*), administering powers' contributions to, statements (Wadsworth), 24, 26
- Trusteeship Council, U.N., U.S. representative, confirmation, 465
- Tshombe, Moise, 360, 361
- Tubby, Roger W., 426, 972
- Tuna Commission, Inter-American Tropical, convention (1949) for establishment, 653
- Tunisia:
 - Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 445
 - Economic development program, U.S.-Tunisian joint communique re, 853
 - Food-for-peace program aid to, 853
 - Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Civil aviation, protocol (1954) relating to amendments to 1944 international convention on, 282
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession to, 97
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 169
 - U.S. emergency relief aid, 597
 - Visit of President Bourguiba to U.S., 448, 691, 756, 848
- Turkey:
 - Defense support aid to, 197
 - Economic problems of, NATO members views, NAC communique, 802
 - Randall's missions to, 157
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Agricultural commodities, agreements with U.S., 282, 734, 790
 - Atomic energy, civil uses of, agreement amending 1955 agreement with U.S., 734, 985
 - IDA, articles of agreement, 97
 - OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 390
- Twines and cordage, decision against reopening escape-clause action on imports of, 313
- U.A.R. *See* United Arab Republic
- Uchuno, C. C., 156
- Udall, Stewart L., 969, 984
- Udochi, Julius Momo, 114
- Uganda, education program, U.S. aid, 218
- Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic:
 - Continental shelf, convention on, 425
 - High seas, convention on, 425
 - Territorial sea and contiguous zone, convention on, 425
- Unemployment, U.S., measures proposed to reduce, message (Kennedy), 904
- UNESCO. *See* Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, U.N.

Union of South Africa :

- Administration of South-West Africa, question of, statement (Bingham) and text of U.N. resolution, 569
- Apartheid* policy of, U.N. consideration of, statements (Plimpton) and texts of resolutions, 600
- GATT, 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
- Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes, 698
- U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 741

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *See* Soviet Union

United Arab Republic :

- Congo situation, proposed resolution in Security Council on, statements (Stevenson), 365, 367
- Nubian monuments, proposed U.S. participation in UNESCO efforts to preserve, 643
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Agricultural commodities agreements with U.S., 318, 425, 1029
 - Double taxation, avoidance of, prevention of evasion of income, and elimination of obstacles to trade and investment, convention with U.S., 64, 65
 - Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958), 34
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 985

United Kingdom :

- Caribbean air routes, U.S.-U.K. discussions on, 963
- Currency convertibility, IMF announcement, 346
- Disarmament. *See* Disarmament
- ECAFE conference for highway development, participation in, 163
- Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests. *See* Geneva conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests
- Germany, problems of. *See* Berlin and Germany
- ICEM, U.K. proposed membership in, article (Warren), 387
- Laos situation :
 - International Control Commission in, U.K. views on, 1023
 - Proposals for settlement of, joint communique re (Kennedy, Macmillan), 544; text of aide memoire to Soviet Union, 545; and U.K.-U.S.S.R. proposals, 710
- Less developed countries, programs for assistance to, 553
- Liberalization of restrictions on dollar-area imports, 269
- Prime Minister Macmillan. *See* Macmillan
- Proteus polaris base in Scotland, statement (Rusk), 437
- Relationship with former colonies, statement (Rusk), 442
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Caribbean Organization, agreement for establishment of and annexed statute, 201
 - Communications satellites, intercontinental testing with experimental, agreement with U.S. for, 610

United Kingdom—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued

GATT :

- Declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
- 8th and 9th protocols of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, 97
- Procès-verbal extending validity of 1959 declaration extending standstill provisions of article XVI:4, 201

Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 34

International Tracing Service, agreement and protocol relating to 1955 agreement on, 169

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, international convention (1949), declaration of understanding re, 789

Oceanographic research stations in West Indies, agreement with U.S. re, 425

OECD, convention establishing, supplementary protocols, and memorandum of understanding, 8, 65

Radio regulations (1959), 1029

Telecommunication convention (1959), international, 134

Tonring, convention (1954) concerning customs facilities for, extended to Hong Kong, 168

Tracking stations, agreements with U.S. for establishment and operation of, 318, 501, 610, 698

West Indies defense areas. *See under* Military bases

U.S. Ambassador: confirmation (Bruce), 390; resignation (Whitney), 170

Visit of President Kennedy, 995, 999

United Nations :

- Addresses: Cleveland, 447, 809, 810; Stevenson, 410, 804; Williams, 855
- Africa, U.N. role in, joint communique (Kennedy, Nkrumah), 446
- Atomic energy activities. *See* Atomic Energy Agency, International
- Canadian-U.S. support of, joint communique (Kennedy, Diefenbaker), 843
- Bolivian development program, participation in, letters (Kennedy, Paz), 920, 922
- Charter. *See* United Nations Charter
- Communist China's representation, question of, U.S. views, statements: Johnson, 958; Rusk, 303, 434, 523
- Congo problem, action on. *See* Congo situation
- Disarmament, need for control organizations within framework of, address (Gullon), 636
- Documents, lists of, 62, 124, 281, 349, 464, 651, 741, 940, 984, 1028
- Effectiveness of, address (Bohlen), 968
- General Assembly. *See* General Assembly
- Latin American-U.S. cooperation in, statement (Kennedy), 970
- Need for public understanding of, message (Kennedy), 447
- Newly independent nations, importance of U.N. to, address and statement: Dulles, 340; Wadsworth, 25

United Nations—Continued

- Office of Secretary-General, Soviet attacks on and proposed changes in U.N. organization:
Text of Soviet draft resolution re, 368
U.S. views re, addresses, remarks, and statements:
Barco, 54; Cleveland, 447, 448, 808; Rusk, 517;
Stevenson, 277, 361, 364, 532, 804, 805, 806;
Wadsworth, 53
- Outer space, efforts for peaceful uses of, 146
- Peace corps, proposal for, remarks (Cleveland), 551
- Permanent armed force, question of, U.S. views, statement (Rusk), 521
- Security Council. *See* Security Council
- Specialized agencies (*see also name of agency*):
Aid to Afghanistan, article (Byroade), 131
U.S. support, address and statements: Kotschnig, 378; Stevenson, 536; Williams, 375
- Technical assistance programs:
Aid in Africa, address and statement: Stevenson, 534, 536; Williams, 856
Special Fund, function of, 148
U.S. support, message, statement, and remarks:
Coombes, 938; Eisenhower, 140; Kotschnig, 378;
Stevenson, 277
- Trust territories (*see also* Trusteeship Council and individual territory), 24, 26
- U.K.-U.S. support of, joint statement (Kennedy, Macmillan), 579
- U.S. Committee for, appointment of chairman, 464
- U.S. policy and support:
Addresses, message, remarks, summary, and statements: Eisenhower, 140; Herter, 147; Kennedy, 175, 213; Rusk, 522; Stevenson, 276, 362
Assistant Secretary Cleveland to visit Europe for consultations, 963
Principles guiding, statement (Stevenson), 384
Publicizing, need for greater effort in, 192, 195
U.S. representatives:
Confirmations: Plimpton, 465; Stevenson, 202
Resignation (Barco), 66
- United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 146
- United Nations Charter:
Non-self-governing and trust territories, provisions regarding, statements (Wadsworth), 22, 27
Relation to U.S. foreign policy, remarks (Rusk), 628
- United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi, failure of, statement (Bingham), 785
- United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 202, 390, 463
- United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 465
- United Nations Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, U.S. delegation to 9th session, 499
- United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, work of, statement (Wilcox), 30
- United Nations Day, 1961, proclamation, 939
- United Nations Economic and Social Council. *See* Economic and Social Council, U.N.
- United Nations economic commissions. *See* Economic Commission
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. *See* Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, U.N.
- United Nations Emergency Force. *See* Emergency Force, U.N.
- United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. *See* Food and Agriculture Organization, U.N.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *See* High Commissioner for Refugees
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees:
Review of program of, statement (Wilcox), 28
U.S. support, remarks (Jones), 929
- United Nations Special Fund, 148
- United Nations Trusteeship Council, 465
- United States citizens and nationals:
Claims. *See* Claims
Cuba:
Harassment of in, statement (Wadsworth), 110
Limitations on travel to, 178
Gold holdings abroad, disposal of, Executive order and message (Kennedy), 195, 290
Reduction of customs exemption for returning travelers, message (Kennedy), 293
Relations with foreign citizens, need to improve, address (Bowles), 632
Role in U.S. foreign policy, addresses, message, and statement: Kennedy, 910, 911; Rusk, 308, 625; Williams, 854, 857
Travel in U.S.S.R., Soviet restrictions on, 124
- United Nations:
Role in support of, address (Stevenson), 804, 806
Soviet attacks on U.S. employees of, statement (Barco), 54, 55
- United States Committee for Refugees, 48
- United States Committee for the United Nations, appointment of chairman, 464
- United States Information Agency:
Administration of certain cultural activities and trade fairs, announcement and Executive order, 196
Broadcasting activity, need for increase in, message (Kennedy), 905
President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad, report and recommendations re, 188, 190, 195
Progress of, message (Eisenhower), 140
- United States Tariff Commission, 50, 593
- United States v. Schmidt Pritchard and Company*, 50, 420
- Universal postal convention (1957), 134, 653, 833, 896, 1029
- Universities:
Heads of universities conference, SEATO, 96
Problems of government-university relationships, 193
Role of as guide in policymaking, address (Cleveland), 858, 859, 862
- UNRWA. *See* United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees
- Upper Volta:
Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 685
Conseil de l'Entente, proposed U.S. aid to States of, 19
Meningitis epidemic, medical assistance for, 492
U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 985

- Uruguay :
- Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S. re rate of exchange under 1959 agreement, 98
 - GATT, declaration on provisional accession of Argentina, 896
 - Safety of life at sea, convention (1948) on, 501
 - UNESCO constitution, 282
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 789
 - USIA. *See* United States Information Agency
- Validation Board for German dollar bonds, statement (Davis), 598
- Van Duyn, Robert G., 96
- Van Dyke, Alfred, 163
- Velasco, José Maria, 592
- Venezuela :
- Ambassador to U.S., credentials, 177
 - Dominican Republic aggression against and interference in, consideration of by OAS, 273, 275
 - Economic and social development program, U.S.-Venezuelan discussions on, 821
 - IFC investments in, 90
 - Office of U.N. Secretary-General, views on, 813
 - Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Carriage by air, international, protocol amending 1929 convention for unification of certain rules relating to, 97
 - Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, protocols of amendment to 1944 convention, 201, 317
 - Weights and measures, convention concerning creation of international office (1875), and convention amending (1921), 134
 - U.S. Ambassador (Moscoso) :
 - Appointment, statement (Kennedy), 764
 - Confirmation, 741
- Vessels. *See* Ships and shipping
- Veto power in Security Council :
- Soviet use of, 56*n*
 - U.S. position on use of, summary (Herter), 148
- Viet-Nam :
- Communist activities and threat in :
 - Relationship to cease-fire in Laos, statement (Rusk), 761
 - SEATO Council consideration of, statements and communique: Rusk, 548, 549; text of communique, 549
 - U.S. aid to combat and position re, joint communique and statements: Rusk, 757, 758, 759, 761; text of communique, 956
 - Jet runway, U.S. aid for construction, 84
 - Rubber exports, importance of, article (Mellen), 82
 - Treaties, agreements, etc. :
 - Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S., 653
 - Amity and economic relations, treaty with U.S., 610, 652
 - Official publications, agreement with U.S. for exchange of, 698
 - Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes, 698
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 574
- Viet-Nam—Continued
- Visit of Vice President Johnson, announcement, 750; joint communique, 956
 - Viet-Nam, north :
 - Activities in south Viet-Nam. *See* Viet-Nam: Communist activities
 - Intervention in Laos, U.S. cites evidence of, 114
 - Villard, Henry S., 318
 - Visas :
 - Nonimmigrant visas, agreement with Kuwait relating to reciprocal granting of, 244
 - Relaxation of visa requirement for representatives to international conferences, proposed, 189
 - Vocational education program in Brazil, cooperative agreement extending 1950 agreement, 318
 - Voluntary relief agencies, Congo feeding programs of, 156
 - Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, American Council of, 47
 - Voorhees, Tracy S., 45, 219, 256
 - Wadsworth, James J., 21, 51, 56, 104
 - War damage, guaranty against losses from. *See* Investment guaranty program
 - Warren, George L., 386
 - Warren, Shields, 499
 - Warsaw ambassadorial talks (U.S.-Communist China), U.S. position, summary (Herter), 147
 - Washington, George, cited, 638
 - Water resources, development of, 4th ECAFE regional technical conference on, article (Bloodgood), 225
 - Waters, Herbert J., 353
 - Weather :
 - Forecasting, proposed international cooperation in, address (Kennedy), 213
 - Satellite system, increase in appropriation for study of, 909
 - WMO. *See* World Meteorological Organization
 - Weaver, George L. P., 351, 1027
 - Weights and measures, convention (1875) concerning creation of international office of, and 1921 convention amending, 134
 - West Africa, developments in, address (Dulles), 768, 769
 - West Indies, The :
 - Customs facilities for touring, convention (1954), extension to St. Christopher, Nevis, and Anguilla, 389, 465
 - Defense areas agreement with U.S. :
 - Current action, 352
 - List of agreements with U.K. superseded by, 465
 - Negotiation of, communique, delegations, and report, 42, 311
 - Signing of, statement (Whitney) and exchange of messages (Adams, Kennedy), 350
 - Oceanographic research stations in, U.K.-U.S. agreement re, 425
 - U.S. Mission to, proposed establishment of, 897
 - Western Union*, Cuban charge re rejected, statement (Stevenson), 677
 - Whaling convention (1946), international, amendments to schedule of, 425
 - Wharton, Clifton R., 426

- Wheat:
- Emergency relief aid to: Lebanon, 50; Yemen, 271
 - Food-for-peace program use of in: Brazil, 552; Morocco, 772
 - International wheat agreement (1959), with annex, 985
 - Wheat Utilization Committee, 150
 - White, Ivan B., 492, 897
 - White, Lincoln, 299*n*
 - Whitehead, Alfred North, 642
 - Whitman, Walter G., 96
 - Whitney, John Hay, 42, 44, 170, 311, 350
 - WHO. *See* World Health Organization
 - Wiens, Henry W., 353
 - Wileox, Francis O., 28, 62, 92, 94
 - Williams, Eric, 42, 350
 - Williams, G. Mennen:
 - Addresses:
 - Africa, U.S. policy and relations, 259, 373, 527, 584, 730, 911
 - Africa and the United Nations, U.S. policy toward, 854
 - Confirmed as Assistant Secretary of State, 282
 - Message to All-African Peoples' Conference, 526
 - Trip to Africa, announcement of, 295; report on, 527
 - Williams, Murat W., 282
 - Willis, Frances E., 574
 - Wilson, Robert E., 651
 - Wine, James, 789
 - WMO. *See* World Meteorological Organization
 - Women, Inter-American Commission for, U.S. delegate, appointment, 742
 - Women, U.N. Commission on the Status of, U.S. representative, confirmation, 465
 - Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 640
 - Woodward, Robert F., 742, 788, 941
 - Woolen and worsted fabrics, modification of duty on imports, proclamation, 87
 - Woolf, Donald L., 170
 - World Bank. *See* International Bank
 - World Court. *See* International Court of Justice
 - World Health Organization:
 - Constitution of, 97, 169, 244, 317, 425, 573, 698, 941
 - 14th World Health Assembly, U.S. delegation, 280
 - International peace corps, proposal for use of, remarks (Cleveland), 552
 - World Meteorological Organization:
 - Commission for Climatology of, 3d session of, article (Landsberg), 278
 - Commission for Hydrological Meteorology of, U.S. host for 1st session of, 650
 - Convention of, 65, 98, 134, 317, 698
 - World Refugee Year:
 - Stimulation of aid for refugees, article (Warren), 387, 388
 - U.S. contributions during, 454
 - World Science-Pan Pacific Exposition, U.S. commissioner for, confirmation, 895
 - World Trade Week, 1961, proclamation, 721
 - Wounded and sick, Geneva convention (1949) on treatment of, 609
 - Wright, Thomas K., 318
 - Yemen:
 - ICA representative to, designation, 501
 - U.S. aid to fire victims, 271
 - U.S. Minister, confirmation, 985
 - Yost, Charles W., 353, 424, 740
 - Youlou, Fulbert, 963, 1008
 - Young, Kenneth Todd, 653
 - Young, Philip, 202
 - Yugoslavia:
 - Congratulations to President Kennedy on inauguration, exchange of messages (Kennedy, Tito), 444
 - Foreign exchange and trade systems, U.S. aid for reform, 85
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Agricultural commodities, agreement with U.S., 1029
 - GATT, declaration on relations with Contracting Parties, 97
 - Nuclear research and training equipment and materials, agreement with U.S. re grant for acquisition of, 834
 - Special economic assistance, agreement with U.S. providing, 352
 - Telecommunication convention (1959), international, with annexes and final protocol, 390
 - U.S. Ambassador, confirmation, 465
 - Zain, Zairin, 685
 - Zanzibar:
 - Address (Dulles), 768
 - Education program, U.S. aid, 218

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Publication 7271

Released November 1961

Soe So

RECEIVED
STATE DEPT.
JAN 10 1961

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1123

January 2, 1961

EXPORT EXPANSION AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE
 ● *by Under Secretary Merchant* 3

UNITED STATES PRESENTS VIEWS ON COLONIAL-ISM
 ● *Statements by Ambassador James J. Wadsworth and Text of Resolution* 21

U.S. AFFIRMS INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF COLOMBO PLAN COUNTRIES
 ● *Statement by Theodore C. Achilles, Counselor* 31

U.S., CANADA, AND MEMBERS OF OEEC SIGN CONVENTION ESTABLISHING ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
 ● *Remarks by Under Secretary Dillon, Texts of Communique and Convention and Supplementary Instruments* 8

E
FICIAL
EELY RECORD

ITED STATES
REIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1123 • PUBLICATION 7119

January 2, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
62 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 20, 1958).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

Export Expansion and the Foreign Service

*by Under Secretary Merchant*¹

I want to join Secretary [of Commerce Frederick H.] Mueller in thanking you for coming to Washington and for participating in the cooperative private and governmental program to increase United States exports. The interest in the program demonstrated by your presence here today is encouraging to us in Government who recognize that vigorous action by the business community is the basis for its success.

I would like to comment this afternoon on the relationship of our export trade to the balance of international payments and to our national security. I would like also to discuss the role of the Foreign Service in the export expansion program.

Let me begin by briefly outlining the developments which have led up to our present international economic position. World War II ended with a new political and economic situation which made the immediate revitalization of the economies of our allies outside the Communist orbit, including our former enemies, a primary consideration in United States foreign economic policy. The emerging bipolarity of world power placed the mantle of free-world leadership squarely upon the shoulders of the United States. Recognizing the vital importance of collective defense to our own national security, the United States took the lead in the creation of NATO and other security arrangements. We decided to maintain substantial numbers of United States military personnel abroad and to train and equip the military personnel of our allies who were unable

to carry the full burden of supporting adequate military forces themselves.

Until 1958 we were able to sustain the expense of these and other extensive programs abroad without serious deficits in our balance of international payments. In this period American goods generally sold themselves, in the absence of significant competition from the still-recovering economies of our industrialized competitors, and the resulting trade surplus was adequate to offset the net foreign exchange costs of these programs.

However, the economies of Western Europe and Japan rebounded more quickly than even the most optimistic observers had predicted. As these economies recovered, the need for United States support for both military and economic defense of other areas of the free world increased. In fact such events as the Korean war caused us to become acutely aware of the need for United States leadership in the fight to deny to the Communists further territorial gains.

The halting of Communist aggression in Korea by the United States and other free-world countries proved that we were determined to resist military threats to those nations that wanted to remain free. Thereafter the Soviet Union expanded its basic approach from a blunt military theme to include a more subtle economic offensive. This shift in Soviet tactics has not meant that its threat of military attack has in any way diminished. It has meant only that they are prepared and willing to engage us also on the economic front.

To sustain their threat to our way of life, the Soviets have mobilized tremendous resources. Out of an economy of approximately 45 percent the size of our own they are now spending on military

¹ Address made before a joint meeting of the National and Regional Export Expansion Committees at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 7 (press release 673 dated Dec. 6).

programs a sum roughly equivalent to our total military outlay. At the same time they are steadily increasing their economic aid to less developed countries. Last year they offered the equivalent of about \$915 million for this purpose. So far this year this trend appears to be rising sharply.

Keep in mind that this figure is only for aid to the "uncommitted" countries. We have no way of knowing the precise amount of military and economic assistance which they give other members of the Sino-Soviet bloc, but there is every indication that it is substantial. There is some consolation in the fact that the Soviets do not find their economic aid endeavors completely successful and are encountering some of the same pitfalls we discovered by trial and error when we entered this field. In any event we cannot abandon our foreign aid programs in the face of this Soviet challenge.

Balance-of-Payments and Gold Problems

We have all been hearing a great deal recently about our balance-of-payments and gold problems, and it has been alleged that our programs overseas are draining away our economic strength. We fully recognize the seriousness of these problems. However, we can derive some satisfaction from the fact that our postwar policies have successfully restored economic strength to nations of the free world. It follows that we must expect our trading partners to have assets to finance their trade. Of course prolonged or severe deficits in our balance of payments and attendant loss of gold are cause for serious concern.

A popular but unfounded view is that our foreign aid programs are the principal source of our balance-of-payments deficits. Many people erroneously believe that these aid programs consist of packaging up United States dollars, placing them on ships, and sending them to needy countries beyond our shores with little hope of our ever seeing this currency or its equivalent in gold again. Obviously this is not true. Most of the funds appropriated by the Congress for mutual security programs never leave the United States. Rather, most of these funds are spent right here employing American capital and labor to produce the various kinds of hardware and other goods needed by recipient countries for their—and our—military and economic security.

A year ago your Government took a number of steps designed to correct the imbalance in our international payments, such as prevailing upon other governments to remove their restrictions against the import of dollar goods.² This effort produced results. The groundwork was thus laid for our present export expansion program.³ The alternative of restricting imports was inconceivable, considering our long-range commercial policy. In the first 6 months of this year, our balance-of-payments situation improved considerably as our exports increased. This improvement was not sufficient, however, to offset the more recent substantial flow of capital to Western Europe, attracted there by investment opportunities including higher interest rates for short-term funds. This has led to the recent increased outflow of gold.

To impose restrictions on private capital movements overseas as a remedy to our situation, or to restrict travel of United States citizens abroad—both of which loom important in the payments deficit—is contrary to the concept of our free-enterprise economy. Curtailment of overseas programs necessary to national security is also unrealistic. However, efforts are being made to reduce the adverse effects of these programs on our balance of payments, such as recent steps to reduce the \$3 billion annual foreign exchange cost of maintaining our troops overseas.⁴ But even more important, we must continue to expand our exports.

One major factor which has already helped to improve our trade balance is the dismantling of barriers against dollar imports by our friends and allies. This trend is continuing, and we are hopeful that American business will take full advantage of these expanding export markets. We must, however, consider the present competitive situation in world markets a normal one, rather than a passing phase, and adjust to it accordingly.

This brings us back to the challenge facing us: the urgent need to sell more American goods abroad in order to correct the imbalance in our

² For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703, and Dec. 7, 1959, p. 843.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Apr. 11, 1960, p. 560.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1960, pp. 860 and 864, and Dec. 19, 1960, p. 925.

international payments and thus put an end to fears that our economy is not capable of sustaining our position of world leadership. While we in Government are doing all we can to help, it will be not our effort but rather the aggressive leadership of business and industry in seeking out and developing new markets that will provide the remedy.

The Foreign Service and the Business Community

Secretary Mueller has outlined the Department of Commerce's role in stimulating the export sector of our economy. I would now like to tell you what the Foreign Service is doing to help increase the export of United States goods and services.

It is probable that several of you have called upon the services of the Foreign Service either through the Department of Commerce or direct to our posts abroad at one time or another to assist your respective companies' activities overseas, whether it be exporting, importing, or investing. I doubt that any one of you has utilized all of the services offered the American businessman by the Foreign Service; so I trust that what I want to tell you will not cover overly familiar material.

I am pointing out the services we have to offer in order to emphasize our common interest in making potential exporters throughout the United States aware of the importance which we attach to the export expansion program.

The Foreign Service has been serving our business community for many years. Since the founding of the Republic, our consuls have had as a primary duty the promotion of American trade in farflung marketplaces around the world. Needless to say, the international trade picture has changed considerably since the days when the American consul had only to go down to the dock, greet the captain of an incoming clipper ship from the States, introduce him in local trading circles, and then go about other duties. Today the commercial officers in our consulates and embassies are specialists who are ready and able to perform many services for you beyond mere introductions. The commercial attaché or commercial officer is so designated to identify him as the person primarily responsible for the commercial activity of the post and as such is normally the first contact

made by visiting American businessmen or by local businessmen who wish to gain leads to trade with American companies. Also he is a part of the economic section of the post—a well-integrated team consisting of specialists covering the spectrum of economic activity of the foreign country—and he has their assistance in bringing to the American exporters information to help them develop the local market potential.

I should also point out that, while I am speaking primarily of what commercial officers are doing for the American exporter, there are a substantial number of economic officers in the Foreign Service who contribute to the commercial work of the post. In fact, in some of the smaller posts an economic officer may perform all of the commercial work although he may not be designated as a commercial officer. Moreover, our ambassadors are fully aware of the importance of commercial work and are prepared and willing to assist the American businessman.

What a Commercial Officer Does

What specifically does a commercial officer do?

1. He directs the work of the commercial section. This comprises a great variety of activity stemming primarily from requests received from American business and from the Department of Commerce for trade information. It includes supervision of the local staff members who seek out much of the basic information for commercial reports, such as world trade directory reports, trade lists, and market surveys.

2. He is constantly developing new trade leads for American business. This involves maintaining a wide variety of contacts in the local business community with business and civic groups and with governmental officials.

3. He welcomes visits of American businessmen and assists them to locate distributors and agents for their products, and he also informs the Department of Commerce of visits of foreign businessmen to the United States.

4. He keeps in touch with local government officials in order to keep abreast of developments in trade policy, and he is a key man in our missions' efforts to obtain the elimination of restrictions against United States goods.

5. He travels extensively throughout his district

and appears at business luncheons and clubs to give talks designed to provide better trade relations for the United States.

6. He works closely with American chambers of commerce and with local representatives of American firms on problems of mutual interest.

7. He helps visiting United States trade missions set up their itineraries and provides support and assistance throughout their visit to his area and subsequent followup on trade leads thus developed.

8. He assists in setting up trade fairs in which the United States Government participates. When no United States exhibit is planned in local fairs, he may set up and operate a booth to provide trade information.

9. He assures that inquiries by American businessmen for trade connections are brought to the attention of the local business community.

10. He reports on commercial and trade matters and contributes to the general economic reporting from his post.

While our commercial officers have been performing these duties for a number of years, the launching of the President's export expansion program last spring marked a change in emphasis in their activities. Just after World War II our commercial officers were giving much attention to helping other countries sell to us. Now the promotion of United States exports must come first.

Our commercial officers have been instructed to get out and "beat the bushes" for new possibilities for sales of American products. It is true that he does not carry an order book in his pocket, but he can and does uncover potential trade opportunities and reports them to Washington for dissemination to American businessmen. I believe that the Department of Commerce can confirm that the number of export trade opportunities turned out by Foreign Service posts and by trade missions this year will be about 72 percent larger than the volume in 1959. I understand that the field offices of the Department of Commerce have called on you to help them find American firms interested in some of the potentially more important trade opportunities. I hope you will keep up your fine work, since it is only through aggressive selling that American business can hold its own in foreign markets.

Improving Foreign Service Trade Promotion Work

We feel that the problem which prompted the export drive will be with us for some time to come. We have, therefore, embarked on a 3-year program of commercial staff strengthening. Congressional action on our supplemental budget request for the current fiscal year, however, did not permit us to increase our commercial staffs as much as we had desired.

In addition to building up the size of our commercial staffs abroad, we are attempting to enhance commercial work as a specialty within the Foreign Service as a means of attracting more able young officers to this field. We have also worked with the Department of Commerce to improve the training of commercial officers being sent abroad. The first cycle of a new intensive training program has just been successfully completed.

Under the export expansion program our commercial services are being improved in a number of other ways: The new international trade centers which Secretary Mueller mentioned will complement the work of our commercial sections abroad; our posts at Kuala Lumpur and Düsseldorf have set up two pilot projects to determine what concentrated commercial effort can do at a given post; several posts have made significant improvements in the physical appearance of the commercial sections, and in some instances completely new commercial units have been set up in the downtown business section; despite budget limitations we are making improvements in our commercial libraries; a number of posts have established trade committees working with American chambers of commerce abroad to seek ways to improve our exports; we are expanding trade conference work at home for returning commercial officers; we are reviewing reporting requirements and priorities in order to assure proper attention to commercial work at our foreign posts. I think you will agree that this revitalization of trade promotion work in the Foreign Service to serve the needs of the business community is timely, considering the increasing intensity of competition in foreign markets.

I would also like to say that the Foreign Service will appreciate any suggestions you may wish to offer for improving the scope or content of our overseas facilities for business. There are several

ways you can let us know of your particular interests. One way is to correspond with our commercial officers through the Department of Commerce; another is to write our posts overseas directly. Still another way is to talk with Foreign Service officers who are assigned to trade conference work during their home leave in the United States. Regional field officers of the Department of Commerce make arrangements for these conferences. I would like to urge that those of you who are here today take fullest advantage of these opportunities to get to know our people and at the same time let them know your interests in exploiting particular markets.

In closing I would like to point out one important area in which we must do a "selling job." We must cooperate closely in working to convince the American manufacturer of the importance of following through on foreign trade opportunities presented to him. I refer to prompt replies to correspondence from foreign firms and particularly, when appropriate, of a personal visit to the foreign country where the trade lead has been developed. Every businessman knows the importance of personal contact in making and maintaining sales. I am told that American business has frequently lost important export opportunities to our competitors from other countries because of failure to follow up promising leads promptly by dispatching sales and technical representatives to the scene.

Our country has been engaged in international trade since the founding of the Republic. Yet there are still markets overseas that await the appearance of the first American businessman. Our commercial officers are reporting on these new markets. I hope you can convince American business of not only the profits and other benefits to be gained by an alert exporter but of the importance of increasing American exports to our national well-being.

Letters of Credence

Switzerland

The newly appointed Ambassador of Switzerland, August R. Lindt, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on December 9. For

texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 683 dated December 9.

President Congratulates New Zealand Prime Minister on Taking Office

White House press release dated December 16

The White House on December 16 made public the following exchange of messages between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand.

President Eisenhower to Prime Minister Holyoake

DECEMBER 5, 1960

DEAR PRIME MINISTER: Please accept my hearty congratulations and best wishes for you and your colleagues in the new Cabinet. I am confident that the close cooperation and friendship between the Governments and peoples of New Zealand and the United States of America will continue to grow during your administration.

With warm regard,
Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Prime Minister Holyoake to President Eisenhower

DECEMBER 14, 1960

I was delighted to receive your message of congratulations to my colleagues and me on our assumption of office in New Zealand on 12 December. You may be assured that under my Administration everything possible will be done to ensure the maintenance of the close cooperation and warm friendship that exists between the governments and peoples of New Zealand and the United States of America.

May I take this opportunity of expressing to you, Mr. President, sincere appreciation of your own great services to the progress and peace of the world and the warmest good wishes of the government and people of New Zealand in my years that lie ahead.

Yours sincerely,

KEITH HOLYOAKE

U.S., Canada, and Members of OEEC Sign Convention Establishing Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

On December 14 the United States, Canada, and the members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation¹ signed at Paris a convention establishing the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which replaces the OEEC. Following are statements made by Under Secretary Dillon upon his arrival at Paris on December 11 and at the signing ceremony on December 14, a communique issued by the OECD ministerial meeting on December 13, and the text of the OECD Convention and supplementary instruments.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT BY MR. DILLON

Press release 687 dated December 10, for release December 11

I return to Paris with a deep conviction that the unprecedented steps we shall take here this week in forging a strong new economic link between Western Europe and North America will launch a new era in free-world economic cooperation and advancement.

We of the United States view the proposed new Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development as a major mechanism by which member countries will be able to collaborate in order to promote healthy economic growth both at home and throughout the free world.

Our economies have become increasingly interdependent. Moreover, economic conditions in Western Europe and North America profoundly affect the course of the world economy. Through the new OECD our countries will be able to discuss broad economic policies designed to promote our own well-being and that of the rest of the free world.

¹ Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

We feel that our future economic cooperation should be directed toward achieving the highest sustainable economic growth. For, in addition to obvious benefits for member nations, accelerated growth will make it easier to allocate the resources needed by the developing areas.

We also believe it imperative that the industrialized nations of the free world collaborate much more effectively than in the past in fully mobilizing their ever-growing resources to meet the needs of their less privileged sister countries. By serving as a focal point for increasing the magnitude and improving the quality of development assistance to needy areas, the OECD can make a substantial contribution toward meeting the hopes and aspirations of all free peoples for dignity and well-being.

I look forward to signing the convention establishing the OECD on behalf of my country with pride and with great hopes for the Organization's future.

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE

Press release 685 dated December 14

Canada and the United States today [December 13] joined with the eighteen European countries members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in agreeing to sign on December 14 a convention setting up the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which will take the place of the OEEC. Ministers of the twenty countries, who met in Paris on the 13th of December, 1960, also approved a report setting forth the activities and structure of the OECD. The representatives of the European communities, who have taken part in the negotiations, participated in the meeting; also present were the Secretary-General of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and observers from the GATT [General Agreement

on Tariffs and Trade], IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and IMF [International Monetary Fund].

With the recovery and progress of the European economy, sustained by the generous aid of the United States as well as of Canada, and furthered by the cooperation established within the OEEC, the European countries are now in a position to face, in full and close cooperation with Canada and the United States, the important new tasks and the broader objectives of today.

These objectives are set forth in the convention in these terms:

To achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in the member countries while maintaining financial stability and, thus, to contribute to the development of the world economy; to contribute to sound economic expansion in member, as well as non-member, countries in the process of economic development; and to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligation.

The convention provides for the establishment of a council, the supreme body of the organization, which will have the power to take decisions and make recommendations by mutual agreement of all the Members. In addition, the ministers agreed on a committee structure to assist in implementing the aims and carrying out the activities of the organization.

The OECD will extend and strengthen the OEEC practice of consultation on the economic situation and policies of member countries. It will pay special attention to the international effects of national policies, with a view to establishing a climate of mutual understanding conducive to the harmonious adjustment of policies. These consultations will be a major activity in pursuing the objective of economic growth, essential to enable the member countries to fulfill their responsibilities in the world economy.

The OECD will have important functions in the matter of assistance to developing countries. The twenty governments have agreed in the convention to contribute to the economic development of both member and non-member countries in the process of economic development by appropriate means and, in particular, by the flow of capital to those countries, having regard to the

importance to their economies of receiving technical assistance and of securing expanding export markets. Most of the organs of OECD will have a part to play in the realization of this undertaking. The eleven-member Development Assistance Group,² set up earlier this year, will, upon the inception of the OECD, be constituted as the Development Assistance Committee. This Committee will continue to consult on the methods for making national resources available for assisting countries and areas in the process of economic development, and for expanding and improving the flow of long-term funds and other development assistance to them.

In the field of trade the OECD will carry out the following functions:

Confrontation on general trade policies and practices at regular interval or when requested by a member; examination of specific trade problems primarily of interest to members; and consideration of any outstanding short and long-term problems falling within the terms of reference of the Committee on Trade Problems established in January 1960.³

In addition to these activities, the OECD will expand and strengthen those activities of the OEEC which have proved their practical value for more than a decade and which are to be taken over by the OECD in pursuance of its objectives. The OECD will thus be able to fulfill the desire of the countries which have created it by becoming the forum in which twenty countries will consult, cooperate closely and where appropriate take co-ordinated action to meet the economic tasks which face them today.

REMARKS BY MR. DILLON

Press release 697 dated December 14

First of all, I should like to congratulate and thank the members of the Preparatory Committee for their devoted efforts over the past months. They have accomplished a monumental task and have rendered a service which will long be remembered.

The convention which we are about to sign is an historic document. The step we are now taking

² For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139; Apr. 11, 1960, p. 577; and Oct. 24, 1960, p. 645.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

after nearly a full year of intensive negotiation will forge a strong new link between Western Europe and North America. It represents a major advance in our efforts to strengthen the economy of the entire free world. It signals the dawn of a new era in international economic cooperation and growth.

The United States looks forward with keen anticipation to the privilege of joining together with Canada and our European friends as full and equal partners in this new and historic step toward closer cooperation. Our economies are becoming increasingly interdependent, and close economic cooperation between our countries has become essential. By building upon the traditions and practices of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation we are creating a forum in which we can achieve better and closer cooperation in formulating our economic policies to meet the mounting challenges of the day.

The United States wants the OECD to be a strong and effective organization. We regard it as a major mechanism for promoting healthy economic growth both within our own countries and throughout the free world. Acting in concert we can bring impressive intellectual, scientific, and economic resources to bear upon the great tasks before us.

What are these great tasks? The convention of the OECD answers this question in clear and simple language.

First, there is the vital necessity of increasing and improving our economic and technical assistance to the newly developing countries of the free world. Many of them have only recently achieved political independence. They are learning that without economic progress political independence is a hollow and fragile thing. Their peoples are no longer willing to accept poverty as a normal state of existence. They are determined to gain for themselves the benefits of industrialization, and they are determined to improve their living standards. The political and social context within which the newly developing countries seek these objectives will depend to a critical degree upon the resources made available to them by the industrialized countries of the free world.

Outside aid, essential though it may be, is not in itself enough to meet the needs of the developing countries. We must also help them develop their own resources and institutions in order that they

may become self-sustaining. Through the OECD we can greatly facilitate our effective provision of these resources. In this connection we warmly welcome the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee that Japan should be associated with this important work.

Second, there is the need for our economies to attain and to maintain the highest sustainable rate of economic growth. If we are to meet the expanding needs of our peoples, if we are to increase the resources we make available to the less developed countries of the free world, and if we are to advance the principles of freedom, our own economies must expand at a high rate and produce more and more of the goods and services which are demanded by our peoples and required for our common well-being and security. In pursuing this common objective we must strive for an increasingly harmonious expansion of our economies, since, as I have said, they are becoming increasingly interdependent, and we must never forget that economic policy decisions by each of our governments also have significant repercussions on the economy of the entire free world. It is for these reasons that we have agreed in the convention we are signing here today to intensify and improve our consultation and cooperation on economic policy matters.

Finally, we have agreed in the convention that we will work together to promote policies to expand world trade on a multilateral, nondiscriminatory basis in order to contribute to free-world growth and prosperity. In this effort we will be able to draw on the fine spirit of cooperation which has always characterized the work of the OEEC.

It is essential in the troubled conditions which face us today that the benefits of our work in the OECD reach down to the ordinary citizen. It is fitting, therefore, that our convention calls upon member governments to consult and cooperate not only to improve the economic well-being of our peoples but to promote their social advancement as well. This is a goal to which the United States attaches great importance. Many of you will recall that the United States emphasized this aspect of international cooperation in the Act of Bogotá, which was signed last September by the nations of the Americas.⁴ It is our hope that the various committees of the OECD will be concerned with

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1960, p. 537.

the social implications of their activities. It is also our hope that the secretariat will include specialized personnel concerned with social questions in order to assure adequate support for this aspect of the work of the OECD.

The OECD Convention is a good convention. It is broad and flexible. It provides a framework which will enable our new Organization to develop and adjust as circumstances require. What we do in the OECD will be fruitful to the extent that we work together in seeking solutions for the important economic problems crying for our attention. The United States intends to cooperate wholeheartedly in this task. And, in this task, we are fortunate in having as Secretary-General a man of the capabilities and stature of Thor kil Kristensen, to whom we look for leadership in carrying out the mandates upon which we have agreed.

We have, in truth, entered into a whole new era in free-world economic cooperation. The steps we have taken toward closer economic cooperation will, I am confident, help bring us forward to new heights of prosperity and well-being as members of a peaceful and secure community of free nations which offers the fullest opportunity for every human being to achieve a better life in freedom.

TEXT OF CONVENTION AND SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUMENTS

Press release 693 dated December 13, for release December 14

OECD Convention

THE CONVENTION ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

THE GOVERNMENTS of the Republic of Austria, the Kingdom of Belgium, Canada, the Kingdom of Denmark, the French Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Iceland, Ireland, the Italian Republic, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Norway, the Portuguese Republic, Spain, the Kingdom of Sweden, the Swiss Confederation, the Turkish Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America;

CONSIDERING that economic strength and prosperity are essential for the attainment of the purposes of the United Nations, the preservation of individual liberty and the increase of general well-being;

BELIEVING that they can further these aims most effectively by strengthening the tradition of co-operation which has evolved among them;

RECOGNIZING that the economic recovery and progress

of Europe to which their participation in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation has made a major contribution, have opened new perspectives for strengthening that tradition and applying it to new tasks and broader objectives;

CONVINCED that broader co-operation will make a vital contribution to peaceful and harmonious relations among the peoples of the world;

RECOGNIZING the increasing interdependence of their economies;

DETERMINED by consultation and co-operation to use more effectively their capacities and potentialities so as to promote the highest sustainable growth of their economies and improve the economic and social well-being of their peoples;

BELIEVING that the economically more advanced nations should co-operate in assisting to the best of their ability the countries in process of economic development;

RECOGNIZING that the further expansion of world trade is one of the most important factors favoring the economic development of countries and the improvement of international economic relations; and

DETERMINED to pursue these purposes in a manner consistent with their obligations in other international organizations or institutions in which they participate or under agreements to which they are a party;

HAVE THEREFORE AGREED on the following provisions for the reconstitution of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development:

Article 1

The aims of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereinafter called the "Organization") shall be to promote policies designed:

(a) to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;

(b) to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development; and

(c) to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

Article 2

In the pursuit of these aims, the Members agree that they will, both individually and jointly:

(a) promote the efficient use of their economic resources;

(b) in the scientific and technological field, promote the development of their resources, encourage research and promote vocational training;

(c) pursue policies designed to achieve economic growth and internal and external financial stability and to avoid developments which might endanger their economies or those of other countries;

(d) pursue their efforts to reduce or abolish obstacles

to the exchange of goods and services and current payments and maintain and extend the liberalization of capital movements; and

(e) contribute to the economic development of both Member and non-member countries in the process of economic development by appropriate means and, in particular, by the flow of capital to those countries, having regard to the importance to their economies of receiving technical assistance and of securing expanding export markets.

Article 3

With a view to achieving the aims set out in Article 1 and to fulfilling the undertakings contained in Article 2, the Members agree that they will:

(a) keep each other informed and furnish the Organization with the information necessary for the accomplishment of its tasks;

(b) consult together on a continuing basis, carry out studies and participate in agreed projects; and

(c) co-operate closely and where appropriate take co-ordinated action.

Article 4

The Contracting Parties to this Convention shall be Members of the Organization.

Article 5

In order to achieve its aims, the Organization may:

(a) take decisions which, except as otherwise provided, shall be binding on all the Members;

(b) make recommendations to Members; and

(c) enter into agreements with Members, non-member States and international organizations.

Article 6

1. Unless the Organization otherwise agrees unanimously for special cases, decisions shall be taken and recommendations shall be made by mutual agreement of all the Members.

2. Each Member shall have one vote. If a Member abstains from voting on a decision or recommendation, such abstention shall not invalidate the decision or recommendation, which shall be applicable to the other Members but not to the abstaining Member.

3. No decision shall be binding on any Member until it has complied with the requirements of its own constitutional procedures. The other Members may agree that such a decision shall apply provisionally to them.

Article 7

A Council composed of all the Members shall be the body from which all acts of the Organization derive. The Council may meet in sessions of Ministers or of Permanent Representatives.

Article 8

The Council shall designate each year a Chairman, who shall preside at its ministerial sessions, and two Vice-Chairmen. The Chairmen may be designated to serve one additional consecutive term.

Article 9

The Council may establish an Executive Committee and such subsidiary bodies as may be required for the achievement of the aims of the Organization.

Article 10

1. A Secretary-General responsible to the Council shall be appointed by the Council for a term of five years. He shall be assisted by one or more Deputy Secretaries-General or Assistant Secretaries-General appointed by the Council on the recommendation of the Secretary-General.

2. The Secretary-General shall serve as Chairman of the Council meeting at sessions of Permanent Representatives. He shall assist the Council in all appropriate ways and may submit proposals to the Council or to any other body of the Organization.

Article 11

1. The Secretary-General shall appoint such staff as the Organization may require in accordance with plans of organization approved by the Council. Staff regulations shall be subject to approval by the Council.

2. Having regard to the international character of the Organization, the Secretary-General, the Deputy or Assistant Secretaries-General and the staff shall neither seek nor receive instructions from any of the Members or from any Government or authority external to the Organization.

Article 12

Upon such terms and conditions as the Council may determine, the Organization may:

(a) address communications to non-member States or organizations;

(b) establish and maintain relations with non-member States or organizations; and

(c) invite non-member Governments or organizations to participate in activities of the Organization.

Article 13

Representation in the Organization of the European Communities established by the Treaties of Paris and Rome of 18th April, 1951, and 25th March, 1957, shall be as defined in Supplementary Protocol No. 1 to this Convention.

Article 14

1. This Convention shall be ratified or accepted by the Signatories in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

2. Instruments of ratification or acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic, hereby designated as depositary Government.

3. This Convention shall come into force:

(a) before 30th September, 1961, upon the deposit of instruments of ratification or acceptance by all the Signatories; or

(b) on 30th September, 1961, if by that date fifteen Signatories or more have deposited such instruments as regards those Signatories; and thereafter as regards any other Signatory upon the deposit of its instrument of ratification or acceptance;

(c) after 30th September, 1961, but not later than two years from the signature of this Convention, upon the deposit of such instruments by fifteen Signatories, as regards those Signatories; and thereafter as regards any other Signatory upon the deposit of its instrument of ratification or acceptance.

4. Any Signatory which has not deposited its instrument of ratification or acceptance when the Convention comes into force may take part in the activities of the Organization upon conditions to be determined by agreement between the Organization and such Signatory.

Article 15

When this Convention comes into force the reconstitution of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation shall take effect, and its aims, organs, powers and name shall thereupon be as provided herein. The legal personality possessed by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation shall continue in the Organization, but decisions, recommendations and resolutions of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation shall require approval of the Council to be effective after the coming into force of this Convention.

Article 16

The Council may decide to invite any Government prepared to assume the obligations of membership to accede to this Convention. Such decisions shall be unanimous, provided that for any particular case the Council may unanimously decide to permit abstention, in which case, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 6, the decision shall be applicable to all the Members. Accession shall take effect upon the deposit of an instrument of accession with the depositary Government.

Article 17

Any Contracting Party may terminate the application of this Convention to itself by giving twelve months' notice to that effect to the depositary Government.

Article 18

The Headquarters of the Organization shall be in Paris, unless the Council agrees otherwise.

Article 19

The legal capacity of the Organization and the privileges, exemptions and immunities of the Organization, its officials and representatives to it of the Members shall be as provided in Supplementary Protocol No. 2 to this Convention.

Article 20

1. Each year, in accordance with Financial Regulations adopted by the Council, the Secretary-General shall present to the Council for approval an annual budget, accounts, and such subsidiary budgets as the Council shall request.

2. General expenses of the Organization, as agreed by the Council, shall be apportioned in accordance with a scale to be decided upon by the Council. Other expenditure shall be financed on such basis as the Council may decide.

Article 21

Upon the receipt of any instrument of ratification, acceptance or accession, or of any notice of termination, the depositary Government shall give notice thereof to all the Contracting Parties and to the Secretary-General of the Organization.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly empowered, have appended their signatures to this Convention.

DONE in Paris, this 14th day of December Nineteen Hundred and Sixty, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic by whom certified copies will be communicated to all the Signatories.

Supplementary Protocol No. 1

SUPPLEMENTARY PROTOCOL NO. 1 TO THE CONVENTION ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

THE SIGNATORIES of the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development;

HAVE AGREED as follows:

1. Representation in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development of the European Communities established by the Treaties of Paris and Rome of 18th April, 1951, and 25th March, 1957, shall be determined in accordance with the institutional provisions of those Treaties.

2. The Commissions of the European Economic Community and of the European Atomic Energy Community as well as the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community shall take part in the work of that Organization.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly empowered, have appended their signatures to this Protocol.

DONE in Paris, this 14th day of December, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic, by whom certified copies will be communicated to all the Signatories.

Supplementary Protocol No. 2

SUPPLEMENTARY PROTOCOL NO. 2 TO THE CONVENTION ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

THE SIGNATORIES of the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereinafter called the "Organization");

HAVE AGREED as follows:

The Organization shall have legal capacity and the Organization, its officials, and representatives to it of the Members shall be entitled to privileges, exemptions, and immunities as follows:

(a) in the territory of the Contracting Parties to the Convention for European Economic Co-operation of 16th April, 1948, the legal capacity, privileges, exemptions, and immunities provided for in Supplementary Protocol No. 1 to that Convention;

(b) in Canada, the legal capacity, privileges, exemptions, and immunities provided for in any agreement or arrangement on legal capacity, privileges, exemptions,

and immunities entered into between the Government of Canada and the Organization ;

(c) in the United States, the legal capacity, privileges, exemptions, and immunities under the International Organizations Immunities Act provided for in Executive Order No. 10133 of 27th June, 1950;⁶ and

(d) elsewhere, the legal capacity, privileges, exemptions, and immunities provided for in any agreement or arrangement on legal capacity, privileges, exemptions, and immunities entered into between the Government concerned and the Organization.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly empowered, have appended their signatures to this Protocol.

DONE in Paris this 14th day of December, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic, by whom certified copies will be communicated to all the Signatories.

Protocol on Revision of OEEC Convention

PROTOCOL ON THE REVISION OF THE CONVENTION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION OF 16TH APRIL, 1948

THE GOVERNMENTS of the Republic of Austria, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Denmark, the French Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Iceland, Ireland, the Italian Republic, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Norway, the Portuguese Republic, Spain, and the Kingdom of Sweden, the Swiss Confederation, the Turkish Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland being the Contracting Parties to the Convention for European Economic Co-operation of 16th April, 1948, (hereinafter called the "Convention") and the Members of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation ;

DESIROUS that the aims, organs, and powers of the Organization be re-defined and that the Governments of Canada and the United States of America be Members of that Organization as re-constituted ;

HAVE AGREED as follows :

Article 1

The Convention shall be revised and as a consequence thereof it shall be replaced by the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development to be signed on today's date.

Article 2

1. This Protocol shall come into force when the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development comes into force.

2. The Convention shall cease to have effect as regards any Signatory of this Protocol when the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development comes into force.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries,

duly empowered, have appended their signatures to this Protocol.

DONE in Paris, this 14th day of December, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic, by whom certified copies will be communicated to all the Signatories.

Memorandum of Understanding

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE APPLICATION OF ARTICLE 15 OF THE CONVENTION ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Article 15 of the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereinafter called the "Convention") provides that decisions, recommendations and resolutions (hereinafter called "acts") of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation shall require approval of the Council of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereinafter called the "Council") to be effective after the coming into force of the Convention.

Pursuant to a resolution adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of 22nd-23rd July, 1960, a Preparatory Committee has been established and instructed to carry further the review of the acts of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, to determine which acts should be recommended to the Council for approval, and to recommend, where necessary, the modifications required in order to adjust these acts to the functions of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

At the said Ministerial Meeting it was agreed that there should be the maximum possible degree of certainty as regards approval by the Council of acts of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation in accordance with the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee ; it was also agreed that Canada and the United States, not being Members of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, should have a certain latitude with respect to the said recommendations.

Therefore the Signatories of the Convention have agreed as follows :

1. The representatives of the Signatories on the Council shall vote for approval of acts of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation in accordance with the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee, except as otherwise provided hereinafter.

2. Any Signatory which has not been a Member of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation shall be released from the commitment set out in paragraph 1 with respect to any recommendation or part thereof of the Preparatory Committee which it specifies in a notice to the Preparatory Committee no later than ten days after the deposit of its instrument of ratification or acceptance of the Convention.

3. If any Signatory gives notice pursuant to paragraph 2, any other Signatory, if in its view such notice changes the situation in regard to the recommendation or part thereof in question in an important respect, shall have the right to request, within fourteen days of such notice,

⁶ For text, see *ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1950, p. 235.

that the Preparatory Committee reconsider such recommendation or part thereof.

4. (a) If a Signatory gives notice pursuant to paragraph 2 and no request is made pursuant to paragraph 3, or, if such a request having been made, the reconsideration by the Preparatory Committee does not result in any modification of the recommendation or part thereof in question, the representative on the Council of the Signatory which has given notice shall abstain from voting on the act or part thereof to which the recommendation or part thereof in question pertains.

(b) If the reconsideration by the Preparatory Committee provided for in paragraph 3 results in a modified recommendation or part thereof, the representative on the Council of the Signatory which has given notice may abstain from voting on the act or part thereof to which the modified recommendation or part thereof pertains.

(c) Abstention by a Signatory pursuant to subparagraph (a) or (b) of this paragraph with respect to any act or part thereof shall not invalidate the approval of that act or part which shall be applicable to the other Signatories but not to the abstaining Signatory.

5. The provisions of this Memorandum relating to actions to be taken before the voting in the Council shall come into force upon its signature; the provisions relating to the voting in the Council shall come into force for each Signatory upon the coming into force of the Convention as regards that Signatory.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned have appended their signature to this Memorandum.

DONE in Paris, this 14th day of December, 1960, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic, by whom certified copies will be communicated to all the Signatories.

U.S. Places Responsibility for Lao Fighting on U.S.S.R. and Partners

Following is the text of a note handed to Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov on December 17 by Deputy Under Secretary Raymond A. Hare, together with the text of a Soviet note of December 13.

U.S. NOTE OF DECEMBER 17

Press release 699 dated December 17

The Government of the United States acknowledges the receipt of the note of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics dated December 13, 1960.

The Government of the United States categorically rejects the charges leveled against it in the

Soviet Government's note. The United States condemns as a violation of every standard of legal conduct the recent Soviet action in airlifting weapons and ammunition in Soviet planes to rebel military forces fighting the loyal armed forces of the Royal Government in Vientiane. Thus the responsibility for the present fratricidal war in Laos, about which the Soviet Government claims to be concerned, rests squarely and solely upon the Soviet Government and its partners.

The United States has repeatedly made clear its consistent policy of supporting the Kingdom of Laos in its determination to maintain its independence and integrity.¹ Such support will continue. The United States has warned against efforts to seize control of or to subvert that free nation.

The Soviet allegation that Lao Army troops have been recently armed with weapons which they have not had before is completely false. Such supplies as have been furnished by the United States to the forces in Laos, in whatever region, have been provided pursuant to a long-standing agreement with Laos, and with the approval of the legal Government of Laos. The Lao Army had been equipped with M-24 tanks and 105 millimeter howitzers long before the August 9, 1960 rebellion against the Royal Lao Government. The United States has not in fact supplied any equipment of this type to Laos since 1957. The United States has never supplied 120 millimeter mortars, armed aircraft, or armed or armored vessels to Laos. The United States has not brought any arms or ammunition into Laos since the end of November. No United States-supplied helicopters have been used to direct artillery fire. Furthermore, such American advisers as have been in the country either administering the American Military Aid Program or in the Franco-American training program are located at various training sites and supply depots and have not led any military actions.

It is communist and communist-fostered subversive activities, the guerrilla warfare of the Pathet Lao forces, and now the Soviet airlift of weapons which have led directly to the suffering and chaos which have befallen Laos. The Soviet Government and its agents have attempted to carry out this latest, grave action clandestinely, under the

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1960, p. 499.

cover of delivering food and petroleum products. However, their haste to strengthen the rebel forces in Laos has resulted in widespread knowledge of these Soviet arms deliveries, which have included the howitzers which the rebels are now using against loyal troops of the Lao Government, a government formed at Royal request pursuant to the National Assembly's action. The destruction which these Soviet weapons have brought to the capital city of Laos and the suffering and loss to its people is the direct result of this Soviet intervention.

At the same time, communist-controlled north Viet-Nam, which has long aided and furnished direction to the Pathet Lao guerrillas in Laos, has been making war-like preparations, calling up additional troops and moving military units westward toward the Lao border.

In the light of these facts the Government of the United States, in rejecting the false charges of the Soviet Government in its note of December 13, places the responsibility for the current strife in Laos where that responsibility properly belongs—squarely upon the U.S.S.R. and its agents. The Government of the United States, furthermore, condemns in strongest terms the illegal Russian delivery of military equipment to the rebels in Laos.

It has always been the objective of the United States to assist the people of Laos in developing their free political institutions, in improving their social and economic well being and in preserving their national integrity. The policy of the United States towards Laos remains the same today.

SOVIET NOTE OF DECEMBER 13²

Unofficial translation
No. 128/OSA

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers it necessary to state the following to the United States Government.

In the declaration of September 22, 1960 concerning events in Laos, the Soviet Government already drew attention to the serious threat to peace in this area of Southeast Asia arising from the unceremonious intervention of the United States and several of its partners in the aggressive SEATO bloc in Laos internal affairs. However, if two or three months ago the United States

² Delivered to American Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson at Moscow by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily V. Kuznetsov on Dec. 13.

Government somehow tried to camouflage its illegal action in Laos, recently the United States has in fact become a direct participant in military operations on the side of the rebels against the legal government of Laos and the Laotian people.

Flouting the sovereign rights of the Laotian government headed by Prince Souvanna Phoumi, the United States now extends overt support to the rebel group of Nosavan, supplies it with arms, military equipment, military stores, and money. Rebel troops have proved to be supplied with such arms as have never until the present been in the Laotian Army: 105mm howitzers, 120mm mortars, heavy tanks, military aircraft, helicopters, armored launches, and other equipment.

The rebels have been trained in the use of these arms by numerous American advisers and instructors, whom the United States Government has sent and continues to send to their camp. Moreover, near the town of Pakadin there was shot down by government troops a reconnaissance aircraft No. S30 on board which were four American officers. During engagements between government troops and the rebels, American helicopters of "Sikorsky" type regularly fly over Thailand territory, directing the artillery fire of the rebels. From this it is evident that American military advisers and instructors not only train the rebels, but also directly lead their military actions against troops of the legal government of Laos. The United States Government also widely uses its ally in the SEATO military pact, Thailand, which makes available the territory of the country for active military operations against government units and carries out a tight economic blockade of Laos.

As the facts show, the United States Government completely ignores the repeated appeals and also the official demand of the legal government of Prince Souvanna Phoumi, expressed in the December 5 declaration, that the United States cease delivery of weapons and military supplies to the rebels.

All this is a glaring violation on the part of the United States Government of Article 12 of the final declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China,³ in which is contained the obligation of each participant of the conferences, including the United States, to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, and refrain from any interference in its internal affairs.

With its overt actions against the legal Laotian government of Prince Souvanna Phoumi, which has proclaimed as its program a policy of peace, neutrality, and national unity, the United States Government seeks to compel the Laotian people to leave this path which it has chosen, and to put Laos again in the service of a policy of military pacts and aggressive preparations, foreign to the people of Laos.

However, it is appropriate to recall that once such a policy already suffered failure in Laos. The Laotian people overthrew the government which carried out the policy of turning Laos into a United States military base and semi-colony. Realization of the legitimate striving

³ For text, see BULLETIN of Aug. 2, 1954, p. 164.

of the Laotian people for cessation at last of fratricidal war and for national unity in conditions excluding any foreign intervention must not be hindered.

Being one of the participants and chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, the Soviet Government decisively protests the United States intervention in the internal affairs of Laos and condemns this intervention. This undermines the Geneva agreements and is directed against the freedom and independence of the Laotian people, against its inalienable right to conduct a policy of peace, neutrality, and friendship with all peoples.

The Soviet Government cannot ignore the threat to peace and security in Southeast Asia arising from the crude United States interference in the internal affairs of Laos, and places on the United States Government all responsibility for the consequences which can arise as a result of the aggressive actions of the United States and some of its allies in the SEATO military bloc in relation to the Laotian people.

U.S. Replies to Czechoslovak Note on Masaryk Stamp

Press release 696 dated December 14

Following is the text of a note to the Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Washington, delivered on December 13, 1960.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [Miloslav Růžek] and refers to the Ambassador's note dated November 6, 1960¹ and mailed to the Department of State in an envelope postmarked November 21, 1960, concerning the refusal of the Czechoslovak authorities to deliver United States mail bearing postage stamps honoring the late President Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia.²

The Government of the United States must reject the unfounded and unsubstantiated assertions contained in the Ambassador's note that issuance of the Masaryk stamp represented an "official endorsement of the inimical campaign against Czechoslovakia" and further constituted "an attempt of the United States Government to interfere in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia."

The honoring by the United States Government of a revered Czechoslovak patriot and the founder of the modern Czechoslovak State, whom Czecho-

slovakia itself until recent weeks honored in the name of one of its leading universities, cannot be considered by any objective observer as an "unfriendly act." The issuance of stamps as a means of commemorating the anniversary of the birth of honored personages of various nationalities is an accepted international philatelic practice which the United States Government has followed for many years and more recently in its *Champions of Liberty* series. When the individual so honored is held in high international esteem not only as a great humanitarian but also as the President-Liberator of his country, there is no basis for attempting to establish that this constitutes intervention in the affairs of the native country of the man. For the Czechoslovak Government to allege further that issuance of the Masaryk commemorative stamp can "worsen mutual Czechoslovak-American relations and contribute to the sustenance of a tense international atmosphere" suggests that the Czechoslovak authorities themselves seek any pretext, no matter how transparent, to shift responsibility from themselves for any deterioration in relations.

It is necessary to correct a further misrepresentation in the Czechoslovak note. The Ambassador refers to verbal representations made at the Department of State on February 5, 1960, concerning various but unidentified press reports about unspecified actions which the United States Government allegedly intended to undertake in connection with the issuance of the Masaryk stamp. The representative of the Department of State did not in any sense recognize the "justice of the Czechoslovak position" as the Ambassador's note alleges, but did take that opportunity to assure the Ambassador that the United States Government had no hostile intent toward the Czechoslovak Government in issuing the Masaryk commemorative stamp. He made clear that the United States Government planned no hostile demonstrations, the matter about which the Ambassador had made representations.

The misrepresentation by the Czechoslovak authorities of a tribute to a great humanitarian and an outstanding Czechoslovak patriot as an unfriendly act toward Czechoslovakia is beyond comprehension.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 13, 1960.

¹ Not printed.

² For text of a U.S. note of Aug. 24, 1960, see BULLETIN of Sept. 12, 1960, p. 414.

President Sets Cuban Sugar Quota at Zero for First Quarter of 1961

White House press release dated December 16

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

I have today [December 16] by proclamation fixed at zero the quota for imports of Cuban sugar during the first quarter of 1961. The proclamation expresses my finding that such action is in the national interest of the United States. It is applicable to imports of Cuban sugar through March 31, 1961, the expiration date of the present Sugar Act.

Since my proclamation of July 6 of this year the Government of Cuba has continued to follow a policy of deliberate hostility toward the United States and to commit steadily increasing amounts of its sugar crop to Communist countries. This further confirms the view I expressed at that time that the United States cannot now rely upon Cuba to supply a large part of the sugar needs of American consumers.¹

To replace supplies normally obtained from Cuba the Department of Agriculture will shortly authorize the importation of nonquota sugar from other countries. These authorizations will be made in accordance with the formula laid down in the present Sugar Act as amended.

Despite my urgent recommendations to the contrary, Congress has provided that one of the countries from which replacement sugar must be purchased under this act is the Dominican Republic.² In view of the unanimous condemnation of the present Government of the Dominican Republic by the Organization of American States,³ replacement sugar purchases from that country will continue to be subject to special import fees. When the new Congress convenes next month I shall again recommend that it relieve the Executive from the obligation to purchase such sugar from the Dominican Republic.

¹ For a statement by President Eisenhower and text of the proclamation, see BULLETIN of July 25, 1960, p. 140.

² For text of the President's message to Congress and a statement by Under Secretary Dillon, see *ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1960, p. 412.

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1960, p. 355.

PROCLAMATION 3383¹

DETERMINATION OF CUBAN SUGAR QUOTA TO SUPPLEMENT
PROCLAMATION No. 3355

WHEREAS section 408(b)(1) of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended by the act of July 6, 1960 (Public Law 86-592; 74 Stat. 330), provides that the President shall determine, notwithstanding any other provision of title II of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, the quota for Cuba for the balance of the calendar year 1960 and for the three-month period ending March 31, 1961, in such amount or amounts as he shall find from time to time to be in the national interest, and further provides that in no event shall such quota exceed such amount as would be provided for Cuba under the terms of title II of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, in the absence of section 408(b); and

WHEREAS section 408(b)(1) of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, further provides that determinations made by the President thereunder shall become effective immediately upon publication in the *Federal Register*; and

WHEREAS section 408(b)(2) and section 408(b)(3) of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, authorize the President, subject to certain requirements, to cause or permit to be brought or imported into or marketed in the United States a quantity of sugar not in excess of the amount by which the quotas which would be established for Cuba under the terms of title II of such act exceed the quotas established for Cuba by the President pursuant to section 408(b) of the act; and

WHEREAS, by Proclamation No. 3355 of July 6, 1960, the President determined the quota for Cuba for the balance of the calendar year 1960; and

WHEREAS, pursuant to section 408(b)(1) of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, I find it to be in the national interest that the amount of the quotas for sugar and for liquid sugar for Cuba under the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, for the three-month period ending March 31, 1961, should be zero:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 408(b) of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States:

1. Do hereby determine that in the national interest the amount of the quotas for sugar and for liquid sugar for Cuba pursuant to the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, for the three-month period ending March 31, 1961, shall be zero; and

2. Do hereby continue the delegation to the Secretary of Agriculture of the authority vested in the President by section 408(b)(2) and section 408(b)(3) of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, such authority to be continued to be exercised with the concurrence of the Secretary of State.

This proclamation shall become effective immediately upon publication in the *Federal Register*.

¹ 25 *Fed. Reg.* 13131.

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 sixteenth day of December 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-fifth.



By the President:
DOUGLAS DILLON,
Acting Secretary of State.

U.S. Prepared To Give Economic Aid to States of Conseil de l'Entente

Following is the text of a letter from Secretary Herter to Prime Minister Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Republic of the Ivory Coast. Similar letters were sent to Prime Minister Hubert Maga of the Republic of Dahomey, Prime Minister Hamani Diori of the Republic of Niger, and President Maurice Yameogo of the Republic of Upper Volta.

Press release 694 dated December 14

OCTOBER 31, 1960

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: The Government of the United States and I personally have been deeply impressed by the regional association developed by the leaders of the *Conseil de l'Entente*. At a time when there seems to be a tendency elsewhere to develop into smaller entities, it is encouraging to observe the friendly cooperation and community of intent existing between the Republic of the Ivory Coast and the other three countries.

The survey team of the International Cooperation Administration which recently visited the *Entente* States has provided considerable information on common problems and plans for economic and regional development. The Government of the United States is prepared to make a significant contribution to the *Entente* States to help accelerate their economic development and strengthen regional cooperation.

I was delighted to have a chance to meet His

Excellency Mamadou Coulibaly at the United Nations General Assembly¹ and to have an opportunity to discuss mutual problems with him.

Sincerely yours,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

World Bank Provides Libraries on Economic Development

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced on December 13 that it is providing small libraries on economic development to selected agencies and institutions in countries whose officials have participated in the work of the Bank's Economic Development Institute. The Institute is a staff college maintained by the Bank for senior officials of its member countries, and the library project is designed to supplement its work. The Rockefeller Foundation is bearing half the cost of the project.

It has been apparent for some time that the Fellows of the Institute, when they return to their ministries or banks, feel the need of having available the kind of reading and reference material to which they are introduced at the Institute. The libraries provided by the Bank are designed to meet this need, at least in part. They will offer both basic reference materials on development problems and a balanced selection of development literature of a sort that will be useful in training courses of various kinds.

Each of the libraries will consist of approximately 400 books, articles, and papers, in English only, and it is hoped that they can be assembled and distributed in the first half of 1961. The libraries will be offered to governments, central banks, or other public institutions—not to individuals. The choice of the institutions will be made by the Bank. Although the recipient institutions will be asked to fulfill certain conditions, such as those covering the care of the libraries, no financial contribution will be required.

¹ Heads of U.N. delegations from the other three countries were François Aplogan, Dahomey; Ossonfou Djermakoye, Niger; and Bakary Traore, Upper Volta.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Scheduled January 1 Through March 31, 1961

2d ICAO Special Limited Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting	Paris	Jan. 3-
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Jan. 4-
FAO Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council: 9th Meeting	Karachi	Jan. 6-
10th International Conference of Social Work	Rome	Jan. 8-
ITU Study Group on Mobile Services Manual	Geneva	Jan. 9-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 13th Session of Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.	Geneva	Jan. 10-
FAO Consultative Subcommittee on the Economic Aspects of Rice: 5th Session	New Delhi	Jan. 13-
IMCO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Rules of Procedure: 3d Meeting	London	Jan. 13-
FAO Technical Advisory Committee on Desert Locust Control: 9th Session	Rome	Jan. 16-
ILO Tripartite Meeting on Social Consequences of Coal Crisis	Geneva	Jan. 16-
IMCO Council: 4th Session	London	Jan. 17-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 4th Session	Bangkok	Jan. 17-
FAO Emergency Meeting on African Horse Sickness and African Swine Fever	Paris	Jan. 17-
IAEA Board of Governors: 21st Session	Vienna	Jan. 24-
U.N. ECOSOC Plenipotentiary Conference To Adopt a Single Convention on Nar- cotic Drugs.	New York	Jan. 24-
SEATO Heads of Universities Conference	Karachi	Jan. 25-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 13th Session	Bangkok	Jan. 26-
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: 4th Meeting	Tokyo	Jan. 30-
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: Working Party on Standardiza- tion of Perishable Foodstuffs.	Geneva	Jan. 30-
FAO Group of Experts on Rice Grading and Standardization: 6th Session	New Delhi	January
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: Research Committee	Tokyo	January
CENTO Ministerial Council: 9th Meeting	Ankara	Feb. 1-
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 3d Session	Addis Ababa	Feb. 6-
U.N. ECOSOC Population Commission: 11th Session	New York	Feb. 6-
14th World Health Assembly	New Delhi	Feb. 7-
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport and Communications Committee: 9th Session	Bangkok	Feb. 9-
IADB Board of Governors: 2d Meeting	Brasilia	Feb. 20-
GATT Council of Representatives of the Contracting Parties	Geneva	Feb. 22-
ILO Governing Body: 148th Session (and its committees)	Geneva	Feb. 23-
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission	Panamá	Feb. 23-
U.N. ECOSOC Committee on Nongovernmental Organizations	New York	Feb. 27-
U.N. ECE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	February
11th Inter-American Conference	Quito	March 1-
U.N. Plenipotentiary Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities	Vienna	March 2-
FAO Committee of Government Experts on the Uses of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	March 6-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	March 6-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 17th Session	Geneva	March 6-
U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: 17th Session	New Delhi	March 8-
U.N. ECE Steel Committee: 25th Session	Geneva	March 13-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Status of Women: 15th Session	New York	March 13-
FAO European Commission for Control of Foot and Mouth Disease: 8th Session	Rome	March 14-
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	March 21-
International Lead and Zinc Study Group: 3d Session	México, D.F.	March 22-
Development Assistance Group: 4th Meeting	London	March 27-
SEATO Council: 7th Meeting	Bangkok	March 27-
U.N. ECE Coal Committee: 51st Session	Geneva	March 27-
U.N. ECOSOC Committee on Industrial Development	New York	March 27-
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: 6th Meeting of Technical Advi- sory Council.	Turrialba	March
U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 9th Session	Geneva	March

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Dec. 16, 1960. Following is a list of abbreviations: 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; IADB, Inter-American Development Bank; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund.

United States Presents Views on Colonialism

Following are statements made in the plenary session of the U.N. General Assembly by James J. Wadsworth, U.S. Representative, together with the text of a 43-power resolution adopted on December 14.

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 6

U.S. delegation press release 3602

Through all its life the United Nations has been deeply concerned with the progress of dependent peoples toward self-government and independence. That progress has embraced nearly 800 million people. It has become the greatest tide of political liberation in all history.

This year, with the admission of 17 newly established nations to our midst, the independence movement has reached a climax. It is well, therefore, in the presence of so many nations which have achieved independence in recent times, that this session of the General Assembly should consider the future of this momentous movement. The movement itself is natural, just, and irresistible. It is determined not so much by what we say here as by historic forces which cannot be reversed. But it seems reasonable to hope that our deliberations here may help to speed it and to make it more orderly, more peaceful, and more just for the scores of millions whose future is bound up with it.

No people supports the idea of freedom and national independence more eagerly or more proudly than the people of the United States. All delegations here are aware of the historical background which led the founders of my country to make and carry into effect the famous Declaration of Independence which we celebrate every Fourth of July. After 150 years of colonial rule and after the economic and social development of the original colonies had attained a point where they were able to stand on their own feet, and when repressive acts reached a point where they were regarded as unendurable, our leaders issued

this immortal Declaration. By it they brought into being a new nation, founded on certain self-evident truths: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Our founders declared, and we still hold, that these truths are not the heritage of any particular race or nation but of "all men." And so it has proved in fact, for the influence of that Declaration reverberated around the world and still reverberates today.

Therefore the general sentiment of the American people has always been that freedom and independence are among the basic natural rights of every people and nation. Our public opinion has shown no ambition to dominate other nations and has had little enthusiasm for colonial ventures, whether by ourselves or by others. When a former colony emerges as a new nation, we instinctively remember our own origin and respond with heartfelt rejoicing.

In this debate, on a subject where so many nations have greater experience than we, it would be idle for the United States to try to preach to anybody. Nor shall we try to rouse passions by lurid accusations. We are more interested in the future than in the past. We believe that the rapid progress of the independence movement is essential to peace. In this statement we shall try to set forth some of the broad principles by which that progress must be governed.

The Drive for Independence

From its very founding the United Nations conceived of the long-established colonial governments, which then embraced a major part of the globe, not as sources of profit to the governing power but rather as "a sacred trust" and a

means of progress for dependent peoples. This was made plain by article 73 of the charter, the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. That article makes clear that the administering powers have a responsibility to the community of nations, that the interests of the indigenous populations come first, and that among those interests are progress toward self-government and free institutions and the realization of their "political aspirations"—which in most cases has meant independence. The same article also makes clear that the pace and method of progress must take into account the "particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement."

In the 15 years of the United Nations, article 73 has been put into effect with greater speed and on a grander scale than any other provision of the charter. Some 34 countries, containing over 775 million people, have attained independence since 1946. Nearly all are members of the United Nations with delegates in this hall. In Africa alone no less than 21 states have made this transition, until two-thirds of the whole area of Africa is free and independent. And, as the representative of the United Kingdom [David Ormsby-Gore] reminded us in his statement early in this debate, still others will follow in the years just ahead.

Now, this success has given a powerful impetus to the drive for independence and full self-government in other countries which are still dependent today and which feel themselves to be part of the same great stream of history. It is natural and healthy that this should be so. The very presence in our midst of a greatly increased number of new nations, all free to express their views as they think right, imparts to this question a new urgency.

It is equally fitting that, within the context of the charter provisions to which I referred just now, an effort should be made to state the sense of the General Assembly in a new declaration which accords with the circumstances of 1960. For that task no one among us is so well qualified as the nations of Africa and Asia, to most of whom this question is a matter of firsthand experience and who are the sponsors of the draft resolution before the Assembly.¹ We of the United

States would like to be in a position to support their declaration. We hope that whatever questions of language may remain can be worked out. We applaud their initiative and the spirit which animates it.

The U.S. Point of View

In this statement, rather than dissect the draft resolution, I shall try to set forth in broad terms the point of view of the United States.

First let me say what we mean by colonialism. There is no need for a formal definition. We have learned from history certain of its characteristics. It is the imposition of alien power over a people, usually by force and without the free and formal consent of the governed. It is the perpetuation of that power. It is the denial of the right of self-determination—whether by suppressing free expression or by withholding necessary educational, economic, and social development.

Obviously not all colonial regimes have been the same. Some have been benevolent and have expended great sums for the benefit of the indigenous people; others have been harsh and repressive. Some have understood the justice and inevitability of progress by the indigenous people to full self-government and self-determination and have shaped their policies accordingly; others have not. But, however important these differences, the fact remains that colonialism in any form is undesirable. Neither the most benevolent paternalism by a ruling power nor the most grateful acceptance of these benefits by indigenous leaders can meet the test of the charter or satisfy the spirit of this age.

In fact the only colonial rule which can meet that test is that which energetically works to turn over full power to the indigenous people and thus seeks to bring itself to an end as soon as possible.

Time and again that test has been met. The vast lands which in generations past were overseas possessions of Western nations have been transformed by the joint efforts of the governing and the governed, until today the complete end of this traditional colonial era is a certainty. In spite of inevitable friction and some tragic instances of violence this historic transformation has been largely peaceful. For that blessing great credit is due to statesmen and leaders on both sides.

Mr. President, the United States devoutly hopes

¹ U.N. doc. A/L. 323 and Add. 1-6.

that the complete ending of the colonial age will be still more peaceful and harmonious. That this should be so is manifestly in the future interest of all concerned. We cannot help remarking on the fact that some speakers who have taken a prominent part in this debate, and who maintain that they themselves are all free and independent and have no colonies, have outdone all the rest of the speakers here in the violence of their language. They give the impression that they would prefer, for reasons best known to themselves, to see the colonial regimes of which they speak brought to an end by violence, with the greatest possible hatred and bitterness on both sides.

A New and Lethal Colonialism

Now, we could describe at this point, if it would be helpful to any suffering people to do so, a new colonial system which does not span any oceans but which is nonetheless as complete a violation of the rights of man as any that has ever existed. This colonial system was imposed by force on many peoples of many races, many of whom had for centuries been free and independent states and had been members of the League of Nations. Some lost their independence even in form; all of them lost it in fact. This entire system is disguised by censorship, by ruthless thought control, and by an elaborate misuse of words like "democratic" and "autonomous." But its tragic reality is attested by the millions who have escaped from it and by the tens of thousands who died in their vain efforts to shake it off.

That is the new colonialism. In the very years when the old colonialism was being transformed by the independence movement the new colonialism was spreading to still other nations. It is the largest colonial empire in all the world. Yet it seeks to spread still further under the false banner of "liberation." Fortunately its further spread has been checked by the increasing ability of free peoples to understand the reality through the disguise. We are convinced that this new colonial system, too, will die out—and, we hope and pray, peacefully. Its time, perhaps, is not yet, but its time will come. Meanwhile, when we hear the practitioners of this new colonialism launch their thunderbolts against the old, we are tempted to recall that old proverb: "What you do speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say."

The arch practitioner of this new and lethal colonialism demonstrated to us as recently as last Sunday [December 4] the true colors of its cynical and hypocritical nature, which it hides under the false banner of liberation and behind masses of words and slogans expounding freedom from colonial domination and independence for all peoples of the world. I hardly need refresh your memories that it was the Soviet Union which last Sunday morning in the Security Council vetoed the resolution proposing the admission of the recently free and independent Islamic Republic of Mauritania.² This veto, a barefaced attempt to blackmail the Security Council into accepting a package deal, has effectively prevented Mauritania from achieving its full status and rights in the community of nations. Mr. President, fellow delegates, I ask you to think about the implications of the Soviet Union's action on Sunday morning. Particularly consider this veto on the admission of a sovereign state to the United Nations when the representative of the Soviet Union next takes the floor to champion, with hollow oratory, the independence and equal rights of all peoples.

I have made this short digression to describe the "new colonial system" so that we may not forget the many millions of people who suffer under this "new colonialism" and whose fate, rightly or wrongly, most members of the General Assembly have chosen not to consider at this time. At the same time we should recall that the resolution now before us quite rightly speaks out against colonialism *in all its manifestations*, just as did the historic declaration following the Bandung conference.

Irresistible Force of Nationalism

I return now, however, to the old colonial system. In the view of the United States certain points are clear.

First, the ending of the colonial era is already far advanced, and its complete end is certain. The sentiment of nationalism is one of the strongest and most irresistible forces of modern times. It should not be thwarted or suppressed—indeed it cannot be. Modern history records many instances of nations which were partitioned or completely extinguished, only to emerge again as

² BULLETIN of Dec. 26, 1960, p. 976.

members of the family of nations. Some of these are sitting in our midst today; others may be here tomorrow. In any case those who have responsibility under chapter XI of the United Nations Charter for the administration of non-self-governing territories must realize that their tutelage, at best, can only be temporary. Any attempt to prolong it by unnecessary delays, or any failure to prepare for it with all possible speed, will only frustrate the inevitable and sow a harvest of bitterness which will persist long after independence has been achieved.

Second, it is not enough merely to liquidate the old; it is necessary also to plan soundly for what will replace it. In this the wishes of the indigenous people must be paramount. Experience shows that a separate independence is usually, but by no means always, the people's choice. For instance, contrary to the impression left by the declaration which Mr. [Valerian A.] Zorin read,³ the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico do not now desire independence. They are fully self-governing and have freely chosen to be associated with the United States as a self-governing commonwealth.⁴ There are strong economic, financial, and other reasons behind their decision. On November 8 they reelected Governor [Luis] Muñoz Marín, who is a strong advocate of the commonwealth solution and, in fact, one of its chief architects, by a clear majority of 58 percent in a free election. Another 32 percent advocated statehood, or full political integration with the United States.

There are other examples of countries which, on emerging from colonial rule, have freely chosen to join with a neighboring state in a single sovereignty.

Solutions like these may also be preferred by other peoples, particularly those who live in small and widely scattered islands. Thus independence is only the most obvious of several possible choices. The essential point is that the people should choose.

My third point is related to this principle of popular choice. The vital test for the administering authority of every dependent area is the test of free consultation with the people through free elections or through some equally valid means of self-determination. This means more than a ceremony in which the people are permitted to ratify

a single, predetermined decision. It means an actual choice among alternatives. That is the essence of the principle of self-determination of peoples which is included among the purposes of the United Nations. It is futile to argue that the people may make the wrong decision or a decision which will be bad for them. At some moment, and better soon than late, the administering authority must trust in the people's wisdom and put their destiny in their own hands. This has been done with success in so many cases that there can be no denying its practical validity. Let more use be made of free elections, then, so that peoples everywhere may be free to determine their destiny.

Determination of a Timetable

Finally, Mr. President, I come to the question of time. How soon shall the remaining dependencies become independent or decide their future?

The United States believes that steps must be taken immediately toward self-government or independence. In many cases this process is already far advanced. Where it is not so advanced, there must be no delay. Certainly no administering authority should maintain the colonial status or relationship one day longer than may be necessary to enable each territory to stand on its own feet in the strenuous conditions of the modern world. Moreover the determination of a timetable should not be arbitrary but should be the result of continuous consultation with the indigenous peoples and their leaders.

The charter makes it clear, in its Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, that the progressive development of free political institutions is to be carried out "according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement." All the members of the United Nations, in subscribing to the charter, have accepted this principle; and its wisdom has been fully demonstrated by experience. If independence is to be real and not merely formal, it must be accompanied by economic, social, and political growth and stability. Even in the same region there may be wide variations in this regard. The Trust Territory of Western Samoa, which will soon have a plebiscite regarding its future, has a very advanced society compared to the Trust

³ U.N. doc. A/4502 and Corr. 1.

⁴ BULLETIN of Oct. 24, 1960, p. 656.

Territory of New Guinea, large parts of which are still unexplored and unknown to the outside world. To deal with both as if they were in comparable stages of advancement would not insure to either "their just treatment, and their protection against abuses," as pledged in the charter.

We can sum up our views on the matter of timing in this way. Common sense, and the terms of the charter as well, make it inescapable that independence—or whatever other final result the people may choose—must be reached in progressive steps. Sometimes the remaining road is short; in other cases it is still long. A long road should not be attempted in one leap. It is a poor service to any people to convert them overnight from colonial subjection to a paper independence which they are not equipped to sustain. The result is certain to be a collapse into chaos and violence—and perhaps an attempt by other stronger powers to put them under a new yoke. It is simply jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Yet none of these cautions is an excuse for delay with the urgent business in hand. Administering authorities should consult with the people to establish timetables of progress. Steps along the way must be immediate. Both the administering authority and the people must feel an urgent obligation to speed the day of full liberation. That obligation is imposed upon us by history. To shirk it would lead only to tragic and needless conflict.

Value of U.N. for Emerging Nations

Mr. President, we are speaking here of one of the great liberating movements of history: the creation of new sovereign nations. It is fitting to recall to ourselves how much this movement already owes—and how much it is sure to owe in the future—to the United Nations. Not only has this Organization under its charter already taken a substantial and creative interest in the liberating process itself; the United Nations also provides—and this may be even a greater service in the long run—a house for the community of nations. Here the world's many independent nations, in all their variety and despite all their discord, can find a sound and strong framework within which to dwell in peace.

This priceless value of the United Nations for the emerging nations was recognized by President Eisenhower when he proposed, in his address to

the General Assembly on September 22,⁵ a United Nations program for Africa. Among the points in this program are an immediate increase in the size of the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and of the United Nations Special Fund, expansion and permanent status for the United Nations program to provide operational and executive personnel to newly developing countries, special attention to Africa by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and a new United Nations program of education so that the peoples of Africa can more rapidly acquire "the mental tools to preserve and develop their freedom."

We shall develop these proposals further when the Assembly considers the item which our delegation proposed entitled "Africa: A United Nations Program for Independence and Development."⁶ We shall welcome particularly the ideas of the African states on that program. Already we have been greatly interested to hear a number of speakers from Africa, during the present debate, emphasize their wish that aid to Africa should come as much as possible through the United Nations. With that attitude we entirely agree.

By such steps as these, Mr. President, we shall take the most statesmanlike course of all—the course which strengthens the independence of nations and at the same time strengthens the world institutions which bind us together in peace. Only from that unity in diversity can a peaceful world community be built. And only in such a community can freedom be achieved, and securely sustained, for all the peoples of the world.

President Eisenhower in his address to the General Assembly described this ideal in these words:

This concept of unity in freedom, drawn from the diversity of many racial strains and cultures, we would like to see made a reality for all mankind. This concept should apply within every nation as it does among nations. We believe that the right of every man to participate through his or her vote in self-government is as precious as the right of each nation here represented to vote its own convictions in this Assembly. I should like to see a universal plebiscite in which every individual

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1960, p. 551.

⁶ For a statement by Mr. Wadsworth in the General Committee on Sept. 28, together with the text of his letter and explanatory memorandum to the Secretary-General, see *ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1960, p. 657.

in the world would be given the opportunity freely and secretly to answer this question: Do you want this right? Opposed to the idea of two hostile, embittered worlds in perpetual conflict, we envisage a single world community, as yet unrealized but advancing steadily toward fulfillment through our plans, our efforts, and our collective ideas.

Thus we see as our goal, not a superstate above nations, but a world community embracing them all, rooted in law and justice and enhancing the potentialities and common purposes of all peoples.

In light of those ideals, Mr. President, we rejoice to see the age of colonies pass into history and a host of new nations emerging into the community of freedom. Let that great community grow steadily to completion, overcoming all fanatical divisions and groundless ambitions, until it embraces—as one day it surely must—all the members of the family of man.

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 14

U.S. delegation press release 3618

I wish to explain the attitude of the United States toward the 43-power resolution just adopted without opposition and the reasons for our abstention in the vote.

The United States, as I said in my previous intervention in this debate, warmly supports and endorses the interest and concern of the United Nations in promoting larger freedom for peoples everywhere. The support of freedom is a concept springing from deeply held beliefs of the American people. We accordingly welcomed the underlying purpose of this resolution, sponsored by the 43 delegations, which we understand to be the advancement of human freedom in the broadest sense. The concept of human freedom, as the resolution which has just been passed makes perfectly clear, applies not only to peoples who are achieving self-government or independence under the administration of the various member states but also to other peoples whose desire to live under free institutions of their own choosing is brutally stifled. Freedom is, indeed, indivisible.

There are difficulties in the language and thought of this resolution, which I will comment on more specifically in a moment, which made it impossible for us to support it, because they seemed to negate certain clear provisions of the charter. This we deeply regret. These questions of language could not have been straightened out,

and we regret it because, as I have said, the United States endorses the support of the United Nations as set forth in its charter for the basic quest of people everywhere for political institutions and governmental forms in keeping with their rights to live in dignity and in freedom.

One thing is clear, however. This resolution applies equally to all areas of the world which are not free, whether they are in the Western Hemisphere, in Africa, Asia, or Europe. It speaks of freedom from alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation for all peoples. It proclaims that "all peoples have the right to self-determination." It condemns colonialism in all its manifestations. Members of the United Nations would not be true to their trust and responsibilities under the charter if they failed to consider the plight of some of the peoples to whom the charter's provisions and those of the new declaration are clearly relevant. I refer specifically to peoples living under Soviet colonial domination, whose plight I mentioned briefly in my previous intervention.

We found difficulties, as I noted earlier, in the language and thought of this resolution. For instance, it is hard to understand why a resolution on this broad subject should be completely silent on the important contributions which the administering powers, including my own Government, have made in the advancement of dependent peoples toward self-government or independence. The resolution is also heavily weighted toward complete independence as the only acceptable goal, thus ignoring the charter provisions for self-government of dependent areas within larger political contexts. We see this reflected in the title of the resolution and in many of the preambular and operative paragraphs. The penultimate preambular paragraph, for example, speaks of the "inalienable right" of all peoples "to complete freedom," which seems to point to full independence in all cases. For our part, we must question the wisdom of espousing principles which would result in some cases in unnecessary political fragmentation and which also fly in the face of the political and economic realities in many areas of the world. Full democratic self-government within a larger and stable political system is sometimes more worthy as an immediate objective than full political independence.

In examining with care, as we have done, the

major aspects of this resolution we have reached the conclusion that operative paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 are susceptible to serious misinterpretations which could cause basic misunderstanding of the attitude of the various governments here on the need for orderly and effective preparations for self-government or independence in accordance with the charter provisions. Although we are sure that this was not the intent of the sponsors of the resolution, paragraph 3 permits the interpretation that the question of preparation for independence is wholly irrelevant. Adequate preparation for self-government or independence is a matter of elementary prudence and is a responsibility which must be accepted by those administering dependent peoples. It is clearly essential that emerging peoples be reasonably able to undertake the responsibilities they will have to face. On the other hand, we would never agree that false allegations in respect of political, economic, social, or educational preparation should be used to retard political development.

Paragraph 4, written in unqualified language, seems to preclude even legitimate measures for the maintenance of law and order. This is, of course, incompatible with the obligations of administering authorities toward the peoples under their administration.

As for paragraph 5, here again is a very strong statement that only "complete independence and freedom" is the acceptable political goal for dependent peoples. This paragraph also calls for immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of trust and non-self-governing territories without any conditions or reservations.

The record of the United States in taking steps for the self-government or independence of peoples under its administration is an open book. We are proud of that record. We have taken many steps in the past; we are taking steps now, and we will take further steps in the future. We will do this in a manner consonant with our international responsibilities under the charter and our responsibilities for people under our administration.

Like many other members of the United Nations, we regard the provisions of chapters XI and XII of the charter, which deal specifically with non-self-governing and trust territories, as controlling. So far as the territories for which we are responsible are concerned, the United States Government will continue to advance these terri-

tories and their peoples toward self-government or independence in accordance with the provisions of the charter and the obligations we have assumed in the trusteeship agreement.

I would call attention, Mr. President, to a very wise statement which was made not long ago from this rostrum by the distinguished representative of India [V. K. Krishna Menon] in which he said, while discussing his country's or his delegation's position on another matter, "We did not feel that we could fully support it unless we could support every word of it." And this is the major reason why the United States has felt constrained to abstain on this particular vote.

I should like to say, however, that I am sure that the devotion of the United States to the principles of human freedom and political advancement will be judged by what the United States has done, is doing, and will continue to do in the cause of freedom. I have every confidence that our support of these principles will be considered on the basis of our record in action—as it really is and not as it is distorted or may in the future be distorted by the words of others.

Very briefly, Mr. President, I turn to the Soviet draft which the U.S.S.R. delegation presented before the Assembly in this debate.⁷ That draft would have added nothing useful to the 43-power resolution, which we all knew would be adopted without opposition. We regretted that the Soviet representative insisted on pressing it, as well as on pressing his amendments⁸ to the 43-power resolution.

In view of the Soviet record of imperialism and colonialism in the relatively brief history of the U.S.S.R., and particularly since World War II, it would have been a travesty to adopt a Soviet proposal on this question, and we therefore voted against it.

43-POWER RESOLUTION⁹

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity

⁷ U.N. doc. A/4502 and Corr. 1; put to the vote in two parts, neither of which was adopted.

⁸ U.N. doc. A/L.328; both Soviet amendments were rejected.

⁹ U.N. doc. A/RES/1514(XV) (A/L.323 and Add. 1-6); adopted on Dec. 14 by a vote of 89 to 0, with 9 abstentions.

and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace.

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories,

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace,

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

Need for Progress in Dealing With Palestine Refugee Problem

*Statement by Francis O. Wilcox
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

No one can doubt the importance of the Palestine refugee problem. Not only does it affect the lives of millions of people; it also has a direct bearing on peace and stability in the Middle East. Our consideration this year of the Palestine refugee problem will afford us opportunities for the exercise of judicious restraint and for the application of the highest statesmanship. The U.S. delegation strongly hopes that the present discussion of this problem will result in a better outlook for progress toward a solution. I appeal to all members here to deal with this question calmly, constructively, and in moderation.

At this session, and particularly at the 16th session of the General Assembly when the activities of UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] will be thoroughly reviewed, we urge all delegations to proceed from the premise that the crucial factor is the present and future welfare of the

¹Made in the Special Political Committee on Nov. 16 (U.S. delegation press release 3577).

Palestine refugees themselves. If we all work from that basic premise, real progress will be possible.

Given the present tragic impasse, UNRWA has had to continue essential services for the Palestine refugees. UNRWA is performing this task most creditably. It is gratifying that the Agency, insofar as its relatively limited resources allow, is striving to increase such promising programs as vocational training. We note with approval the Director's plans to expand the Agency's vocational training programs. The world community should insure that as many as possible of the young people, the new generation among the refugees, are prepared for useful employment. Wherever they finally make their homes, these refugees should be ready to lead productive lives, to take their place as self-reliant members of their society.

The committee has before it Director [John E.] Davis' commendable 3-year program for UNRWA activities.² All who are genuinely concerned about the fate of the Palestine refugees must note with regret and even dismay that the pledges of financial support for UNRWA's work in 1961 are considerably short of the required sum.

The concern of my Government for the Palestine refugees has been manifested clearly and concretely.³ Over the years we, along with the Governments and people of the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, have contributed the great bulk of the support needed to sustain the refugees and to give them some hope for the future. Many other member states have contributed as they could. Nor should we forget that the Arab host governments have in many significant ways contributed some of their resources to the physical and educational welfare of the refugees. But certain other member states have not contributed as they could. I find it ironic indeed that some member states, claiming great resources and proclaiming their profound sympathy for the refugees, have been unwilling to help in a concrete fashion.

The large financial assistance that is needed from the contributing governments to support UNRWA is often referred to in general terms.

² U.N. doc. A/4478.

³ For a statement made by George D. Aiken concerning a U.S. pledge to UNRWA, see BULLETIN of Nov. 21, 1960, p. 803.

To emphasize the size of UNRWA's task, I should like to be more specific. Since May 1, 1950, the contributing governments have voluntarily contributed a total of nearly \$319 million. Last year, that is, the 12 months ending December 31, 1959, the contributing governments gave \$32½ million. Since UNRWA began, the six largest contributors have been: the United States, over \$222 million; the United Kingdom, almost 61 million; France, over 11 million; Canada, almost 9 million; Australia, about 2 million; and New Zealand, well over a million. As Dr. Davis has made clear in his report, the total expenditure in 1961 should amount to 36.5 million. These are large sums; they give a realistic estimate of the magnitude of the problem with which we are confronted.

My Government is encouraged to see that since the adoption of Resolution 1456⁴ at the 14th General Assembly, efforts to rectify unfortunate irregularities in the distribution of relief supplies have been expanded and intensified. I would like to commend the UNRWA staff and the governments concerned for the progress they are making in overcoming this particular deficiency. I would urge that these efforts be vigorously pursued. It is now clear to everyone of good will that the reason for rectifying the refugee relief rolls is to insure that those refugees qualified to receive UNRWA rations and services do, in fact, receive them. Thus it is our conviction that the bona fide refugees will benefit if this process is maintained and completed without undue delay.

Before discussing some related elements of the Palestine refugee problem, let me extend on behalf of my Government sincere congratulations to Director Davis and to his staff for the devotion to duty, the sense of responsibility, and the imagination they have shown in assisting the refugees. They have won deep respect for their conduct of UNRWA's affairs from the refugees themselves, from the host governments, and from the contributing governments. I have complete confidence that they will continue faithfully to carry out the mandate of the Agency.

While few would dispute the need for the temporary provision of necessary services to the Palestine refugees, more and more frustration is being felt in various quarters over the lack of progress

⁴ For background and text of resolution, see *ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1960, p. 31.

toward a fundamental solution. Each year the Palestine refugee population grows by almost 30,000 people. About half of the refugees are young people born after their parents left their former homes. In spite of these facts we cannot allow ourselves to become resigned to this problem as if it were unsolvable or had some kind of inevitability attached to it.

My Government shares the keen disappointment of other members that the parties directly concerned have apparently not indicated, since the 14th session of the General Assembly, their willingness to approach the refugee problem with adequate flexibility and with due adherence to principles often confirmed by the General Assembly. However, we are fully aware that the Arab states and Israel are separated by a complex of problems. The Palestine refugee issue is one of the most important of these. A solution to this problem would clearly be in the long-range interests of all the states in the area, whatever the short-range advantages of its perpetuation may seem to be to one party or another.

Mr. President, I cannot overemphasize this point. No one stands to gain from the present impasse.

It is not fair to the people of the Middle East, who could profit so much from an era of tranquillity and progress.

It is not fair to the United Nations, which has devoted so much time and energy and patience and money to the solution of this problem.

It is not fair to the contributing states, which year after year have been contributing to the support of the refugees with the fervent hope that some constructive outcome could be found.

It is not fair especially to a million refugees who, by the force of circumstances, have been denied those opportunities for the pursuit of happiness that all free men should enjoy.

For far too long this impasse has persisted. We have delayed. We have procrastinated. We have put off until tomorrow what we should have done today.

Last year the Assembly requested the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine to make further efforts in connection with the principles enunciated in paragraph 11 of Resolution 194(III).⁵ Since then, the Commission has done what it reasonably could. I must say, however, that the PCC cannot fruitfully work in a vacuum.

Such progress as may be secured through the efforts of the Commission or by any other means before our review of this problem at the 16th General Assembly depends fundamentally on the attitudes and the actions of the parties directly concerned, of the Arab host governments and the Government of Israel. As the delegate of a country represented on the Commission, I can say that the PCC would welcome and carefully consider any reasonable proposals by any of the parties directly concerned for possible courses of action. I suggest also that other member states who are concerned about this problem, and who may have proposals to make, transmit such proposals to the Commission for its quiet and deliberate consideration.

During the last several years the governments concerned directly with the Palestine refugee problem have not utilized the Commission by proposing possible solutions; yet that has by no means stopped the work of the Commission. Early this year the Commission decided to accelerate the completion of its important program to identify and evaluate the real property left behind by the Palestine refugees. It is greatly to be hoped that all member states will, as required, assist the Commission in the early completion of this formidable technical task. In addition, the Commission has prepared objective and detailed working papers on the subjects of compensation and repatriation. These papers will be of considerable value to those who are closely concerned with future endeavors to seek a solution of the problem.

In conclusion I should like to emphasize five points which are of particular importance if we are to make progress in dealing with the problem of the Palestine refugees:

⁵ In paragraph 11 of Resolution 194(III), adopted on Dec. 11, 1948, the General Assembly resolved "that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible" and instructed the Conciliation Commission "to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations. . . ."

1. We must continue to support the Director of UNRWA and his staff in the constructive approach outlined in his latest report.

2. We must recognize the precarious financial position of the Agency, and all governments should consider to what extent they can contribute or increase their contributions. Also the financial burden should be more equitably shared than has been the case heretofore.

3. The Agency and the host governments must continue their efforts to rectify irregularities in the distribution of relief supplies.

4. The Palestine Conciliation Commission must continue its efforts to prepare the way for progress toward a solution of the refugee problem.

5. The Governments directly concerned must, in recognizing their primary responsibility for the fair and peaceful resolution of this issue, take greater initiative toward the attainment of a solution.

Finally, I should like again to make a plea to this committee for the generous application of realism and compassion in dealing with this problem, which involves the welfare of a million people and the stability of the Near East.

U.S. Affirms Interest in Development of Colombo Plan Countries

*Statement by Theodore C. Achilles
Counselor of the Department of State¹*

Before turning to our annual report I would like to join those who have already spoken in expressing deep appreciation to our Japanese hosts. They have given us in full measure the genius for organization of the Japanese mind and the warm hospitality of the Japanese heart. Indeed, all that we see in Japan today bears effective witness to the sterling qualities of the Japanese people and their leaders.

Mr. Chairman, my Government is proud indeed to have been a member of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee virtually from its inception a decade ago. In its own relatively short national

existence my country has sought freedom and progress for its own people, and today the average American wishes these same privileges for our friends everywhere. We recognize the community, the universality, of the basic aspirations of all mankind for freedom, for dignity, and for a better life for himself and his children. We recognize our growing interdependence, a concomitant of the jet age, and the new challenges and opportunities that are its counterpart. And finally we recognize that millions of people are learning every day about new material aspects of life in the 20th century. They want to share in this better life that man's ingenuity has made possible, and they want to do so quickly.

The Colombo Plan has demonstrated during this decade of its existence an excellent balance between high aspirations and a commonsense, practical attention to the realities of economic life and development. It is well suited to deal with even greater responsibilities in the years ahead. We are entering a decade in which, in Prime Minister [Hayato] Ikeda's words, the problem of economic development in less advanced countries becomes the biggest problem facing the world's economy. The draft report which lies before us shows that we have all become more sophisticated in our appraisal of economic development requirements. For example, we are increasingly cognizant that the various segments of our economies must be developed in a balanced fashion; that industrial development, social progress, and the improvement of socioeconomic institutions are closely interrelated; and that both public and private sectors must act as partners in accelerating economic growth and vitality.

We have also reached a clearer understanding of the essential responsibilities for economic development that rest, by the very nature of economic realities, upon each individual Colombo Plan member. This is not, of course, to deny the vast importance of cooperative efforts, including external assistance in its various forms. Americans can speak with feeling on this subject, for our success in building a strong nation in the 19th century owed a great deal to European example and investment. But external assistance can only supplement, it cannot supplant, vigorous efforts at home, notably the accumulation of capital and the effective utilization of both human and natural resources. Political, intellectual, and

¹ Made at the 12th Ministerial Meeting of the Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia at Tokyo on Nov. 16. Mr. Achilles was U.S. Representative at the ministerial meeting.

moral leadership must be drawn from the peoples of the developing countries themselves. It is they, therefore, who will determine the ultimate success of all economic development endeavors.

The report shows, however, the important supplementary part which external assistance, including that from the United States, has played in helping to promote the economic development of Colombo Plan countries during the past year. It is a source of satisfaction to note that since the beginning of the Colombo Plan my country has contributed economic aid of various types to the countries of the area in an amount that now approximates \$7½ thousand million. It is, perhaps, pertinent to note that U.S. commitments of aid during the past year (\$1½ thousand million) exceeded those of the preceding year by \$270 million.

U.S. Assistance Programs

The reason why my Government maintains, as an integral part of its foreign policy, an active program of economic assistance to those free-world countries in the earlier stages of development has been stated countless times. In simple words it is our recognition of the basic universality of all our aspirations and of our increasing interdependence. The objectives of the Asian people to achieve freedom, peace, and human dignity are also *our* objectives. It is because of these common objectives that my Government places so high a value on the Colombo Plan as an instrument to encourage the fullest international economic cooperation among its members. The experience and methods developed in this association have aroused interest elsewhere—in Latin America and, as our Canadian colleague has emphasized, also in Africa.

I shall not deal at length with the instrumentalities through which United States assistance programs are channeled, for I am sure that they are familiar to the members of the Committee. I should, however, make special mention of our abiding interest in technical cooperation as basic to any joint effort to accelerate economic development. We intend to be as responsive to the needs for this type of cooperation as our annual budget permits. While our technical cooperation programs are essentially bilateral in character, they have in various instances been of assistance in promoting regional activities of the type suggested by the distinguished Burmese delegate.

Multilateral Development Activities

My Government recognizes equally the importance of multilateral activities in this field, as is demonstrated by our initiative in the creation of the United Nations Special Fund. The resources of the Fund and of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance have not yet reached a total figure which would take advantage of the U.S. pledge offered on a matching basis. We hope that contributions will increase. We hope also that the United Nations' new OPEX program for providing trained administrators to less developed countries can be enlarged. President Eisenhower recently indicated in his address to the United Nations General Assembly² that the United States is prepared to join other countries in contributing increased funds to this program and that the program should be placed on a permanent basis.

We have also given considerable attention to our Development Loan Fund, now in operation for about 3 years. This institution was, of course, designed to permit the United States to provide development capital under more flexible terms. Over half of the Fund's operation is made up of commitments within the Colombo Plan area. My Government contemplates further expansion of the Fund's resources in order that it may continue to meet a maximum share of the demands made upon it.

In addition to its own lending institutions, its mutual security programs, technical cooperation, and sales of agricultural surpluses, the United States during the past 2 years has taken a strong initiative in stimulating or strengthening international means of accelerating development. Cooperative efforts have now led to a large increase in the resources of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund and to the creation of the International Development Association.

The IDA is a new venture in international development financing. It will provide financing of a kind not now available from any other broadly based multilateral institution. The need of many developing countries for capital imports far exceeds their capacity to service loans on normal banking terms. It is the purpose of the IDA, like the U.S. Development Loan Fund, to provide supplementary capital on flexible terms for sound

² For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1960, p. 551.

projects and programs that could not otherwise be set in motion.

The articles of agreement of the IDA have come into force, and the IDA will soon begin operations. We are hopeful that, in accordance with the spirit of its articles, the IDA will operate in a vigorous and flexible manner to meet the needs of developing countries that cannot be met from the resources of the IBRD, with which it is affiliated. However, if the IDA is to do the job for which it was created, countries which have so far failed to take the necessary steps to become members should, of course, do so.

Development Assistance Group

If man's right to hope for more than a bare struggle for existence is to be fulfilled, to use Prime Minister Macmillan's words, collaboration must be expanded among those more advanced nations capable of providing assistance. The emergence of many newly independent nations adds a new dimension to the intensity and urgency of the problem. There has been a heartening response through international cooperation. Our prospering free-world friends have joined with us in establishing the Development Assistance Group. The members of this group are those countries which are making available, or may be in a position to make available, a significant flow of long-term funds to underdeveloped areas.

At present the Group is composed of 10 countries and the European Economic Community. Japan, the only member country outside of Europe and North America, has not allowed the disadvantage of distance in terms of meeting and communications to restrict its full participation in the work of the organization. Here in Tokyo one can see the amazing economic progress which has taken place in Japan and can be confident that Japan will play an even more important role in extending assistance to less developed areas. The statement at our opening session by Prime Minister Ikeda was heartening in this respect.

The Development Assistance Group is not an operating organization. It exists to provide an opportunity for capital-exporting countries to discuss the question of techniques to facilitate the flow of long-term funds to less developed areas. In addition to exchanging information about existing programs and institutions, the DAG members have agreed on the basis for exchanging

comparable data on the total flow of funds from their countries to less developed areas. This should help to meet in part the situation to which the distinguished delegates of the Philippines and Burma have drawn attention. DAG members have also discussed the question of preinvestment technical assistance and how it might be made more effective.

We believe that DAG can perform a useful function in expanding both the volume and usefulness of development assistance from the industrialized countries. My Government continues to be prepared to discuss bilaterally with any government, and in fact is continuously discussing with many governments, ways in which our assistance can be made more helpful.

Importance of Individual Initiative

Mr. Chairman, all of the members here have problems of economic development; we are all developing at varying rates. In the case of my own country, many factors have borne on its development. One factor that is basic is encouragement, within a framework of stable legal and social institutions, to individuals to exercise such initiative and drive as they possess.

We believe that in countries in the Colombo Plan area, as in my own country, a proper scope for individual initiative, an encouragement of individual savings and investment, and an encouragement of a free flow of foreign investment will hasten the development of industries and bring a pattern of solid and enduring growth.

My Government has been making tremendous efforts to encourage American investors to look boldly afield in the underdeveloped areas. We have tried to expand and improve our system of tax and commercial treaties, investment guaranty arrangements, and other institutional and legislative measures, to encourage the outflow of productive private capital. Even in our public lending operations this objective is a continuing element.

The potential reservoir of private resources is much larger than that available to Governments for public lending purposes. Moreover, private investment normally carries with it an effective built-in technical assistance component. Its utility in these respects explains, no doubt, the worldwide competition for its acquisition. The reservoir of investment funds never appears adequate

for all requirements; investors are, and can be, selective as to where they direct their funds.

The role of government is of great importance, indeed essential, in contemporary efforts to accelerate economic development, including the attraction of foreign capital. It is particularly important, we believe, that governments help to maintain a proper environment for economic development in all its varied aspects.

The magnitude of the task of accelerating economic development is becoming increasingly apparent. So is its urgency. A decade ago my Government thought in terms of "aid," in large amounts but over a short period. As the nature of the problem has become increasingly clear, my Government is thinking less and less in terms of short-term "aid" and more and more in terms of "accelerating development." By this we mean the mobilization and development of resources, public and private, within the less developed areas and elsewhere. This is the task as we see it.

In closing, I would reiterate the deep interest of my Government in the sound and rapid economic development of the countries in this region. It will continue to cooperate in every appropriate way toward these ends. The progress covered in our draft report is indeed heartening for the tasks that lie ahead.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Finance

Articles of agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Opened for signature at Washington December 27, 1945. Entered into force December 27, 1945. TIAS 1502.

Notification of withdrawal: Dominican Republic, December 1, 1960. Effective December 1, 1960.

Articles of agreement of the International Finance Corporation. Done at Washington May 25, 1955. Entered into force July 20, 1956. TIAS 3620.

Notification of withdrawal: Dominican Republic, December 1, 1960. Effective December 1, 1960.

Articles of agreement of the International Development Association. Done at Washington January 26, 1960. Entered into force September 24, 1960. TIAS 4607.

Signature and acceptance: Denmark, November 30, 1960.

Signatures: Iraq, November 7, 1960; Guatemala, December 2, 1960.

Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 1960. Done at Karachi September 19, 1960. Enters into force on the date the Indus Waters Treaty of September 19, 1960, between India and Pakistan enters into force and will take effect retroactively from April 1, 1960.

Signatures: Australia, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, New Zealand, Pakistan, United Kingdom, United States, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Patents

Agreement for the mutual safeguarding of secrecy of inventions relating to defense and for which applications for patents have been made. Done at Paris September 21, 1960.

Approval deposited: United States, December 8, 1960.

Ratification deposited: Norway, December 13, 1960.

Enters into force: January 12, 1961.

Telecommunications

International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.

Accessions deposited: Niger, November 14, 1960; Senegal, November 15, 1960.

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: United Arab Republic, October 31, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

General agreement on tariffs and trade, with annexes and schedules, and protocol of provisional application. Concluded at Geneva October 30, 1947. TIAS 1700.

Admitted as contracting party: Nigeria, October 1, 1960.

BILATERAL

Canada

Agreement relating to the disposition of the remaining elements of the CANOL pipeline facilities in Canada. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington March 31, 1960. Entered into force March 31, 1960.

Korea

Insured parcel post agreement. Signed at Seoul July 15 and at Washington August 17, 1960.

Entered into force: January 1, 1961.

Norway

Agreement relating to a mutually financed shipbuilding program of the Norwegian Navy. Effected by exchange of notes at Oslo November 29, 1960. Enters into force on the date Norway gives notice of approval by the Norwegian Parliament.

Poland

Protocol to the claims settlement agreement of July 16, 1960 (TIAS 4545). Signed at Warsaw November 29, 1960. Entered into force November 29, 1960.

Rumania

Agreement providing for cultural and other exchanges. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 9, 1960. Entered into force December 9, 1960.

Africa. United States Presents Views on Colonialism (Wadsworth, text of resolution) . . . 21

Asia. U.S. Affirms Interest in Development of Colombo Plan Countries (Achilles) . . . 31

Cuba. President Sets Cuban Sugar Quota at Zero for First Quarter of 1961 (text of proclamation) . . . 18

Czechoslovakia. U.S. Replies to Czechoslovak Note on Masaryk Stamp (text of U.S. note) . . . 17

Dahomey. U.S. Prepared To Give Economic Aid to States of Conseil de l'Entente (Herter) . . . 19

Department and Foreign Service. Export Expansion and the Foreign Service (Merchant) . . . 3

Economic Affairs

Export Expansion and the Foreign Service (Merchant) . . . 3

President Sets Cuban Sugar Quota at Zero for First Quarter of 1961 (text of proclamation) . . . 18

U.S., Canada, and Members of OEEC Sign Convention Establishing Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Dillon, texts of communique and convention) . . . 8

U.S. Prepared To Give Economic Aid to States of Conseil de l'Entente (Herter) . . . 19

World Bank Provides Libraries on Economic Development . . . 19

Europe. U.S., Canada, and Members of OEEC Sign Convention Establishing Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Dillon, texts of communique and convention) . . . 8

International Organizations and Conferences

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings . . . 20

U.S., Canada, and Members of OEEC Sign Convention Establishing Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Dillon, texts of communique and convention) . . . 8

U.S. Affirms Interest in Development of Colombo Plan Countries (Achilles) . . . 31

World Bank Provides Libraries on Economic Development . . . 19

Ivory Coast. U.S. Prepared To Give Economic Aid to States of Conseil de l'Entente (Herter) . . . 19

Laos. U.S. Places Responsibility for Lao Fighting on U.S.S.R. and Partners (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) . . . 15

Middle East. Need for Progress in Dealing With Palestine Refugee Problem (Wilcox) . . . 28

New Zealand. President Congratulates New Zealand Prime Minister on Taking Office (Eisenhower, Holyoake) . . . 7

Niger. U.S. Prepared To Give Economic Aid to States of Conseil de l'Entente (Herter) . . . 19

Non-Self-Governing Territories. United States Presents Views on Colonialism (Wadsworth, text of resolution) . . . 21

Presidential Documents

President Congratulates New Zealand Prime Minister on Taking Office . . . 7

President Sets Cuban Sugar Quota at Zero for First Quarter of 1961 . . . 18

Refugees. Need for Progress in Dealing With Palestine Refugee Problem (Wilcox) . . . 28

Switzerland. Letters of Credence (Lindt) . . . 7

Treaty Information

Current Actions . . . 34

U.S., Canada, and Members of OEEC Sign Convention Establishing Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Dillon, texts of communique and convention) . . . 8

U.S.S.R.

U.S. Places Responsibility for Lao Fighting on U.S.S.R. and Partners (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) . . . 15

United States Presents Views on Colonialism (Wadsworth, text of resolution) . . . 21

United Nations

Need for Progress in Dealing With Palestine Refugee Problem (Wilcox) . . . 28

United States Presents Views on Colonialism (Wadsworth, text of resolution) . . . 21

Upper Volta. U.S. Prepared To Give Economic Aid to States of Conseil de l'Entente (Herter) . . . 19

Name Index

Achilles, Theodore C. 31

Dillon, Douglas 8

Eisenhower, President 7, 18

Herter, Secretary 19

Holyoake, Keith 7

Lindt, August R. 7

Merchant, Livingston T. 3

Wadsworth, James J. 21

Wilcox, Francis O. 28

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: December 12-18

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Releases issued prior to December 12 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 673 of December 6, 683 of December 9, and 687 of December 10.

No.	Date	Subject
*691	12/13	Mazzocco designated ICA representative in Ivory Coast (biographic details).
†692	12/13	Herter: arrival at Brussels.
693	12/13	OEEC Convention.
694	12/14	Herter: letter to chiefs of state of Conseil de l'Entente.
695	12/14	OEEC communique.
696	12/14	Note to Czechoslovakia on Masaryk stamp.
697	12/14	Dillon: signing of OECD Convention.
†698	12/15	Second-stage talks on West Indies bases concluded.
699	12/17	Note to U.S.S.R. concerning Laos.

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



UNITED STATES
 GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
 DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
 WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
 OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
 PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
 (GPO)

THE SCIENCE ADVISER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

This pamphlet gives the historical development of the science program in the Department of State. The purpose of the program is to provide advice to the Secretary of State and his staff on those policy matters in which scientific developments may affect U.S. foreign relations. The organizational machinery for the program consists of the Office of the Science Adviser in Washington and the corps of science officers overseas whose activity it directs.

Publication 7056

15 cents

EDUCATIONAL & CULTURAL EXCHANGE

This report reviews the 1959 operations of the International Educational Exchange Program, which is the largest of the cultural projects under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State. The appendixes in this booklet contain statistical charts on the number and types of exchanges with each country for the years 1949-1959.

Publication 7066

25 cents

Order Form

Please send me copies of—

- The Science Adviser of the Department of State.
- Educational & Cultural Exchange.

Name: -----

Street Address: -----

City, Zone, and State: -----

To: Supt. of Documents
 Govt. Printing Office
 Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$-----
 (cash, check, or money
 order payable to
 Supt. of Docs.)

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1124

January 9, 1961

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL HOLDS MINISTERIAL MEETING AT PARIS • *Message From President Eisenhower, Statements by Secretary Herter, and Text of Communique* 39

PRESIDENT'S REPRESENTATIVE ON CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM SUBMITS REPORT 45

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON CONGO RESULTS IN 92D SOVIET VETO • *Statements by James J. Wadsworth and James W. Barco, and Text of Resolution . .* 51

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONTINUES DISCUSSION OF THE CONGO • *Statement by Ambassador Wadsworth and Texts of Resolutions* 56

E
 FICIAL
 ECKLY RECORD
 ITED STATES
 REIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1124 • PUBLICATION 7124

January 9, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 20, 1958).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

North Atlantic Council Holds Ministerial Meeting at Paris

The North Atlantic Council held its regular ministerial session at Paris from December 16 to 18. Following are texts of a message from President Eisenhower which was read by Secretary Herter at the opening session on December 16, a final communique issued on December 18, and statements made by Secretary Herter on December 12 upon his departure from Washington, on December 13 upon his arrival at Brussels, and on December 18 after the final session.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

As I near the end of my two terms of office as President of the United States, it is a source of great encouragement and satisfaction to consider the immense progress made by the North Atlantic Alliance during the last decade.

In those earlier years when I had the honor to be Supreme Allied Commander Europe, no one would have been so bold as to predict the degree of progress we have made in the collective defense: the great infrastructure complex, the increasingly effective shield forces, and the nuclear power which supports our Alliance.

We have formed habits of close political consultation. As we now face many complex problems which include but also transcend military defense, we must seek to strengthen and develop these habits in increasing measure.

To meet these challenges, we will need to show an even greater unity of thought and action than we have achieved to date. Together we must build a community which will best safeguard the individual freedom and national values of its various peoples and at the same time provide effective means of dealing with problems with which none of us, alone, can deal effectively.

I am confident that the Alliance will meet this challenge, as it has met others in the past. I believe that the long-range planning on which you are now embarked will make a notable contribution to this end.

As you thus continue your labors on behalf of peace, the well-being and freedom of our peoples, I wish you success—now and in the years ahead.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE

Press release 700 dated December 19

1. The regular Ministerial session of the North Atlantic Council was held in Paris from December 16th to 18th, 1960.

2. The Ministers engaged in an extensive review of the international situation—political, military and economic. In pursuance of decisions previously taken, they also considered the question of long-term planning on the basis of a progress report from the Secretary General and suggestions put forward by governments.

3. The Council reaffirmed the solidarity of the Alliance and their dedication to the principle of the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of force or threats. They declared their determination to work for a lasting improvement in international relations, in which freedom, national independence and law would be respected. This would be true peaceful coexistence free from all idea of world domination.

4. The Council deplored the lack of progress during the past year on disarmament, resulting from the Communist states' withdrawal from the Ten-Power Conference before even examining the Western proposals.¹ The Council reaffirmed their support for the principles expressed in those proposals as a basis for attaining their common objective of general and complete disarmament by stages under effective international control. They expressed their hope for the early resumption of negotiations.

5. The Council regretted the lack of progress on the reunification of Germany on the basis of self-

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Aug. 22, 1960, p. 267.

determination. With regard to Berlin, the Council reaffirmed their declaration of December 16th, 1958.² In face of the recent Soviet threats and harassing tactics, they once again declared their determination to protect the freedom of the people of West Berlin.

6. In order that the Atlantic Alliance may pursue its constructive purposes in peace and without fear, confronted as it is by the menace of growing Communist military strength, the North Atlantic nations must be able to respond to any attack with whatever force might be appropriate.

There must be a proper balance in the forces of the Alliance of nuclear and conventional strength to provide the required flexibility. The Ministers, in the light of the annual review, took note of the progress which had been made, and expressed their determination to continue their efforts to improve the deterrent and defensive strength of the Alliance.

7. In this connection, the United States Government suggested the concept of an MRBM [medium-range ballistic missile] multilateral force for consideration by the Alliance. The Council took note of the United States suggestion with great interest and instructed the permanent representatives to study the suggestion and related matters in detail.

The Council welcomed the assurance of the United States to maintain in the NATO area United States nuclear weapons made available to NATO.

8. At the same time, the Council agreed on the equal importance of strengthening the shield forces of NATO in other respects so that there can be no possibility of miscalculation or misunderstanding of the Alliance's determination and ability to resist aggression by whatever means are appropriate and necessary.

9. The Ministers noted with satisfaction the steps so far taken in response to the proposals made by the Defense Ministers in the spring 1960 in the field of logistics and for cooperation in research, development and production of military equipment. They urged all parties concerned to press on with the projects already selected and to study what further projects are suitable for cooperative action.

10. The Ministers examined the report submitted to them on long-term planning, in particular with regard to political consultation and economic problems.

11. They reaffirmed their determination to pursue within the Alliance comprehensive political consultation designed to achieve the closest possible coordination of their views and unity of action. They studied ways and means of achieving this result.

12. In the economic field, they welcomed the creation of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development],³ which, by promoting balanced economic growth and the expansion of world trade, will benefit all the nations of the free world.

13. They emphasized the importance they attach to the development of the less-favored countries of the Alliance.

14. Comprising as they do many of the more industrially developed countries, the Atlantic nations recognize their special responsibility in the field of aid to underdeveloped countries.

15. The Ministers instructed the permanent representatives to follow up previous studies to enable the countries of the Alliance to watch the development of the Communist economic offensive and to concert the necessary defensive measures.

16. The Secretary General was invited to draw up a report on these various questions which will be examined at the spring Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

17. This meeting will take place at the invitation of the Norwegian Government in Oslo in May 1961.

STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY HERTER

Departure Statement, Washington, December 12

Press release 690 dated December 10, for release December 12

I am embarking on a twofold mission to Brussels and Paris. In Brussels I shall be acting as the personal representative of President Eisenhower at the wedding festivities of His Royal Highness King Baudouin and Doña Fabiola de Mora y Aragon.

Subsequently I shall take part in the ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-

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

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1961, p. 8.

tion in Paris.⁴ This meeting will place particular emphasis on reviewing the current state of international relations and the status of our defenses. We have come a long way in NATO in the last few years. We have substantially strengthened our defenses as well as the process of political consultation in the Alliance.

The NATO Ministers will likewise be discussing suggestions made by the United States Government last year looking toward the formulation of plans for meeting jointly the changing conditions of the coming decade.

The North Atlantic Alliance has been successful in the past. I am confident of its future.

Arrival Statement, Brussels, December 13

Press release 692 dated December 13

I am delighted to be among you at this happy time and to have the opportunity to share with you personally the joy occasioned by the wedding of your King and Doña Fabiola de Mora y Aragon. As the special representative of President Eisenhower I bring with me from the President and people of the United States best wishes for the future happiness of King Baudouin and Doña Fabiola. The ties of friendship and mutual respect which have long linked our two peoples are further strengthened by the common joy this wedding is inspiring throughout both countries. The memories of the warmth and friendliness I encountered in Brussels when I served here as a young man heighten my pleasure in being with you at this time and deepen my regret that I will not be able to remain with you as long as I would like. Unfortunately urgent preparations in relation to the NATO Ministers' meeting will require my presence in Paris on Wednesday. But though I must leave Brussels on the eve of the royal wedding, my thoughts and those of my fellow countrymen will be here on Thursday with the Belgian people, their King, and their new Queen.

Statement After Final Session, December 18

Press release 701 dated December 19

This ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been a significant one. The Ministers of the 15 countries have been

⁴For a list of the members of the U.S. delegation, see *ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1960, p. 978.

frank in giving the views of their governments on NATO and the world situation. This exchange is always helpful. It underlines the significant progress achieved in political consultation within NATO.

The most important element of discussion in the meeting just concluded was the long-range plan for NATO. As you know, NATO was constituted as a defensive organization when the threat of Soviet military power to Western Europe became apparent at the time of the Berlin airlift. NATO therefore was basically a military alliance.

As the Organization developed, however, it became apparent that it had great values in addition to that of military defense. It became a highly useful organ of political consultation. People generally are unaware of the variety and depth of the consultation that takes place in the weekly meeting of the permanent representatives in the North Atlantic Council. Prospective developments in various parts of the world, often far outside the NATO area, are brought up for information and discussion. NATO therefore has served as a binding force of considerable effect. A unity of thought and action formerly inconceivable in peacetime has been achieved through the Organization.

The member nations have therefore come to believe that NATO should continue as an Organization many years into the future. For this reason the Organization is engaged in important long-range planning to determine how the Organization can most effectively fulfill its vital objectives in the years to come in both the military and the nonmilitary fields.

The United States is glad to assist in this effort to make NATO a long-range institution for the defense of the freedom of the North Atlantic Community.

This has been the fourth ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council in which I have participated. It is, as you know, my last. It has been a true pleasure to take part in these Council meetings with my distinguished and capable colleagues from the 14 other members of the Alliance. I am encouraged at the continuous progress made by NATO. I am confident that, while it will continue to have many problems, it has the basic strength and unity to meet them successfully.

Stage-Two Talks Concluded on West Indies Bases

Following is the text of a communique which was released simultaneously on December 8 at London, Port-of-Spain, and Washington during the second stage of talks on renegotiation of the 1941 leased bases agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States, together with a report of the U.S. delegation which was released at Washington on December 15.

COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 8

Press release 651 dated December 8

The first part of stage two of the West Indies bases talks was successfully concluded today at a conference held at the Crown Point Hotel in the small West Indian island of Tobago.¹ The purpose of the conference was to revise the 1941 leased bases agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States of America by virtue of which considerable areas of Trinidad and Tobago were leased to the United States of America for defense purposes for a period of ninety-nine years.

The participants in the conference were the United States and the United Kingdom, as signatories to the original agreement, the federation of The West Indies, which has not yet attained independence, and the Territory of Trinidad and Tobago, which is a self-governing unit of the federation. The chairman of the conference was His Excellency Sir Solomon Hochoy, KCMG, CBE, the first West Indian Governor of Trinidad and Tobago. The delegations were headed by The Honorable John Hay Whitney, United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, representing the United States of America; The Honorable Mr. Hugh Fraser, Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, representing the United Kingdom; The Honorable Sir Grantley Adams, Prime Minister of the West Indies, representing the federation; and The Honorable Dr. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad and Tobago, representing the Territory of Trinidad

and Tobago. Under the new arrangements approved by the four parties, the United States of America agrees to abandon some twenty-one thousand acres of the land leased under the 1941 agreement, including unused portions of the naval station at Chaguaramas. Agreement has also been reached with regard to the provision by the United States of economic and technical assistance to Trinidad and Tobago with particular reference to the strengthening of the defenses of the Territory and of the Western Hemisphere. The areas retained by the United States of America for a period of some 17 years enable the United States Naval Station at Chaguaramas to fulfill important defense and electronic research missions. The agreement reached is in furtherance of the principles as outlined in the statement issued at the termination of stage one of the West Indies bases talks in London last month which emphasized the right of The West Indies, on attaining independence, to form its own alliances, and also the willingness of The West Indies to play its part in the defense of the Western Hemisphere. The areas to be released to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago are as follows:

1. All the areas outside of the North West Peninsula;
2. A beach area approximately four-fifths of a mile in length, commencing at the boundary west of Tembladora and ending at a point east of the first pier at Carenage Bay;
3. A portion of Tucker Valley, approximately one thousand acres in extent, and including approximately seventy-five per cent of the citrus plantation;
4. Scotland Bay.

It has also been agreed that other plantation areas should be placed under the administrative control of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, subject to the necessary security provisions. Tetrion Bay, which remains under United States lease, is to be developed for joint use by the United States, the federation of The West Indies, and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago for the operation and training of naval construction units, the granting of base facilities to the West Indies Naval Force, and the resiting of the Trinidad and Tobago Marine Police Launch Station. The United States would also provide facilities for

¹For text of a communique issued at the close of the first stage of the talks, see BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1960, p. 822; for an announcement of the stage-two talks, see *ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1960, p. 889.

vocational training involving the use of the machine shops in the main Chaguaramas Bay east of Staubles Bay. Scotland Bay and the defense sites on Monos Island and Green Hill would be made immediately available to the United States in the event of hostilities, with provision for compensation by the United States Government. A portion of Waller Field, 14 acres in extent, including the airfield, would also be made available to the United States in the event of hostilities. Surplus water from the wells in the North West Peninsula as determined by hydrological survey would be made available to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago. The United States of America has prepared a program for economic utilization of areas in the North West Peninsula estimated to cost approximately United States \$1.1 million. The area to be retained by the United States of America under the new lease consists of the remaining portions of the North West Peninsula, including the main naval station at Chaguaramas Bay, the missile tracking and communication facility, and the northern portion of Tucker Valley.

With regard to the duration of tenure of the area retained, the delegations of the United States and Trinidad and Tobago have agreed upon and those of the Federal and United Kingdom Governments have acceded to the following terms:

1. By the end of 1962 the United States Government would complete the agreed release of areas and the provision of facilities. From the time of signing the agreement until the end of 1962 the Government of Trinidad and Tobago will have the right to utilize the areas involved, subject to normal security arrangements.

2. At the end of a further period of five years (i.e. at the beginning of 1968) the parties would undertake a joint review of the operation of the agreement and the need for its continuation in the existing or modified form.

3. Unless they agree that it should be terminated, the agreement would then continue subject to such modifications as might be agreed upon for a further period of five years, at the end of which time (i.e. at the beginning of 1973) the parties would jointly reconsider the strategic need in the light of the world situation at that time for the defense facilities enjoyed thereunder.

4. If agreement were not reached within a period of one year (i.e. by the end of 1973) on

the continued need for these facilities the United States Government would have a period of four years (i.e. until the end of 1977) in which to complete their withdrawal.

Agreement in principle has been reached on the terms and conditions of a new agreement proposed by Trinidad and Tobago under which the areas retained shall be held by the United States of America. These include a general description of the rights of both parties, jurisdiction arrangements, financial and tax concessions, the use of the public facilities of Trinidad and Tobago, including Parco Airport, training of local personnel, and local procurement and establishment of a Joint Consultative Board with representatives of the United States, Trinidad and Tobago, and The West Indies to keep the implementation of the new agreement under constant review.

The delegations of the United States of America and of Trinidad and Tobago recognize the need for economic and technical assistance to Trinidad and Tobago, in keeping with the desire of all participating governments to promote the economic and social development of the people of The West Indies. Accordingly, the United States delegation agrees that the United States would provide such aid as the Government of the United States may approve. The United States delegation strongly recommends that United States participation in the following high-priority projects be on a grant basis:

1. Improvement of the port facilities of Port-of-Spain;

2. Construction of additional road facilities between Port-of-Spain and Chaguaramas, including land reclamation in the Cocorite area;

3. Rehabilitation of the Trinidad Government Railway;

4. Development of a College of Arts and Sciences at the branch of the University College of The West Indies in Trinidad.

Stage two of the conference is to be continued immediately in the other territories—St. Lucia, Antigua, and Jamaica—in which bases were leased to the United States of America, beginning with talks in St. Lucia on December 9. Decisions reached in stage two will be incorporated in the final agreement to be drawn up at stage three of the conference to be held in February 1961.

The talks were marked by the high level of cordiality and friendly relations which had been established at stage one in London.

REPORT OF U.S. DELEGATION

Press release 698 dated December 15

The United States delegation, headed by John Hay Whitney, United States Ambassador at London, returned to Washington last evening from second-stage talks held in The West Indies involving renegotiation of the 1941 leased-bases agreement. These talks were held in four of the unit territories of The West Indies federation, where there are operating installations used by the United States Navy and also where the United States Air Force has facilities for programs of space and missile research and development. Meetings were held with representatives of the Unit Governments of Trinidad and Tobago from November 28 to December 9, in St. Lucia, December 9-10, in Antigua, December 11-12, and in Jamaica, December 13-14.

Delegations from the federation Government of The West Indies and from the United Kingdom were present at the talks between United States representatives and members of the four Unit Governments. A series of agreements in principle were concluded, with which all the Governments concerned have associated themselves. Work will begin in London in January to incorporate the agreed principles into a formal agreement to replace the 1941 agreement.

The United States has not been using and does not foresee future need for approximately 80 percent of the areas acquired in 1941. For this reason the United States has taken the initiative and agreed to release these unconditionally to the Unit Governments concerned.

The areas retained are vital links in the defense against submarine incursions in the Caribbean and in providing support to the Cape Canaveral test launching programs. Among the areas to be retained are, for example, the antisubmarine base at Chaguaramas in Trinidad, down-range space and missile test-vehicles tracking facilities in St. Lucia, an oceanographic research station and space-vehicle tracking facilities in Antigua, and navigational aid facilities in Jamaica. It was agreed that these essential defense areas may be retained

for at least 17 years, a period which will meet foreseeable needs. In addition, the period can be extended beyond 17 years by mutual agreement.

The United States delegation also discussed economic and social development programs in each of the areas visited. The United States has agreed to finance in whole or in part certain projects in economic and technical assistance during the current fiscal year. In addition, the delegation agreed to recommend that appropriate United States authorities give sympathetic consideration in the future to loan or grant assistance for other projects important to long-term West Indian development.

Upon his return from The West Indies talks Ambassador Whitney said:

The agreements reached in this field were in no sense *quid pro quo's* for the military facilities we retain. The United States has a vital and continuing interest in West Indian economic stability irrespective of our interest in purely military aspects—although the two are of course interrelated. Because of its geographical proximity the people of The West Indies and of the United States inevitably are closely bound together. Many Americans go to The West Indies. Substantial numbers of them live there. We share common destinies, and this is a historic step for all concerned.

Perhaps the most unique feature of these talks was that we were negotiating with The West Indies when it is still not, though soon to be, fully independent. The United States recognized that there were advantages in negotiating with the West Indians while they were in the process of determining their future.

I am more convinced than ever as a result of these talks that the West Indians value freedom and the ideals of democracy much the same as we do. They have no illusions about communism and the bondage it imposes. I am confident that, as a result of these talks and the agreements reached, our common objectives of strengthening the defenses of the Western Hemisphere and the free world have been measurably advanced.

One of the leading figures in the emerging West Indies federation, Dr. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad and Tobago, pledged himself to see that the new agreement would be carried out in spirit as well as in letter. In a statement given at the conclusion of the talks in Tobago, Dr. Williams commented that it made all the difference that this was an agreement which had been negotiated *by* rather than *for* the peoples of The West Indies. Similarly, the Prime Minister of the federation, Sir Grantley Adams, the Chief Minister of St. Lucia, Mr. G. F. L. Charles, the Chief Minister of Antigua, Mr. V. C. Bird, and the Premier of Jamaica, Mr. Norman Manley, all pledged their support of the understandings reached.

The third and final stage of The West Indies bases negotiations will take place early in February 1961 at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. At that time a new master agreement will be signed replacing the 1941 leased-bases agreement and subsequent agreements.

U.S. Notes Reports of Israel's Atomic Energy Activities

Department Statement

Press release 702 dated December 19

The Department of State has noted press reports of statements by Israeli Government spokesmen concerning the peaceful character of Israeli atomic energy activities. The Department welcomes these reported assurances that the Government of Israel has no intention of producing nuclear weapons and that its program is concerned exclusively with the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

U.S.-Israeli cooperation in the field of atomic energy is limited to research cooperation under President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace program. In the same way as we have done in many countries in pursuance of our atoms-for-peace program, we have assisted Israel in constructing near Rehoboth a small research reactor for peaceful purposes and we have exchanged unclassified atomic energy information with Israel. Our bilateral agreement with Israel¹ provides that our assistance may not be developed into military use and that safeguards, including inspection, will be enforced to this end.

United States cooperation or assistance in any program to develop a nuclear weapon capability would not be possible. Such action would be precluded both by our policy of discouraging the proliferation of independent nuclear weapons capabilities and by the U.S. Atomic Energy Act.

As a result of unofficial reports to the effect that a new and larger nuclear reactor was under construction in Israel, the Secretary of State called in the Ambassador of Israel [Avraham Harman] on December 9 to express his concern and to request information. A response has not yet been received.

¹Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3311.

President's Representative on Cuban Refugee Problem Submits Report

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DECEMBER 19, 1960.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On November 10th you asked me to act for you to look into problems relating to more than 30,000 Cuban refugees now in this country, and to report to you.¹

On December 2d you authorized me also to act for you on a temporary emergency basis to deal with urgent situations of hardship affecting some of these refugees. This was because it had become clear that such action was needed immediately, while several weeks would be required to assemble firm statistical information as to the numbers of these people in need of help, on which to base a responsible final report to you. For such immediate needs you made available to me moneys from the contingency fund of the Mutual Security Program.

At that time I stated that as soon as possible I would submit an interim report. Its purpose is to furnish for you, for the public here and abroad, and for the refugees themselves, as much information about the problem and the steps being taken as can be given pending the development of the firmer statistical data above mentioned which is now in process. Such an interim report is herewith respectfully submitted.

Faithfully yours,

TRACY S. VOORHEES

THE PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington, D.C.

INTERIM REPORT ON THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM

The Influx of Cuban Refugees

For the second time within four years our country has become the place of refuge for very large numbers of human beings who have come to our shores for asylum from oppression in their homelands.

Four years ago the United States opened its heart and its homes to 38,000 Hungarians.²

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1960, p. 888.

² For text of the final report of the President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief, see *ibid.*, June 17, 1957, p. 984.

Today almost a like number of Cubans have sought safety here—principally during the last eighteen months. This is the first instance in many years in which the United States has been the country of *first* asylum for large numbers of refugees. The Hungarians, of course, fled first to neighboring countries. Most of them went to or through Austria. There they were carefully interviewed, enabling us to make arrangements for their arrival here, their care and their resettlement.

As to the Cubans, a very different situation exists. They have entered the United States in many ways: some with no visas; some on regular immigrant visas; some on a "parole" status, as was the case with most of the Hungarians; and a very large majority technically as tourists.

But these Cubans are really refugees rather than tourists, for they cannot safely return home.

Their problems have not until now received the attention accorded the Hungarian influx as the circumstances underlying their arrival have been far less dramatic.

Recently the flow has tended to increase above the figure of about 1,000 a week which had prevailed for many months. Almost all of them come in at Miami, and the majority have remained there.

Many of these refugees are unquestionably among the finest citizens of Cuba, including professional men and leaders in many other fields. For example, some 300 Cuban doctors have entered the Miami area alone.

Recently, the refugees have spilled over in substantial—but as yet undetermined—numbers to other Florida cities and beyond Florida to such cities as New York, New Orleans, Los Angeles and Atlanta. The extent of the problem in these cities other than Miami is under separate study, but it has not been possible for me to develop any dependable appraisal of these conditions in time for this interim report.

Unquestionably, the most acute crisis exists in Miami. My temporary emergency activity has accordingly centered principally there, and in initiating efforts to resettle refugees from that area.

United States Policy Toward the Cuban Refugees

The firm policy of the United States has been not to require the departure of any Cubans who have come to us while present harsh conditions prevail in their homeland—whether they arrive without visas, as tourists, or otherwise. All who have arrived and have wanted to stay have been granted asylum.

Problems Facing These Refugees

The harsh restriction imposed by the present Cuban Government, under which none of these people can now bring with them more than \$5.00 in U.S. money, has caused widespread immediate hardship.

The resources, both of many of the refugees and of those who have so far taken them in, are now either non-existent or rapidly dwindling, and the capacity of these Miami hosts to care for refugee cases is already over-taxed. So, as more and more arrive, the situation in Miami becomes increasingly acute.

Job opportunities for Cubans in the Miami area are at best limited. Also, it is patently not fair to citizens of Miami seeking employment for this large number of Cubans to be compelled to look for jobs in that area alone.

One firm figure, large enough to be of statistical significance, is that the Catholic Center reports that some 2,500 Cuban adults have registered with it for employment for whom no jobs have been obtainable. Many of these persons are heads of families.

About 3,500 Cuban refugee children have been taken in as students in the Dade County public schools. The fact that only 7 percent of them have been able to pay even the \$50 charge provided under Florida law for non-resident pupils is an indication of the financial stringencies affecting these families. For all of the rest the \$50 charge has been waived by the Miami area school authorities. A preliminary sampling indicates that perhaps 200 of these pupils are living under conditions such that they do not have either 35 cents to buy a school lunch or the food at home to pack a lunch. Lunches for them have been furnished free by the Dade County school system. The school officials believe that in these cases there is probably also a lack of proper nourishment at home. Miami area public school principals have reported enthusiastically about the ability and conduct of the Cuban pupils.

An additional 3,000 pupils have been taken into the parochial schools—a very heavy load for them to carry.

On October 26 last, the City Manager of Miami "made the determination that an emergency situation exists," and that "this problem is caused by displaced people from Cuba."

Measures Already Taken To Help

It has been possible so far to care for the great influx of Cuban refugees in large part because of the remarkable generosity of the 50,000 or more Cubans who are permanent residents of the Miami area. These Cubans have taken many of the refugees into their homes and provided for them in some way, even at great personal sacrifice.

However, this inspiring exhibition of humanity, by cushioning the situation, has itself tended to mask the extent and seriousness of it.

Of course the permanent resident Cubans are far from being alone in inspiring efforts to help these troubled people. As mentioned, there have been the emergency programs of Miami public and parochial schools.

An outstanding program has been set up by the Most Reverend Coleman F. Carroll, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Miami, and a dedicated group under him. This has been carried on, not only through the parochial schools as mentioned, but principally through the "Centro Hispano Catolico." Half of a large school building was converted many months ago into an excellent refugee center. It has literally poured out mercy to thousands, but its resources—physical and financial—are now over-taxed. Also it has lacked funds for the essential step of resettling these refugees in other areas where they can get jobs and make new homes.

Steps Needed and Now Being Taken

A most important part of any solution of these conditions must be to relocate and find jobs elsewhere for as large a number of Cuban refugees as possible. This is urgently necessary, both to relieve the pressures in Miami and to enable these self-respecting people again to become self-supporting.

While the U.S. Immigration Service knows the number of Cubans in this country, both on an immigrant and non-immigrant status, reliable figures are not yet available as to how extensive the hardship situations among them are. There are of course many reports of severe individual hardship cases. To determine reliably the actual extent of such conditions requires new machinery to obtain a large amount of statistical data very promptly. This is now underway.

Using as a nucleus the Cuban Refugee Emergency Employment Center, which, through Governor LeRoy Collins' initiative, was set up in Miami several weeks ago, additional space in the same building—a former school—has been made available by Mr. O. W. Campbell, the Dade County Manager, to an extent adequate for a multi-purpose Cuban Refugee Emergency Center. This is being conducted on a temporary, austere and flexible basis to serve immediate needs, but one cannot escape the feeling that something like this may be required for some time to come.

The purposes of this Center are to provide a focal point for the immediate resettlement and welfare efforts of national and local agencies and to obtain the firm information required to determine whether a longer range effort is necessary. The address of the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center is 223 N.W. Third Avenue, Miami 36, Florida.

The Ford Motor Company has made available Mr. Leo C. Beebe, who, four years ago was Vice Chairman, at Camp Kilmer, of the President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief, and Mr. Charles Pink, Mr. Beebe's deputy at Kilmer. They are on the job, and their work with the Hungarians has given them experience of the greatest value in the present situation.

The International Business Machines Corporation immediately made available expert assistance—as it had done in setting up our classification machinery at Camp Kilmer. A comprehensive questionnaire for use in interviewing these refugees has been developed, which is acceptable to all interested U. S. Departments and Agencies as well as to the private and public agencies active in the Miami area.

The Center's work has been fully coordinated with that of the Centro Hispano Catolico, above mentioned, and with the program of the International Rescue Committee (I.R.C.).

Under Mr. Nicholas Biddle, head of its Caribbean Division, the IRC had, in addition to its work for Cuban refugees in New York, organized actively in Miami. It has now moved its local operations from other offices in Miami to the new Center.

The United HIAS at the initiative of Mr. James P. Rice has already started work in the Center and other resettlement agencies are in the process of doing so.

As part of the Center project, a survey has been made of the minimal medical services requisite. Arrangements to furnish these promptly are being made.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference is going to provide at the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center additional warm clothing as necessary for *all* refugees being resettled.

The American National Red Cross is preparing to supply all refugees coming to the Center with a kit of toilet articles as it did for the Hungarians.

Surveys of educational problems also have been or are being made, both as to those refugees of university age and caliber, and those in the primary and secondary age groups.

The use of U.S. owned surplus foods to help to the full extent feasible in this situation is being studied.

The Center will, I hope, by about January 15 develop enough solid information concerning the entire situation, and especially the extent of hardship, upon which to base a useful report with recommendations. If this confirms the general opinion that the problem is extensive and of a continuing nature, the report will contain recommendations for the organization, and other steps requisite to meet it. In any case it should give reliable information about the situation.

The Mutual Security Program funds which you provided are so far being used for two purposes. These are basically the same as those for which we utilized similar funds for the Hungarian refugees:—

The first is to assure reimbursement to the religious and other resettlement agencies for costs of transportation of Cuban refugees from Miami to points at which jobs can be obtained for them and for reasonable incidental resettlement expenses. This is absolutely essential if we are to bring about any adequate degree of resettlement, relieve congested conditions in the Miami area and help the refugees to become self-supporting.

The second purpose is to meet the expenses of the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center above mentioned. Its work is vital to a full understanding and a start toward solution of the problem, as well as in relieving immediate distress. Its functions are of course on a much smaller scale than was the case at Camp Kilmer, and will not include bed, board or hospitalization facilities.

If it should prove necessary, beyond what private charity can do, such Mutual Security funds will also be utilized for assistance to Cuban refugee children in extreme need.

The Cuban Refugee Committee of Miami, which joined with Governor LeRoy Collins in the original appeal to you for help, is continuing in existence at my request in a general advisory capacity. This Committee is composed of leading citizens representative of important civic and professional groups. It was spontaneously organized to secure some solution of this grave problem in Miami.

The American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, under the Chairmanship of Bishop Edward E. Swanstrom—who also heads the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC)—has agreed to assist in

mobilizing the religious and other agencies experienced in resettlement of refugees which did the herculean job of resettling the Hungarian refugees. My function is to be of such temporary assistance to these private agencies as is possible while they do the job for which they are so uniquely fitted, and to which they are so dedicated.

Under the leadership of Mr. James MacCracken of the Church World Service and Dr. John H. Haldeman of the Greater Miami Council of Churches, the Protestant churches in the Miami area and the national Protestant welfare and resettlement agencies are coordinating their efforts and organizing their resources to assist in the work of the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center.

It has been my hope that spontaneous corporate and other private charitable help will be sufficient to supplement that already being given by the resident Cuban community and others to relieve hardship cases. To this end, generous gifts have recently been made, among others, by the Rockefeller Foundation, the TEXACO Company, and by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman.

Vigorous campaigns for funds are underway by the International Rescue Committee, and by the AMVETS under the personal direction of National Commander Harold Russell.

The United States Committee for Refugees, headed by Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb, has undertaken to assist nationally with efforts to bring about a more adequate public understanding of the need for helping the Cuban refugees, especially in securing jobs for them; also to make for me a survey of the Cuban refugee problem in cities other than Miami; and to assist us in other ways.

A Cooperative Effort

My studies and activities throughout have been conducted in the closest cooperation with Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida and his immediate staff; the Florida State Industrial Commission; Mayor Robert King High of Miami and City Manager Mervin Reese; the Dade County authorities, represented by Mr. O. W. Campbell, County Manager; Bishop Carroll of the Catholic Diocese of Miami; and with the Cuban Refugee Committee of Miami above mentioned.

At the appropriate time, I plan to seek an appointment with the incoming Governor of Florida, the Honorable Ferris Bryant, to seek his help in continuing present cooperative working relationships. In the meantime I am keeping him fully informed.

Also, I of course promptly made contact with Senator Spessard L. Holland, Senator George Smathers and Congressman Dante B. Fascell of the Fourth Florida District, in person or through their staffs. I have kept them informed and asked for their advice.

From the above officials and groups, and many others, I have throughout received the utmost in helpfulness. The steps recently taken, as herein reported, have therefore been cooperative joint efforts, rather than anything I have been able to do personally.

Because your authorization to me to act in this situation makes me the representative of the President of the

United States, I have, of course, not used such position for any fund-raising purposes. However, as the situation is better understood, I am in hopes that spontaneous expressions of sympathy through tangible action by corporations, by foundations, by other organizations and individuals will be even more extensive. In crises such as this, non-governmental contributions supply an indispensable resource for which government funds are no substitute.

An equally important role which the U.S. public can play is active help to the resettlement agencies in providing jobs and homes in various parts of the country for these refugees, as the American people did so generously for the Hungarians. The resettlement agencies will soon be requesting help in this task.

From the beginning of my work, former President Herbert Hoover has generously acted as my adviser. I have maintained close and frequent contact with him. His unparalleled experience and wisdom in refugee and relief matters are the best assurance I can give to you of sound action and recommendations.

Need for National Understanding and Help

The groundwork for a coordinated effort has now been laid. The time has come when it is important for the American people to realize the problem and the need for action—as they did in the case of the Hungarian refugees. For the entirely understandable reasons stated, our people have not yet realized this new situation and the opportunity it gives to prove in action the true humanitarian spirit of America. When this new challenge is better understood, I am sure that the United States will show its traditional heartwarming sympathy by effective action for the Cuban refugees, as it did so magnificently for the Hungarians four years ago.

Respectfully submitted,

TRACY S. VOORHEES

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington 25, D.C.
DECEMBER 19, 1960.

President Salutes Memory of Brazil's World War II Dead

The White House on December 22 made public the following message from President Eisenhower to Juscelino Kubitschek, President of Brazil.

White House press release dated December 22

DECEMBER 22, 1960

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The memorial ceremonies which are being held today in honor of the Brazilians who gave their lives in the Second World War have a special significance for me personally and for the people of my country. As

wartime Commander of the Allied Forces, I had personal knowledge of Brazilian courage on the field of battle, where members of the armed forces of the United States of Brazil and of the United States of America, allied in the struggle against totalitarianism, fought and died together. I am convinced that the spirit of common endeavor, which characterized our relations then, still permeates them today.

Now we are partners in a common struggle to develop and strengthen our free institutions, to make the benefits of our growing economies available to all our citizens, and to find ways to further understanding among all nations. On behalf of myself and the people of the United States, I salute the memory of your countrymen who, in time of war, made the ultimate sacrifice. Remembering their courage, we can continue to work together in time of peace for the high purposes they so gallantly defended.

With warm regard,
Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Immigration Quota Established for Mauritania

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS under the provisions of section 202(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, each independent country, self-governing dominion, mandated territory, and territory under the international trusteeship system of the United Nations, other than independent countries of North, Central, and South America, is entitled to be treated as a separate quota area when approved by the Secretary of State; and

WHEREAS under the provisions of section 201(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney General, jointly, are required to determine the annual quota of any quota area established pursuant to the provisions of section 201(a) of the said Act, and to report to the President the quota of each quota area so determined; and

WHEREAS under the provisions of section 202(e) of the said Act, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney General, jointly, are required to revise the quotas, whenever necessary, to provide for any political changes requiring a change in the list of quota areas; and

WHEREAS the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a former

Autonomous Republic within the French Community, became independent on November 28, 1960; and

WHEREAS the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney General have jointly determined and reported to me the immigration quota hereinafter set forth:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the aforesaid Act of Congress, do hereby proclaim and make known that the annual quota of the quota area hereinafter designated has been determined in accordance with the law to be, and shall be, as follows:

<i>Quota Area</i>	<i>Quota</i>
Mauritania	100

The establishment of an immigration quota for any quota area is solely for the purpose of compliance with the pertinent provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act and is not to be considered as having any significance extraneous to such purpose.

Proclamation No. 3298 of June 3, 1959, entitled "Immigration Quotas,"² is amended by the addition of the immigration quota established by this proclamation.

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 twenty-first day of December 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-fifth.



By the President:
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

United States and Iran Discuss Aid Programs

Following is the text of a joint statement released simultaneously on December 24 at Washington and Tehran.

Press release 707 dated December 24

In the spirit of the close and friendly ties that exist between the United States and Iran, Mr. Khosro Hedayat, the Deputy Prime Minister of Iran, recently visited Washington to discuss various aspects of Iran's economic development program. During the course of his visit, Mr.

¹ No. 3384; 25 *Fed. Reg.* 13681.

² For text, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1959, p. 19.

Hedayat and his party, which included Ahmad Majidian, Governor of the Bank Melli; Reza Moqadam, Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Iran; and Cyprus Samii of the Plan Organization, met with Assistant Secretary of State Edwin Martin; Mr. Vance Brand, Managing Director, Development Loan Fund; and high officials of the Export-Import Bank and the International Cooperation Administration.

At the conclusion of his visit, Mr. Hedayat expressed deep appreciation of the understanding and cooperation he had received from the United States Government, which he regarded as a further expression of the great interest the United States has in the future of the Iranian people. He was particularly pleased that a loan agreement was concluded with the Development Loan Fund for \$26.2 million which will be used to finance an important portion of Iran's new road network linking the Persian Gulf with the Caspian Sea. He was also gratified that the Export-Import Bank has authorized a loan agreement for \$15 million, to be signed shortly in Tehran, which will be used to finance the purchase of United States goods which are essential to Iran's economic development. During the course of his visit, mutually satisfactory arrangements were also made with the International Cooperation Administration for the utilization of other funds the United States Government is making available to Iran.

The United States Government and the Imperial Government of Iran are confident that this assistance will contribute to further improvement in the standard of living of the Iranian people and will help Iran to fulfill its important role in the community of free nations.

Lebanon To Receive 15,000 Tons of Wheat for Drought Relief

Press release 704 dated December 23

The Department of State announced on December 23 the grant of 15,000 tons of wheat to Lebanon to relieve a grain shortage caused by drought.

The grain, which will be supplied to Lebanon by the U.S. International Cooperation Administration under provisions of title II of the Agricul-

tural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P.L. 480), will be distributed free of charge to needy persons by the Lebanese Government.

Arrangements are now being made to ship the grain to Lebanon in the earliest possible time.

Transfer of the grain to the Government of Lebanon was formally agreed upon in a ceremony on December 23 attended by the Lebanese Ambassador to the United States, Nadim Dimechkié, and officials of the ICA and U.S. Department of State.

Steps Taken To Modify Concessions on Bicycles and Spring Clothespins

Press release 705 dated December 23

The Department of State announced on December 23 that steps were being taken under the procedures of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to withdraw or modify the trade agreement concessions which the United States has granted on bicycles and spring clothespins.

This action is being taken as a consequence of the action of the Supreme Court on December 12 in refusing to hear the Government's appeal in the case of *United States v. Schmidt Pritchard and Company*. In this case one of the rates in the President's Proclamation 3108¹ concerning bicycles was invalidated, and doubt was cast upon the validity of the other three rates in that proclamation and upon the rates in Proclamation 3211² concerning spring clothespins. The President has indicated that it is his intention to give consideration to entering into trade agreements with certain foreign countries in order to assure the application of the rates provided for in Proclamations 3108 and 3211.

Public notice of this action was given in the *Federal Register* on December 22, 1960.³ The Tariff Commission has set January 7, 1961, as the date for public hearings in connection with the so-called peril-point investigations which it must conduct with respect to these articles.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Sept. 5, 1955, p. 400.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1957, p. 959.

³ 25 *Fed. Reg.* 13248.

Security Council Debate on Congo Results in 92d Soviet Veto

The Security Council was convened on December 7 at the request of the Soviet Union to consider urgent measures in connection with the latest events in the Congo. Following are statements made by U.S. Representatives James J. Wadsworth and James W. Barco, together with the text of a four-power draft resolution which was vetoed by the Soviet Union on December 14.

STATEMENT BY MR. WADSWORTH, DECEMBER 9

U.S. delegation press release 3609

It has been my hope that the present Security Council discussion of the Congo situation could be made to serve the useful purpose of promoting peace and security in the Congo and the establishment of conditions there which will advance the welfare of the Congolese people. These are the objectives of the United Nations, and they are the objectives of the United States Government as well.

However, it is the Soviet Union that has requested these meetings of the Security Council, and I sincerely regret to say that the Soviet representative [Valerian A. Zorin] has made it clear that he does not have constructive purposes in view. Under a mask of humanitarian concern he is again proposing the Soviet pattern for chaos in the Congo leading to Soviet domination. This Council has during the past few months overwhelmingly rejected such proposals on previous occasions, and so has the General Assembly.¹

The Soviet Union has persistently pursued its efforts to gain control in the Congo. Over and over again they have made proposals in the

United Nations designed to weaken the forces for stability in the Congo. They have taken other steps, some open, some clandestine, to this same end.

Soviet Charges U.S. "Plot"

On the basis, presumably, that the best defense is to attack, Mr. Zorin has cried "Plot." He claims that the United States is skillfully manipulating events in some vast plot in the Congo.

He accuses the United States Embassy in Léopoldville, in particular, of "masterminding gangster activities in the Congo." I find this is a strange but perhaps understandable allegation to come from the gentleman who was Soviet Ambassador in Prague in 1948 when the Soviet-directed coup was perpetrated against the democratic government of Czechoslovakia.

But if we are to believe the Soviet representative, what then were the steps involved in the American conspiracy, the great plot in the Congo? A series of totally incredible and fantastic events must have taken place. First, the United States must have persuaded the Belgians to grant independence to the Congo. Then the Soviet thesis would have it to be that the United States must have persuaded the Congolese to rebel against the Belgians. And, presumably, the United States, in this Soviet fantasy, would then have immediately reversed its course and inspired the Belgians to send in military forces to put down the Congolese rebellion. While it was 'doing this, we must then have persuaded the Congolese to request direct military assistance from the United States, which the United States then immediately rejected in favor of channeling all aid through the United Nations. As part of this deep, dark conspiracy, as part of this plot, apparently, the United States would then have

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Aug. 1, 1960, p. 159; Aug. 8, 1960, p. 221; Sept. 5, 1960, p. 384; Oct. 3, 1960, p. 527; and Oct. 10, 1960, p. 583.

had to agree to its own exclusion from the United Nations forces—which, of course, it did, not as part of a plot—and then the United States would publicly support total withdrawal of the Belgians instead of using the veto in the Security Council to prevent it. Instead of introducing its own forces in the Congo, the United States brought in by a mammoth air and sea operation more than 15,000 members of the United Nations forces presently in the Congo. And all of this, according to the Soviet Union and its friends, was part of a vast conspiracy designed to reimpose colonialism on the Republic of the Congo.

Perhaps the U.S.S.R. believes this. Perhaps they believe that this constitutes evidence of United States imperialism in the Congo. But any country able to exercise independent judgment will reject it as absurd. If the Soviet Union really expects the other members of the Council and of the United Nations to believe these fantastic charges about United States plotting, it shows a most flagrant contempt for the intelligence of United Nations members.

We well understand the Soviet attacks upon the United States. They are about as trustworthy as the Soviet claim which was made on the day the Security Council first took up this problem, and there it was stated as gospel that the 15th United States Infantry and the 24th Infantry Division were about to go to the Congo. Just about as trustworthy as other charges that are made about the imminence of immediate military invasion of small countries.

We understand, of course, very well the purposes behind the present efforts to undermine the authority of the Chief of State, President [Joseph] Kasavubu, and to force upon the Congolese people other leaders more amenable to Soviet purposes. We understand very well, indeed, the purpose behind the proposal to disarm the Congolese National Army. We understand in the same context why it is that the Soviet Union continues its personal, vitriolic attacks upon the Secretary-General, upon the office of the Secretary-General, upon the United Nations Command, and upon the United Nations operations there. I think it should be underlined that the United States has not the slightest intention of giving way to this kind of pressure. We think that the Security Council of the United Nations and the General Assembly have made their positions equally clear.

The essential facts in the present situation are straightforward. And this is without any reference whatever to differences of opinion, which are, of course, possible, and differences of interpretation, which are sometimes completely sincere. President Kasavubu is, without doubt, the Chief of State of the Republic of the Congo. The United Nations General Assembly has recently accepted his credentials and those of the delegation named by him.² As for the status of Mr. [Patrice] Lumumba in the political system of the Republic of the Congo, this is a matter which can only be dealt with by the Congolese Government and the people themselves. It is a problem of internal Congolese jurisdiction and not one for the Security Council or the General Assembly to judge, to choose between sides in an internal conflict and interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign state member of the United Nations.

U.S. Position

However, since this question has been raised again in the Security Council, I will once again make our view quite clear. We accept fully the position of President Kasavubu that Mr. Lumumba was legally removed from his former office in accordance with the procedures stipulated in the basic constitutional instrument of the Republic of the Congo. There is no question as to the right of the Congolese authorities to place Mr. Lumumba under arrest. It is the evident judgment of these authorities that the activities of Mr. Lumumba have constituted a threat to the security of the state. A warrant for his arrest was signed by the President of the Republic and has been outstanding for some time. He was apprehended in the process of fleeing to Stanleyville. It was widely understood throughout the world that had he reached Stanleyville he would have attempted either to establish a separatist regime or to seek to usurp power in the Congo in opposition to the Chief of State. The Soviet Union's anger in calling this meeting is explainable simply because this plan, which they supported, did not succeed.

There could be no question, however—and the United States feels strongly about this—that Mr. Lumumba is entitled to humane and equitable treatment. In this connection we welcomed the

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1960, p. 904.

statement last night by the representative of the Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville) [Mario Cardoso] in which he read to us a portion of President Kasavubu's letter dated 7 December 1960 to the Secretary-General.³ In this letter the President made absolutely clear his acceptance of the obligations of our charter and his dedication to the task of restoring a reign of justice and respect for human rights in the Republic of the Congo.

I believe it to be rather widely known, though perhaps not officially, that on December 4 the United States Government instructed the American Ambassador at Léopoldville to inform President Kasavubu and Colonel [Joseph] Mobutu that the United States Government hoped that former Prime Minister Lumumba would be afforded humane treatment, including regular visits by a physician from the International Red Cross, and that he would be given a fair trial.

On a parallel basis, the United States Government also thinks that the Red Cross representatives should visit other places in the Congo.

We now have a disturbing report from the Secretary-General's special representative in the Congo [Rajeshwar Dayal] regarding the current activities and the current situation in Stanleyville. This is document A/4590. We believe that effective, vigorous action is required by the United Nations Force to prevent widespread loss of life and brutalities in Orientale Province. This situation appears to be an extension or a worsening of the problem referred to by the Secretary-General in his letter of December 5 to President Kasavubu, produced in document S/4571, in the following words:

In making various efforts to use its good offices for the freeing from illegal detention of Mr. [Alphonse] Songolo and other parliamentarians, to our great regret still held in Stanleyville, the United Nations has suggested that the International Red Cross be asked to examine the detained persons and their places and conditions of detention and otherwise to obtain the necessary assurances for their safety.

I might add that our information is that Minister Songolo and other members of Parliament have been illegally detained by Lumumba supporters in Stanleyville for over a month and that Mr. Songolo was so badly beaten that he has

³ U.N. doc. S/4571/Add. 1.

lost the sight of one eye and may lose the sight of another as a result of his continued denial of proper medical treatment. Any Red Cross representatives sent to the Congo should clearly visit these Senators and Deputies illegally held in Stanleyville.

While we do not believe that it is appropriate for us to seek to interpret Congolese law, we have every expectation that due process of law will be observed in the handling of the case of Mr. Lumumba. In Stanleyville it is unfortunately evident that dissident elements have prevented the application of proper legal procedures and that arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and gross mistreatment is the common, everyday practice.

U.N. Objective in Congo

If the Security Council can deal with the problem of law and order in the Congo as a matter of general concern and broad importance, a useful purpose can be served by these discussions. The objective of the United Nations, which we should endorse and which we should seek to advance, is the establishment of conditions in the Congo which will promote law and order and the general observance of fundamental human rights. In the view of the United States, this purpose could be very significantly advanced if all members of the United Nations—and I repeat, *all members*—would give full support and recognition to what has been characterized as one of the only two standing institutions in the Congo, the office of the President, Mr. Kasavubu, and give full support to his efforts to restore law and order throughout the Congo. This would reinforce United Nations efforts in the Congo and hasten the day when the United Nations can give its primary attention to the positive task of revitalizing the Congolese economy and improving the conditions of life of the Congolese people.

This is what urgently needs to be done—not to destroy the United Nations action through assaulting the Secretary-General or the United Nations command nor to seek to erode the strength of the command itself.

The Soviet Union has not sought this meeting out of any desire for the United Nations to succeed in the Congo. It has sought it to try once again to destroy the United Nations effort and the office of the Secretary-General with it. In the jargon of the U.S.S.R., the President of the Congo

is a "traitor" and the Secretary-General a "lackey," and so on it goes. The motives back of such charges are reprehensible. These accusations are self-serving, and, as far as we are concerned, they are unworthy of serious consideration.

The United States shares the views of the Secretary-General when he said here yesterday:

I believe, and many believe with me, that this Organization in all its frailty represents the sole approach which may give us a chance to reduce the risk that the constant frictions—large and small—which characterize the life of our present-day world, build up to a tension easily triggered into a clash in which we would all be engulfed. I also believe that it is essential for the growth of a human society in which the dignity of the human being will be respected that every effort is made to make this step in the direction of an organized world community a success.

Now, Mr. President, in spite of recriminations, charges, countercharges, and all the rest of the tensions that have been created by your having brought this subject before the Security Council at this time, we still hope that something good may come of the travail through which the infant state of the Congo (Léopoldville) is now passing.

For our part, we will continue to give full support to efforts through the United Nations—let me reemphasize that, through the United Nations, not outside the United Nations—to promote stability and progress in that unhappy land. I ask the representative of the Soviet Union to reflect soberly on the heavy responsibility which must be borne by any who seek to thwart these efforts and who must pursue unilateral policies jeopardizing the interests of the Congolese people and the peace of the world.

We have had and we will have more before this debate is over of emotional appeals, of juridical appeal, of various other appeals calculated to sway the opinions of the members of this body and of the rest of the United Nations. I personally believe, in utmost sincerity, that we must think not of our own prestige, not of any quarrel between ideologies East or West, not necessarily even as to who or what group or what interested party within the Congo should or should not be in the ascendancy, but that we should think of the Congolese people and we should remember that the more difficulty we make for them, the more easy we make it for Congolese to kill other Congolese. And this is something that the

United Nations is obviously not set up to do. We should remember our obligations under the charter. We should work first, last, and always for the Congolese people in this regard.

STATEMENT BY MR. BARCO, DECEMBER 14

U.S. delegation press release 3617

I had hoped that it would be unnecessary for me to speak, as I had explained earlier this evening. I find now that it is necessary. It is necessary because the record has been so distorted and certain speakers in this debate have made statements approaching dishonesty to such an extent that I cannot allow such a record to go uncorrected.

It is one thing to hear distortions relating to the viewpoint of a certain delegation with respect to the policy of another delegation or of another country. This is often heard in the Security Council. But I find it extremely disturbing to hear statements made here concerning positions taken in the Security Council during the course of the debate which are complete distortions of what has been said. I will return to that in a moment.

I feel also that I should speak about the statement you made, Mr. President [Mr. Zorin], this evening and to make one or two comments on it.

It is impossible, it seems to me, to be shocked any longer by statements of the representative of the Soviet Union. But if it were, the speech we heard tonight would shock all those interested in the success of the United Nations effort in the Congo, which should mean all around this table.

The representative of the Soviet Union tonight reached his zenith of distortions, hypocrisy, and prevarication. If he thinks, as he said at one point, that one should not take offense at his remarks, he is very much mistaken. We, for our part, cannot fail to take offense on behalf of the loyal members of the United Nations Secretariat who have been so viciously attacked by the representative of the Soviet Union. The United States members of the Secretariat, whether engaged in the arduous duties that have befallen them in the Congo or elsewhere, are international civil servants. Perhaps the representative of the Soviet Union does not know what an international civil servant is. An international civil servant is not

controlled by the country of his origin, is not a spy on his country's behalf, is not a *provocateur*, is not a *saboteur*.

The record of the Soviet Union's nationals in the Secretariat is known to all. The Soviet Union is, to my knowledge, the only country among the entire United Nations membership whose nationals have been apprehended engaging in espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union while employed by the United Nations.

I need not speak of the devotion to the ideals of the United Nations that has characterized those Americans who serve the United Nations and who are so well known to all of us here. Mr. Zorin has singled some of them for his abuse. Tonight he also impugned the general dealing with communications in the Congo, and I assume he meant General Wheeler, who made such a great contribution to the clearing of the Suez Canal in 1956-57. This is something that others around this table should take offense at besides me.

It should not be necessary, but let me say again that the United States has no control over our citizens who work for the United Nations in the Congo or elsewhere.

We do not try to exercise any control over them. We do not want to exercise any control over them, and others besides me can bear witness on this fact. We want our citizens who work for the United Nations to work for the United Nations, not for the United States.

When the Soviet Union takes the same attitude toward its own citizens, we can begin to hope for a better world.

But tonight Mr. Zorin's attack on the Secretariat in the Congo is of a piece with the Soviet Union's attitude toward the United Nations as a whole, toward the Congo, and toward any troubled area in the world. By such statements as he made tonight the Soviet representative reveals the real motives of the Soviet Union. These are to wreck the United Nations, to ruin the Congo, to plunge Africa into chaos, and to rule supreme.

The difference between the attitude of the Soviet Union and most of the other members of the Council and the United Nations is that the Soviet Union wants the United Nations to fail, while the others want it to succeed. The Soviet Union wants to make the Congo a cockpit of the cold war, and possibly a hot one, while others do not. The Soviet Union wants to destroy the office of the

Secretary-General, while others want it to grow and become more influential. The Soviet Union is trying to bankrupt the United Nations, while others want the Organization to be sound and healthy.

Between such irreconcilable goals there is no ground for sacrifice of principle. And for our part the United States will continue to give its support to the United Nations, to United Nations action in the Congo, and to the Secretary-General and the Secretariat for their services, to the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

The representative of Poland asked what kind of solution the United States wanted, and I have just said what kind of solution we want, but I will make it more explicit. We want a solution which does not include interference from the outside with the integrity of the Congo. We want a solution which leads to the well-being of the Congolese people. We want a solution which the United Nations can be proud of. We do not want interference from the Soviet Union, from ourselves, or from other African countries. We want to help. We don't believe that the Soviet Union does.

Now, I spoke of the fact that there had been statements made here which approached dishonesty. Two members of the Security Council attempted to impute to a majority of the Council a desire to see the release of Mr. Lumumba. That was not the desire of the majority of the members of the Council. The vote on the resolution proposed by the representative of Poland⁴ makes that very clear. But I am disturbed that this attempt to distort what the members of the Council had said has been made here. Certainly others besides the United States felt that the arrest of Mr. Lumumba is a matter for the Congolese authorities, which they have a right to do. That position was very clear. It could not have been clearer before the proposal of the representative of Poland. It is equally clear since the representative of Poland made his statement and his resolution was rejected.

As for the United States, Mr. Wadsworth, speaking for the United States on the 9th of December, said:

There is no question as to the right of the Congolese authorities to place Mr. Lumumba under arrest. It is

⁴U.N. doc. S/4598; rejected by the Council on Dec. 14 (a.m.) by a vote of 3 to 6, with 2 abstentions.

the evident judgment of these authorities that the activities of Mr. Lumumba have constituted a threat to the security of the state.

I believe that this attempt to make the majority of the Council appear to have another view is a very serious thing and much to be regretted.

Now I come to my last point. The representative of Guinea has referred to the last paragraph of the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union in document S/4579 and the fact that this resolution was rejected.⁵ I call the attention of the representative of Guinea and the members of the Council to the fact that the wording of this resolution is, in the first place, a distortion of what has taken place in the United Nations, and it is very clear that it is such a distortion.

This paragraph in the Soviet representative's draft resolution would call upon the Government of Belgium—and note these words—“in accordance with the decision of the United Nations Security Council and the special emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly, immediately to withdraw Belgian military, paramilitary and civil personnel from the Congo.”

No resolution of the Security Council or the special emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw their civil personnel from the Congo. Any attempt to make this appear to be the case is, to say the least, a distortion. I think that the practice of imputing such distortions is one which the Council must take very seriously if the Council is to do useful business for peace and to uphold the United Nations principles.

I have not spoken at this length to keep the members of the Council here at 3:20 in the morning out of any desire to inflict anything upon them. These are serious matters, and they are not matters which I can allow to go unnoted.

FOUR-POWER DRAFT RESOLUTION⁶

*The Security Council,
Having considered the item on its agenda,
Deeply concerned at the continuation of unsettled con-*

⁵ The Soviet draft resolution was rejected by the Council on Dec. 14 (a.m.) by a vote of 2 to 8, with 1 abstention.

⁶ U.N. doc. S/4578/Rev. 1; not adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council (U.S.S.R.). The vote on Dec. 14 (a.m.) was 7 to 3 (Ceylon, Poland, U.S.S.R.), with 1 abstention (Tunisia).

ditions in various parts of the Republic of the Congo, which has led to acts of violence against persons of both Congolese and non-Congolese nationality, including United Nations personnel,

Bearing in mind the obligations assumed by the United Nations to assist in the restoration of law and order in the Republic of the Congo, including the safeguarding of civil and human rights for all the inhabitants of the country,

1. *Declares* that any violation of human rights in the Republic of the Congo is inconsistent with the purposes that guide the United Nations and expects that no measures contrary to recognized rules of law and order will be taken by anyone against any persons held prisoner or under arrest anywhere in the Republic of the Congo,

2. *Expresses the hope* that the International Committee of the Red Cross will be allowed to examine detained persons throughout the Republic of the Congo and their places and conditions of detention and otherwise to obtain the necessary assurances for their safety,

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to assist the Republic of the Congo in the restoration of law and order throughout its territory and in adopting all necessary measures tending to safeguard civil and human rights for all persons within the country.

U.N. General Assembly Continues Discussion of the Congo

Following is a statement by James J. Wadsworth, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, made in plenary session on December 17, together with texts of an eight-power draft resolution rejected by the Assembly on December 20, a U.S.-U.K. draft resolution which failed of adoption by one vote, and an Austrian proposal adopted unanimously on December 20 by which the Assembly decided “to continue this item on the agenda of its resumed session.”

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WADSWORTH

U.S. delegation press release 3624

Once again the General Assembly meets to carry on the responsibilities of the United Nations in the Congo.¹ The United States takes this opportunity to consider the policies and activities of the United Nations in the Congo in the light of the latest events.

Through all these debates on the Congo the

¹ For statements made by Mr. Wadsworth during the debate on the Congo in the fourth emergency special session of the Assembly, Sept. 17-20, see BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1960, p. 583.

United States, however our motives have been misrepresented, has had in mind no aim other than to help the people of the Congo. Thus we shall also continue to help the community of nations. In this issue there is no room whatever for any outside interest, whether of a nation or of an ideology. That is the spirit in which we shall take part in this debate, and we trust that, whatever honest differences of opinion may emerge, the same spirit will animate the greatest possible number of delegates here.

This debate takes place in a setting of recent important events, some of them ominous for the United Nations and for the Congo. The arrest of Mr. [Patrice] Lumumba has been made the occasion for acts and threats of unspeakable violence by individuals who have wrested control of certain areas in Orientale Province. These same people have now asserted a spurious claim to be recognized as the government of the Congo. Meanwhile we have learned from the Secretary-General of the tragedy of widespread starvation in Kasai Province, where hundreds of people are threatened with death by starvation every day. At this difficult moment, of all times when support of the United Nations is absolutely imperative, certain member states have stated an intention to withdraw their troops from service in the United Nations Force in the Congo.

Some Hopeful Signs

That much of the situation is indeed dark. But there are also hopeful signs. One is the General Assembly's action last month in seating President [Joseph] Kasavubu and his delegation as the representatives of the Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville).² Another is the vigorous action of the United Nations in safeguarding lives against the vengeful threats of Messrs. [Antoine] Gizenga and [Bernard] Salumu in Stanleyville—an action which, I am glad to say, has been praised by delegates of virtually all shades of opinion except the Soviet Union. And the third hopeful sign is that the United Nations, in spite of all the difficulties of the Congo operation, has remained faithful to its fundamental aims.

It is well to remind ourselves what those aims have been since the first United Nations action in this crisis last July. Stated most simply, they

have included assistance in the promotion of law and order—as the Secretary-General stated it, “in the basic sense of protecting the lives and property of the inhabitants of the Republic of the Congo”—the evacuation of Belgian troops, the preservation of the unity and integrity of the entire nation, the safeguarding of human rights, and the maintenance of essential services. All these aims have had to be pursued as well as possible without overstepping the charter or the mandate given to the Secretary-General and the United Nations Force by the Security Council and the General Assembly. This has meant inevitably that the United Nations has had to refrain from using force to decide questions which the Congolese people and their leaders, in the exercise of their sovereign independence, must decide for themselves.

In the light of these facts and these United Nations aims, I shall consider some of the recent events and issues that have arisen.

The Matter of Mr. Lumumba

I turn first to the matter of Mr. Lumumba. I would like at the outset to make this point clear. We do not challenge the motives of some of those who have differed with us about this, although we think their position is wrong. We recognize that in many cases it springs from sincerely held and honest convictions, and we recognize the support some governments are giving to the purposes of the United Nations in the Congo. The United States recognized Mr. Lumumba and did its best to deal with him as long as he was constitutionally in power. However, Mr. Lumumba was removed as Prime Minister in accordance with the procedures specified in the constitutional instrument of the Republic of the Congo. His position in the political life of the Congo cannot be decided by the United Nations or by any of us unilaterally but only by the Congolese people. Mr. Lumumba is now under arrest on the basis of a legal warrant issued by the authority of the President of the Republic of the Congo. He is charged with serious crimes under the fundamental law of the Republic. When he was arrested, he was on his way to Stanleyville, where his supporters made no secret of their intention either to make him the head of a separatist regime or to help him usurp power in the Congo as a whole.

The Secretary-General has appealed to Presi-

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1960, p. 904.

dent Kasavubu to see that Mr. Lumumba receives due process of law and is not mistreated and the Red Cross doctors be allowed to visit him. This is proper. However, the Secretary-General is also right in refusing to use the military power of the United Nations Force to secure the release of a man legally imprisoned on the authority of the Chief of State. As the Secretary-General stated yesterday, no mandate has been given which authorizes military initiative by the United Nations Force in the Congo: "The Force has the right of self-defense in a position which it holds under orders in the maintenance of its mandate. It cannot attack units of any kind."

There may be some who want a situation in which Africans kill Africans, but clearly the United Nations Force was not sent to the Congo for this purpose.

The only acknowledged head of the Congo is President Kasavubu, the Chief of State, whose credentials were accepted by the General Assembly on November 22. We think that, as a matter of elementary constitutional practice, any peaceful solution of the political crisis in the Congo must start with the person of the recognized President. However, Mr. Lumumba has set himself in direct opposition to President Kasavubu and has made common cause with the faction which has now set up a sort of shadow government in Stanleyville—under what outside inspiration we all know well. It is perfectly obvious that the tender concern of the Soviet Union with the welfare of Mr. Lumumba does not arise from humanitarian impulses.

The United States fully supports just and humane treatment for all prisoners, including Mr. Lumumba, even though his supporters in the Congo have shown no mercy to certain of his political opponents. We also support such treatment for Minister [Alphonse] Songolo and the other Congolese leaders who have been illegally detained and brutally treated in jail in Stanleyville but whose mistreatment does not seem to arouse any concern on the part of Mr. [Valerian A.] Zorin. We have expressed our concern to President Kasavubu and Colonel [Joseph] Mobutu, and we gave further expression to it in a draft resolution in the Security Council last Tuesday, which was vetoed by the Soviet Union early Wednesday morning.³ As the Assembly knows,

the Secretary-General has made similar representations and has received assurances on this score from President Kasavubu.

Meanwhile we believe that the Secretary-General and the United Nations Force are to be commended for the speed and effectiveness with which they moved to prevent acts of savage violence which the pro-Lumumba forces in Stanleyville threatened to carry out in those parts of Orientale Province where they have seized power. This action should rank with the heroic United Nations efforts to stamp out tribal fighting in northern Katanga in which Congolese have been killing each other. Those who suggest that the United Nations should leave the Congo should consider the consequences: a many-sided civil war which would invite outside interference, rapacious tribal warfare, widespread starvation, and a further breakdown of the whole structure of the country. Foreign domination would be inevitable, but from what quarter?

The Part Played by Belgium

Now I turn to another important aspect of the Congolese situation: the part played by the former administering power and by its nationals. As the Secretary-General has confirmed, Belgian military forces have long since been removed from the Congo. The United States fully supported that withdrawal as an essential step. We further believe that there must be absolutely no military aid to any faction in the Congo from any nation, except through the United Nations and pursuant to United Nations policies.

Mr. Zorin complained in the Security Council that "Belgian colonizers" had returned to the Congo—which I suppose is his way of referring to technicians of all sorts including even doctors, nurses, teachers, civil and sanitary engineers. He said "the instructions" called for the removal of these "colonizers."

Now if this is what Mr. Zorin meant by technicians, then I think several points must be made. The first is that there is no place in the Congo for Belgian "colonizers" or any other "colonizers." The age of colonialism in the Congo is over. Clearly, any technicians who come to the Congo, which desperately needs civilian assistance, must come there not as rulers but as friends, not to command but to help.

Second, at a time when this need is so great, it

³ See p. 51.

would be tragic and nonsensical for the invaluable help of qualified persons to be withheld because of pride or misunderstanding on any side.

The most important consideration in this field is that, whatever help is given by anybody, it must harmonize with and reinforce the United Nations effort. We must not work at cross-purposes in the Congo. This calls for sound arrangements and, even more, for a spirit of forbearance and teamwork in a common cause, which is the good of the Congolese people.

Mr. Zorin's solution, namely, the indiscriminate and immediate ejection of all Belgian nationals from the Congo, would strip that suffering country of its greatest single source of outside advice and is proposed without the slightest reference to the desires of the Government of the Republic of the Congo. It is a destructive solution. As a practical matter the Secretary-General was right when he said in the Security Council: "Unless the United Nations disposes of the necessary funds, how can the United Nations insist on withdrawal of technicians provided on a bilateral basis to meet essential needs . . . ?"

The Soviet Union, we cannot fail to note, is totally opposed to making any contribution to the United Nations effort in the Congo—either for the United Nations Force or for economic aid.

Congolese National Army

Now I come to another point, perhaps the crucial point in the set of sweeping proposals which Mr. Zorin brought to the Security Council and now brings before us here. This is that the Congolese National Army under Colonel Mobutu should be disarmed—presumably by force—by the United Nations.

As the Secretary-General has pointed out, any such action would far exceed the mandate of the United Nations. It would be a direct violation of the sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo. In fact, the representative of the Republic of the Congo, Mr. [Mario] Cardoso, was entirely justified in saying that any such attempt against the will of his Government would be aggression.

Furthermore, even if there were a legal basis for taking this step, its result would obviously be to weaken the constructive forces of the country and strengthen those who oppose the constitutional institutions of the country, including the Stanley-

ville faction, which appears to have the full backing of the Soviet Union. That is the purpose which Mr. Zorin had in mind in proposing this step. He wants to clear the field militarily for those whom the Soviet Union could rely on to promote its purposes in the Congo.

Now, the United States believes that it is most important that the Congolese National Army should be brought and kept under effective civilian control. It should not operate as a political force in its own right but as an arm of an established and legitimate government under President Kasavubu. Under those circumstances it will be possible for the United Nations Force to resume the program of reorganizing and training the army and putting it, as the Secretary-General said in his statement of December 7, "in such a shape as to make it capable to take care of the situation itself." Once that is done, the United Nations will have achieved its primary tasks of promoting law and order and of preserving the unity and integrity of the entire nation and the Congolese Government will be in a position to resume responsibility for the internal peace and security of the nation.

Convening of Congolese Parliament

Finally, Mr. President, I come to another question about which much has been said: the proposed convening of the Congolese Parliament. Certainly full constitutional government should be restored in the Congo as soon as possible. But for the United Nations to attempt to impose this would be quite wrong. Only the Congolese people and their leaders themselves can take the necessary initiatives to establish parliamentary government in the conditions of tranquillity and mutual tolerance which it requires in order to function at all.

And let us keep in mind the conditions under which the Parliament, or at least a portion of the Parliament, last met. To use the words of the distinguished representative of the Congo, in his vivid statement to the Security Council on December 12, former Prime Minister Lumumba obtained votes to his liking from a group of representatives who met "under the menace of bayonets or punishment." The results were described by Mr. Dayal⁴ in his first report as "some-

⁴ Rajeshwar Dayal, special representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo; for texts of his first and second progress reports, see U.N. doc. S/4531 and S/4557 and Corr. 1.

what uncertain both as to substance and count.”

We believe the United Nations can and should do much to assist in establishing conditions in which Parliament can meet and function in security and freedom from outside interference, but the initiative must come from the Congolese people and their leaders.

Mr. President, those are the views of the United States on specific issues which have arisen. These are the views which compel us to oppose the draft resolution submitted by Ghana and six others in document A/L. 331. We find this resolution insufficient in many aspects, particularly in its complete lack of attention to the danger of outside intervention, and we find it totally unacceptable in its many-sided attempt to intervene in the domestic affairs of a member state.

The Broader Considerations

Mr. President, before I close I must say a word about the broader considerations.

From the outset of the emergency in the Congo the United States, along with the great majority of the United Nations members, has wholeheartedly supported this Organization as the only possible instrument to restore peace and independence to the suffering people of the Congo. We have channeled all our aid, military transport, technical, administrative, and financial, through the United Nations and have repeatedly urged others to follow our example. Today we believe that more than ever. Only the United Nations has at its disposal both the great resources and the great and impartial principles which the emergency demands.

I would remind the Assembly once again that the United States could have taken another course. At the very beginning, just after the Belgian intervention, the Congolese Government asked the United States for direct military assistance. We refused, Mr. President, and insisted that all military aid be channeled through the United Nations. We provided a massive airlift, in which 15,000 troops from every quarter of the globe were brought to the Congo. We did not pick and choose and say, “We will not carry your troops because we disagree with your policy.” We carried all the troops which the United Nations asked us to carry.

As to the Soviet Union, it has already become

quite clear that the Soviet Union has other aims as regards the Congo. Its preferred candidates for power are those who are least likely to achieve a solution to the Congo's problems without violence and bloodshed. It wishes to foment hatred between races and between tribes. It wishes to disarm the only Congolese military force. It wishes to cut the Congo off from technical aid through the United Nations. It wants a civil war in the Congo in order to promote its own evil designs. In short, every aspect of Soviet policy is designed either to weaken and divide or to gain power in the Congo for those who will do the will of Moscow. It is a straight policy of “rule or ruin.” It is a policy fraught with danger for international peace and security.

That is not our attitude toward the people of the Republic of the Congo. They have suffered much, and they still face a difficult future. To overcome the difficulties three things are needed:

First, that the Congo should not become an unwilling victim in the struggle of an ambitious nation or group of nations eager to build new empires.

Second, that the Congolese people and their leaders should make the most strenuous and disciplined efforts on their own behalf to win their birthright as an independent nation and in this task should cooperate willingly with the United Nations.

And, finally, that we, the members of the United Nations, should support the Organization in foul weather as well as fair. Only great problems and great difficulties can truly measure our fidelity to the charter. Let us meet our difficulties in such a way that freedom and peace in Africa may be advanced and that we shall have no reason to fear the judgment of history.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

Eight-Power Draft Resolution ⁵

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1474 (ES-IV) of 20 September 1960⁶ as well as the resolutions of 14 and 22 July and

⁵ U.N. doc. A/L.331/Rev. 1; sponsored by Ceylon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia; rejected by the General Assembly on Dec. 20 by a vote of 28 to 42, with 27 abstentions.

⁶ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1960, p. 588.

of 9 August 1960 of the Security Council and in particular the request therein to the Secretary-General to continue to take vigorous action,

In view of the grave and ominous developments and continuing deterioration in the Congo, the prevalence of anarchic conditions and the absence of effective Central authority,

Noting with grave concern the hostile attitude and resistance of armed detachments to the operation of the United Nations in the Congo as recently reported by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and also the continuation of lawlessness, violence and continuing deterioration of the economic situation in the Congo,

Conscious of the inescapable and urgent responsibility of the United Nations both in the interests of the Congo as well as in the interests of peace and security which stand endangered and for the avoidance of grave civil war,

1. *Considers* that the United Nations must henceforth implement its mandate fully to prevent breach of peace and security, to restore and maintain law and order and the inviolability of persons, including United Nations and diplomatic personnel and property, in accordance with the Charter and to take urgent measures to assist the people of the Congo in meeting their most pressing economic needs;

2. *Urges* the immediate release of all political prisoners under detention, more particularly, members of the Central Government of the Congo and officials of Parliament and others enjoying Parliamentary immunity;

3. *Urges* the immediate convening of Parliament and the taking of necessary protective measures thereto by the United Nations, including custodial duties;

4. *Urges* that measures be undertaken forthwith to prevent armed units and personnel in the Congo from any interference in the political life of the country as well as from obtaining any material or other support from abroad;

5. *Draws the attention* of the Government of Belgium to its grave responsibilities in disregarding the resolutions of the United Nations;

6. *Demands* that all Belgian military and quasi-military personnel, advisers and technicians be immediately withdrawn in pursuance of the resolutions of the United Nations, the repeated pledges and assurances given by the Government of Belgium and in the interest of peace and security;

7. *Decides* that a Standing Delegation appointed by the General Assembly and representing it which should function in full co-operation with the United Nations Special Representative be located in the Congo. The delegation should be composed of the representatives of such Member States as have been considered by the General Assembly itself as specially qualified to advise on the United Nations operations in the Congo;

8. *Recommends* that all necessary economic and technical assistance should be afforded to the Congo through the United Nations by Member States promptly so that such assistance be not used as an instrument or a channel for continuing foreign intervention.

The General Assembly,

Recalling resolution 1474 (ES-IV) adopted at its emergency special session on 20 September 1960, and the Security Council resolutions of 14 July, 22 July and 9 August 1960,

Noting with anxiety the continued existence of unsettled conditions in various parts of the Republic of the Congo which have involved acts of lawlessness and of violence against persons of both Congolese and non-Congolese nationality, including personnel of the United Nations,

Mindful of the obligations and responsibilities assumed by the United Nations to assist in the restoration and maintenance of law and order for the purpose of securing the maintenance of international peace and security, and of safeguarding civil liberties and the political independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo,

Recognizing that the aforementioned obligations and responsibilities are still an urgent United Nations concern and that all necessary action should be taken to assure the continuation and success of the United Nations operation in the Congo in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the general purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to discharge the mandate entrusted to him by the United Nations in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly referred to above and to continue to use the presence and the machinery of the United Nations to assist the Republic of the Congo in the restoration and maintenance of law and order throughout its territory;

2. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to continue his vigorous efforts to ensure that no foreign military or para-military personnel are introduced into the Congo or are in the Congo in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and resolution 1474 (ES-IV) of the General Assembly;

3. *Calls upon* all states to refrain from the direct and indirect provision of arms or other materials of war and military personnel and other assistance for military purposes in the Congo during the temporary period of military assistance through the United Nations, except upon the request of the United Nations through the Secretary-General for carrying out the purpose of this resolution, resolution 1474 (ES-IV) of the General Assembly and the resolutions of 14 July, 22 July and 9 August 1960 of the Security Council, and also to refrain from direct or indirect measures that might facilitate such action on the part of others;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General, with due regard to paragraph 4 of the Security Council resolution of 9 August 1960, to do everything possible to assist the Chief of State of the Republic of the Congo in establishing con-

⁷ U.N. doc. A/L. 332; rejected by the General Assembly on Dec. 20 by a vote of 43 to 22, with 32 abstentions.

ditions in which Parliament can meet and function in security and freedom from outside interference;

5. *Declares* that any violation of human rights in the Republic of the Congo is inconsistent with the purposes that guide the United Nations action in the Congo and expects that no measures contrary to recognized rules of law and order will be taken by anyone against any persons held prisoner or under arrest anywhere in the Republic of the Congo, and requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to assist the Republic of the Congo in ensuring respect for these rules and for civil and human rights for all persons within the country;

6. *Expresses the hope* that the International Committee of the Red Cross will be allowed to examine detained persons throughout the Republic of the Congo and their places and conditions of detention and otherwise to obtain the necessary assurances for their safety;

7. *Expresses the hope* that the forthcoming round-table conference to be convened by the Chief of State and the forthcoming visit for the purpose of conciliation to the Republic of the Congo by certain representatives appointed by the Advisory Committee will help to resolve internal conflicts by peaceful means and to preserve the unity and integrity of the Congo;

8. *Requests* all Congolese to lend practical co-operation to the United Nations in order that the purposes that guide the United Nations operation in the Congo can be fruitfully achieved;

9. *Calls on* all states to co-operate in giving effect to this resolution.

Austrian Resolution ⁵

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item on its agenda "The situation in the Republic of the Congo",

Noting that the previous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on this subject are still in effect,

Decides to continue this item on the agenda of its resumed session.

Current U. N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography ¹

General Assembly

Dissemination of Information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in the Trust Territories. Establishment of U.N. information centers in

⁵ Adopted without objection by the General Assembly on Dec. 20.

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.

or near the trust territories. A/4542 and Corr. 1. October 19, 1960. 7 pp.

Africa: A United Nations Programme for Independence and Development. Letter dated October 20, 1960, from the Representative of the United States to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4515/Add. 1. October 20, 1960. 5 pp.

United Nations Emergency Force. Report of the Secretary-General. A/4486/Add. 1. October 21, 1960. 1 p.

Assistance to Refugees. Report of the Secretary-General on the World Refugee Year. A/4546. October 22, 1960. 43 pp.

Note Verbale Dated 20 October 1960 From the Chairman of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa Addressed to the Secretary-General Concerning Statements Made in Plenary on October 14 and 17. A/4558. November 3, 1960. 3 pp.

Letter Dated 11 October 1960 From the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel and Chairman of the Israel Delegation to the General Assembly Addressed to the President of the General Assembly Concerning the Rehovoth Declaration of 1960. A/4570. November 10, 1960. 5 pp.

U.S. Explains Position on Question of Algeria

Following is a statement made by U.S. Representative to the General Assembly Francis O. Wilcox in Committee I (Political and Security) on December 15, together with text of a resolution adopted in plenary session on December 19.

STATEMENT BY MR. WILCOX

U.S. delegation press release 3621

The problem of Algeria is, of course, an extremely difficult one, a problem which is complicated by deep feelings and emotions on all sides. Like all highly charged political issues, it cannot be met by a purely rational approach. Yet in the circumstances in which we are meeting here, an appeal to reason is not without its value.

While we are debating this issue here, important events in Algeria and in France are taking place whose impact and effect on the question of Algeria could be crucial. Our discussion takes place in time of crisis. The recent reports of bloodshed in Algeria and the tragic loss of life are of very deep concern to all of us. These events are a cogent and sharp reminder of the need to achieve as soon as possible a just, democratic, and peaceful solution of the Algerian problem.

Very recently steps have been taken which offer hope that progress can soon be made. On November 4 President de Gaulle took another sig-

nificant step when he spoke of an Algerian Algeria. This statement, the scheduled referendum on January 9, and the recent trip of President de Gaulle to Algeria are further concrete evidence of the intention of France to apply the fundamental policy of self-determination announced in his statement of September 16, 1959. We have every confidence that President de Gaulle, who has given wise and courageous leadership to France, is striving sincerely and vigorously to settle this problem. We believe he is in a unique position to do so successfully and that nothing should be done to impede his efforts. We realize full well that there are formidable obstacles. If there were an easy way out, it would have been found long before this. But with good faith and moderation, accompanied by a cooperative spirit on the part of all concerned, we are confident that a solution can be achieved in the interests of all the people of Algeria.

At the same time, events of recent days impose on us here in this Assembly the very heavy responsibility of making certain that any action which may be taken by the United Nations will not aggravate the present difficult situation. We must be extremely careful to do nothing in the present uncertain and explosive atmosphere which would increase tension in metropolitan France or in Algeria or would otherwise make a peaceful solution more difficult to obtain.

In this connection I should like to recall that the abiding hope of the United States has been to see a just and liberal solution of the Algerian problem based on the full and free exercise of the right of self-determination by the Algerian people. The tragic loss of life suffered during the past week serves as a grim reminder of the urgency of an early and equitable solution of the problem.

We continue to believe that a peaceful solution of this question is imperative and that it can best be achieved through negotiations among the parties principally concerned.

We further believe that we here in this Assembly can make a positive contribution to the Algerian problem by making clear, as has already been done by a number of countries in this debate, that the road to real progress lies in a renewal of discussions. We are at the threshold of one of those historical occasions in which those principally concerned should seek a solution through direct means. We hope that the voices of reason

and moderation in this Assembly will be heard and heeded.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there is one other point which I would like to make. The sponsors of this resolution¹ undoubtedly favor a peaceful solution. There can be no doubt of that whatever in my mind. I respect their motives, and I respect their good intentions. But this cannot be said of the Soviet Union, whose prime objective is to sow the seeds of confusion, discord, and mistrust in Algeria. The Algerian question is difficult enough, and injection by the Soviet Union of blatant and inflammatory falsehoods in this debate can only serve to complicate matters rather than help them.

I shall not trespass, Mr. Chairman, on the time of the committee to refute the charges he [Valerian A. Zorin, representative of the Soviet Union] has made against my country. But I want him and the members of this committee to know that I think they are in very bad taste and that I resent them. Frankly, I should like to see the debate in this committee kept at a higher level.

Now, with regard to the resolution before us, the criterion which we apply in deciding our position on such a resolution is whether, in our judgment, its adoption would contribute constructively to a solution of the tragic Algerian problem or whether it would hinder such a solution. Would it prevent or would it encourage a deterioration of an extremely difficult and delicate situation? This, of course, is a matter of judgment which each delegation must determine for itself in the light of its own interpretation of the situation. We see a number of difficulties with the provisions of this resolution which I will not take the time of the committee to outline in detail. Let me say, however, that these difficulties include certain operative paragraphs, particularly paragraph 4, as well as preambular paragraphs 7 and 9.

My delegation considers, Mr. Chairman, that adoption of the present resolution would impede rather than assist a peaceful solution of the problem. We will vote, therefore, against the resolution.

We sincerely believe this resolution would not achieve the objectives which the sponsors hope for it. On the contrary, we think that the very fact of its passage would encourage extremists in both Algeria and in France to persist in their

¹ U.N. doc. A/C.1/L. 265 and Add. 1-3.

present course and would serve to prolong the conflict and to make the achievement of a peaceful solution by negotiation more difficult and formidable.

In saying this, Mr. Chairman, I want to make perfectly clear, once more, the deep and abiding interest of the United States in promoting the cause of human liberty in the world. We believe in the right of people to determine their own destiny, and we agree with other delegations present that the Algerian people should freely determine their own destiny. The principal issue at stake here is precisely how this objective can be achieved, and the United States has indicated how we believe this can best be done.

My delegation recognizes the legitimate desire that the referendum be carried out under neutral and impartial supervision to assure the free expression of opinion by the population of Algeria. In this connection we welcome President de Gaulle's willingness to invite impartial observers to witness the referendum and believe this opportunity should be fully utilized. For the reasons which I have briefly set forth, Mr. Chairman, we will vote against the resolution.²

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ³

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the question of Algeria,

Recalling its resolution 1012 (XI) of 15 February 1957 by which the General Assembly expressed the hope that a peaceful, democratic and just solution would be found through appropriate means, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling further its resolution 1184 (XII) of 10 December 1957 by which the General Assembly expressed the wish that *pourparlers* would be entered into, and other appropriate means utilized, with a view to a solution, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting with regret that the *pourparlers* contemplated in resolution 1184 (XII) did not materialize,

Recalling Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations,

²The United States voted against draft resolution A/C.I/L. 265 and Add. 1-3 as adopted by Committee I on Dec. 15. On Dec. 19 the United States abstained from voting on the resolution as it was finally adopted by the plenary session of the General Assembly.

³U.N. doc. A/RES/1575(XV) (A/C.I/L. 265 and Add. 1-3): adopted on Dec. 19 by a vote of 63 to 8, with 27 abstentions (U.S.).

Deeply concerned with the continuance of hostilities in Algeria,

Considering that the present situation in Algeria also constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Recalling its resolution 1495 (XV) of 18 October 1960 by which the General Assembly urges that immediate and constructive steps should be adopted in regard to the urgent problems concerning the peace of the world,

Taking note of the fact that the two parties concerned have accepted the right of self-determination as the basis for the solution of the Algerian problem,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom of all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

1. *Recognizes* the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence;

2. *Recognizes* the imperative need for adequate and effective guarantees to ensure the successful and just implementation of the right of self-determination on the basis of respect for unity and territorial integrity of Algeria;

3. *Recognizes further* that the United Nations has a responsibility to contribute towards its successful and just implementation.

TREATY INFORMATION

United States and U.A.R. Sign Income Tax Convention

Press release 703 dated December 21

A convention between the United States and the United Arab Republic for the avoidance of double taxation of income, prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to income, and elimination of obstacles to international trade and investment was signed at Washington on December 21, 1960, by Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State, and Dr. Mostafa Kamel, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic in Washington.

The provisions of the convention follow, in general, the pattern of income tax conventions presently in force between the United States and a number of other countries. In accordance with the announced administration policy of assisting in the promotion of private investment in underdeveloped countries by allowing a credit for income tax incentives granted in such countries, the

convention contains a provision for this purpose, of the kind commonly referred to as a tax-sparing provision.

The convention provides that upon the exchange of instruments of ratification it shall be applicable (a) in the United States, to income or profits derived during taxable years beginning on or after January 1 of the calendar year next following the year in which the exchange takes place, and (b) in the United Arab Republic, to various items of income, as specified, beginning on or after either January 1 or July 1 of the calendar year next following the year in which the exchange takes place.

The convention will be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. Done at Washington January 15, 1944. Entered into force November 30, 1944. (58 Stat. 1169.) *Ratification deposited*: Peru, December 20, 1960.

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: Peru, December 20, 1960.

Economic Cooperation

Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and two supplementary protocols. Signed at Paris December 14, 1960. Enters into force on date all ratifications or acceptances are deposited before September 30, 1961; on that date if 15 instruments have been deposited; on date 15 instruments are deposited not later than 2 years after signature.

Memorandum of understanding on the application of article 15 of the Convention on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Signed at Paris December 14, 1960. Entered into force December 14, 1960, for those provisions relating to actions to be taken before the voting in the Council. Enters into force for the provisions relating to the voting in the Council on the date the Convention enters into force.

Signatures: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States.

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Costa Rica, December 16, 1960.

¹ Not in force.

Brazil

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of December 31, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3725, 3864, 4074, 4144, 4183, 4239, and 4311). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 9, 1960. Entered into force December 9, 1960.

Chile

Agreement amending the agreement of June 28 and July 16, 1960 (TIAS 4589), for the loan of a U.S. naval vessel to Chile. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 2 and 7, 1960. Entered into force December 7, 1960.

China

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of August 30, 1960, as amended (TIAS 4563 and 4628). Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei December 1, 1960. Entered into force December 1, 1960.

Indonesia

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of March 2, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3513, 4086, and 4512). Effected by exchange of notes at Djakarta December 7, 1960. Entered into force December 7, 1960.

Japan

Agreement amending the agreement of January 11, 1958 (TIAS 3982), providing for the financing of an educational exchange program. Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo December 2, 1960. Entered into force December 2, 1960.

United Arab Republic

Convention for avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion of income, and elimination of obstacles to international trade and investment. Signed at Washington December 21, 1960. Enters into force upon exchange of ratifications.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Recess Appointments

The President on December 12 appointed W. Wendell Blanke to be Ambassador to the Gabon Republic, the Republic of Chad, and the Central African Republic.

Designations

William J. Mazzocco as ICA Representative in the Republic of the Ivory Coast, effective December 9, 1960. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 691 dated December 13.)

Elliott B. Strauss as ICA Representative in the Malagasy Republic, effective December 22, 1960. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 679 dated December 8.)

Resignations

James W. Barco as Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations and as Deputy Representative in the U.N. Security Council, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Ambassador Barco, see White House press release dated December 19, 1960.)

Amory Houghton as Ambassador to France, effective January 19, 1961. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Ambassador Houghton, see White House press release dated December 13.)

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.

Technical Cooperation in Industry. Pub. 7023. Economic Cooperation Series 57. 23 pp. 15¢.

A pamphlet describing U.S. technical assistance to newly developing countries through education, training, and guidance in the development of manual, technical, administrative, managerial, and entrepreneurial skills.

Technical Cooperation in Education. Pub. 7024. Economic Cooperation Series 58. 31 pp. 15¢.

This booklet reports U.S. efforts to help the newly developing countries establish educational systems patterned to meet their needs.

The Educational and Cultural Exchange Program—24th Semiannual Report to Congress, July 1-December 31, 1959. Pub. 7053. International Information and Cultural Series 74. 21 pp. Limited distribution.

A report summarizing activities carried out during the first half of fiscal year 1960.

The Conference on Antarctica—Washington, October 15-December 1, 1959. Pub. 7060. International Organization and Conference Series 13. xv, 78 pp. 35¢.

This volume contains public documents of the conference and includes text of the treaty and various related papers.

Educational & Cultural Exchange, 1959. Pub. 7066. International Information and Cultural Series 75. 49 pp. 25¢.

A review of the Department of State's activities during 1959 on international educational exchange programs.

Disarmament—The Intensified Effort, 1955-1958 (Revised). Pub. 7070. General Foreign Policy Series 155. 66 pp. 30¢.

A booklet summarizing U.S. efforts since the end of World War II to negotiate a sound and safeguarded agreement on the regulation, control, and reduction of armaments and armed forces.

Point 4 in Colombia. Pub. 7071. Inter-American Series 61. 10 pp. Limited distribution.

An address made by Charles P. Fossum, Director of the U.S. Operations Mission in Colombia, International Cooperation Administration, before the American Society of Bogotá, at Bogotá, Colombia, on July 26, 1960, discussing the scope of technical programs in Colombia.

The U.S. in the U.N. Pub. 7080. International Organization and Conference Series 16. 8 pp. 10¢.

A pamphlet containing the text of President Eisenhower's letter of transmittal accompanying his report to Congress on U.S. participation in the United Nations during 1959.

An Address by President Eisenhower to the UN General Assembly, September 22, 1960. Pub. 7086. International Organization and Conference Series 17. 12 pp. Limited distribution.

Text of the address by the President at the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations September 22, 1960.

Berlin—City Between Two Worlds (Revised). Pub. 7089. European and British Commonwealth Series 61. 22 pp. 20¢.

Another in the popular *Background* series, this pamphlet discusses the problems of the people of East and West Germany for the reunification of their country.

North American Regional Broadcasting. TIAS 4460. 332 pp. \$2.25.

Agreement and Final Protocol between the United States of America and Other Governments. Signed at Washington November 15, 1950. Entered into force April 19, 1960.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. TIAS 4461. 553 pp. \$15.00.

Declaration on the provisional accession of the Swiss Confederation to the agreement of October 30, 1947. Done at Geneva November 22, 1958. Entered into force with respect to the United States of America and Switzerland April 29, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4528. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey, amending the agreement of December 22, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara May 31, 1960. Entered into force May 31, 1960. With aide memoire dated May 31, 1960.

Education—Cooperative Program in the Dominican Republic. TIAS 4529. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Dominican Republic, modifying and extending the agreement of March 16, 1951, as modified and extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ciudad Trujillo June 2 and 7, 1960. Entered into force June 7, 1960.

Amity, Economic Relations and Consular Rights. TIAS 4530. 26 pp. 15¢.

Treaty and protocol between the United States of America and Muscat and Oman and Dependencies. Signed at Salalah December 20, 1958. Entered into force June 11, 1960.

Air Service—Certain Aeronautical Facilities and Services in Greenland. TIAS 4531. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Denmark. Signed at Copenhagen July 7, 1960. Entered into force July 7, 1960.

Defense—Loan of Vessel to Haiti. TIAS 4534. 6 pp. 5¢. Agreement between the United States of America and Haiti. Exchange of notes—Signed at Port-au-Prince July 8, 1960. Entered into force July 8, 1960.

Atomic Energy. U.S. Notes Reports of Israel's Atomic Energy Activities 45

Brazil. President Salutes Memory of Brazil's World War II Dead 48

Central African Republic. Blancke appointed Ambassador 65

Chad. Blancke appointed Ambassador 65

Congo, Republic of the
Security Council Debate on Congo Results in 92d Soviet Veto (Barco, Wadsworth, text of resolution) 51

U.N. General Assembly Continues Discussion of the Congo (Wadsworth, texts of resolutions) 56

Cuba. President's Representative on Cuban Refugee Problem Submits Report (Voorhees, text of report) 45

Department and Foreign Service
Designations (Mazzocco, Strauss) 65
Recess Appointments (Blancke) 65
Resignations (Barco, Houghton) 66

Economic Affairs
Steps Taken To Modify Concessions on Bicycles and Spring Clothespins 50
United States and U.A.R. Sign Income Tax Convention 64

France
Houghton resigns as Ambassador 66
U.S. Explains Position on Question of Algeria (Wilcox, text of resolution) 62

Gabon. Blancke appointed Ambassador 65

Immigration and Naturalization. Immigration Quota Established for Mauritania (text of proclamation) 49

Iran. United States and Iran Discuss Aid Programs 49

Israel. U.S. Notes Reports of Israel's Atomic Energy Activities 45

Ivory Coast. Mazzocco designated ICA representative 65

Lebanon. Lebanon To Receive 15,000 Tons of Wheat for Drought Relief 50

Malagasy Republic. Strauss designated ICA representative 65

Mauritania. Immigration Quota Established for Mauritania (text of proclamation) 49

Military Affairs. Stage-Two Talks Concluded on West Indies Bases 42

Mutual Security
Lebanon To Receive 15,000 Tons of Wheat for Drought Relief 50
Mazzocco designated ICA representative, Ivory Coast 65
Strauss designated ICA representative, Malagasy Republic 65
United States and Iran Discuss Aid Programs 49

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. North Atlantic Council Holds Ministerial Meeting at Paris (Eisenhower, Herter, text of communique) 39

Presidential Documents
Immigration Quota Established for Mauritania 49
North Atlantic Council Holds Ministerial Meeting at Paris 39

President Salutes Memory of Brazil's World War II Dead 48

Publications. Recent Releases 66

Refugees. President's Representative on Cuban Refugee Problem Submits Report (Voorhees, text of report) 45

Treaty Information
Current Actions 65
Stage-Two Talks Concluded on West Indies Bases 42
United States and U.A.R. Sign Income Tax Convention 64

U.S.S.R. Security Council Debate on Congo Results in 92d Soviet Veto (Barco, Wadsworth, text of resolution) 51

United Arab Republic. United States and U.A.R. Sign Income Tax Convention 64

United Kingdom. Stage-Two Talks Concluded on West Indies Bases 42

United Nations
Barco resigns as U.S. deputy representative 66
Current U.N. Documents 62
Security Council Debate on Congo Results in 92d Soviet Veto (Barco, Wadsworth, text of resolution) 51
U.N. General Assembly Continues Discussion of the Congo (Wadsworth, texts of resolutions) 56
U.S. Explains Position on Question of Algeria (Wilcox, text of resolution) 62

West Indies, The. Stage-Two Talks Concluded on West Indies Bases 42

Name Index

Barco, James W 51, 66
Blancke, W. Wendell 65
Eisenhower, President 39, 48, 49
Herter, Secretary 40
Houghton, Amory 66
Mazzocco, William J 65
Strauss, Elliott B 65
Voorhees, Tracy S 45
Wadsworth, James J 51, 56
Wilcox, Francis O 62

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: December 19-25

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Releases issued prior to December 19 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 681 of December 8, 690 of December 10, 692 of December 13, and 698 of December 15.

No.	Date	Subject
700	12/19	NATO communique.
701	12/19	Herter: statement following NATO meeting.
702	12/19	Israel atomic energy activities.
703	12/21	Income tax convention with U.A.R.
704	12/23	Wheat grant to Lebanon.
705	12/23	Concessions on bicycles and spring clothespins.
†706	12/23	Eisenhower: funds for office of Inspector General and Comptroller, Mutual Security.
707	12/24	Discussion of aid programs with Iran.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



UNITED STATES
 GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
 DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
 WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
 OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
 PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
 (GPO)

the
 Department
 of
 State

THE SCIENCE ADVISER OF THE
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

This pamphlet gives the historical development of the science program in the Department of State. The purpose of the program is to provide advice to the Secretary of State and his staff on those policy matters in which scientific developments may affect U.S. foreign relations. The organizational machinery for the program consists of the Office of the Science Adviser in Washington and the corps of science officers overseas whose activity it directs.

Publication 7056

15 cents

EDUCATIONAL & CULTURAL EXCHANGE

This report reviews the 1959 operations of the International Educational Exchange Program, which is the largest of the cultural projects under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State. The appendixes in this booklet contain statistical charts on the number and types of exchanges with each country for the years 1949-1959.

Publication 7066

25 cents

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
 Govt. Printing Office
 Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$.....
 (cash, check, or money
 order payable to
 Supt. of Docs.)

Please send me copies of—

- The Science Adviser of the Department of State.
- Educational & Cultural Exchange.

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

933
Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1125

January 16, 1961

**THE UNITED STATES AND NEW CROSSROADS IN
WORLD ECONOMY** ● *by Assistant Secretary Martin . . .* 71

**NEW TARIFF RATES ESTABLISHED FOR CERTAIN
WOOL FABRICS** ● *White House Announcement and Text
of Proclamation* 87

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON RUBBER ●
Article by Sydney L. W. Mellen 78

E
FICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
UNITED STATES
REIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1125 • PUBLICATION 7125

January 16, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 20, 1958).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

The United States and New Crossroads in World Economy

by *Edwin M. Martin*

*Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs*¹

As an economist I have had some experience with the risks of economic forecasting. I suspect forecasting what future historians will say about the present is even more risky. Nevertheless, I shall be bold and predict that in the history books of 2500 A.D., if man is still dependent on such pedestrian things as books, the chapter on the 20th century will be quite a long one, recording it as a major turning point in the development of human society on this planet. There will be many things to talk about, from the scientific revolution to the two most destructive wars up to that date. But I would suspect that the most significant feature of 20th century life will prove to have been the foundation laid in that era for the history of mankind during a good many ensuing centuries by the success with which our century handled the problems created by the final disintegration of many ancient societies and cultures under the impact of Western "progress" and the dissolution of such organizing forces as were represented by the world empires of the 19th century. The emergence of a multitude of new nations and their transformation, along with numerous independent but heretofore aloof countries, into active participants in the stream of modern world history will surely appear as a major event. Will it prove to have been a constructive influence or a destructive one? To do what we can to influence the answer to this question is our great responsibility.

I can think of no problem which the human race has faced in its past which has been more challenging, more difficult, or more important than this

one. Let us look first at some of the factors which make it such a uniquely difficult task. But before doing so may I insert a brief word of warning before I proceed largely to ignore it. It is usual to speak of the less developed countries as if they were all similar in their characteristics and could all be the subject of accurate generalizations. This is, of course, not true, but there are, I believe, enough areas of likeness that one can safely draw some overall conclusions in the interests of brevity.

For several generations the growing impact of Western ideas and standards has been undermining the traditional social and cultural and economic structures which, at their own levels, had provided a cohesive force for a majority of the world's population. With the advent of modern means of communication and transport, this destructive process has been enormously accelerated in the last 40 years. One should not overlook the impact of World War II in giving many participants in the fighting armies a chance to see at first hand how the rich nations of the West lived.

Nationalism and Demand for Material Achievement

Along with the disintegration of old standards the West has contributed two new ambitions, both, in their immediate impact, more destructive than constructive. The first is nationalism and the desire for political independence at almost all costs. The second is the urgent demand for a higher standard of living, for a society which in its materialistic splendor can hope someday, and sooner rather than later, to match the riches of the industrial countries of Europe and North America. Not only does this establish an enor-

¹ Address made before the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at New York, N.Y., on Dec. 29.

mously difficult goal to reach, but the very emphasis on material achievement, desperately needed as it is, runs the risk of obscuring the importance of nonmaterial values without which the discipline and sacrifices necessary to material success can hardly be expected to emerge.

On ground already made relatively barren, or at least disorganized, culturally and intellectually by Western interventions these two seedlings have had a rank growth. It is impossible to expect people in the position of most of these countries to appreciate the long period of work and of sacrifice, the cycles of success and failure, the slow development of complex organic relationships within a society, to say nothing of a certain amount of geographical good fortune, which has been necessary to produce the relatively rich, stable, and politically democratic national societies which the less developed countries seem to wish to emulate. So we face an emotionally charged demand by a vast number of people, divided into illogically bounded nations, for an overnight miracle, an instantaneous creation of something great and good out of little more than an urgent desire and need to have it. This demand is a powerful force which will change a large part of the world; the only issue is whether or not it will be for the better.

We must not forget, in judging what may appear to be immaturity on their part in reaching too impatiently for these hardly won fruits, that we ourselves, with the advantage of several centuries of solid, largely constructive, experience behind us, still show important evidences of rather gross immaturity. Without probing too deeply into our societies, one need only mention the activities of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy in our own generation.

U.S. Interest in Less Developed Areas

The same technical progress that has accelerated the unrest in the less developed areas has also made it impossible for the industrialized countries like the United States to treat as of no interest the success or failure of the efforts of these striving nations to become responsible members of the modern world with a rapidly rising standard of living. Time distances have been so reduced that this once large planet is now but a neighborhood. Our ability to lead the kind of life we wish to lead here in the United States is inextricably bound up

with the kind of neighborhood which surrounds us.

Moreover we have to fear not just civil disorder and economic chaos among our neighbors but their organization under the leadership of the new force which is directed from the Kremlin and their use to achieve its goal of world communism, to which the United States is the principal obstacle. Our future is bound up with their success in reaching their goals; the Soviets can feed best on their failures. This makes our task not only urgent but a global one. We can only disregard the needs of a country at our peril.

For our own safety as well as our future opportunities for development of our way of life, we must take a direct interest in assisting the growth to maturity of these new and relatively less developed countries of the world. From what I have said it should be clear that I consider the existence of a Communist Soviet Union, actively engaged in seeking new satellites in Asia and Africa and Latin America, as a seriously complicating factor but not as the sole or even primary reason why the people of the United States should want to be of assistance.

Within this broad framework of urgency and difficulty there are other more specific complications. We have reached a state in medical science that insures that every step ahead taken by most of these peoples will reduce death rates without a corresponding change in birth rates and will thereby sharply limit the prospects for future progress. For to us economic progress must be measured not just in terms of national wealth but of individual wealth. The per capita investment required for even a low annual per capita income is substantial. It would be hard enough to find and combine together all the resources needed to give the existing populations a reasonably rising level of living, but to do so for populations which are expanding more rapidly all the time becomes a truly herculean task.

The rapid rate of current scientific development also creates new and especially difficult problems. It would be hard enough to help these people to jump from the wheel age to the automobile age or from wood to fuel oil, but when to be a respectable citizen of the present-day world it becomes a question of rockets and nuclear power the difficulties are enormously increased. It is hard to find a qualified expert who is interested in taking a peasant to the next stage from a hand-pushed

wooden plow, when all his experience has been in developing means to move from the single tractor-drawn plow to the multiple gang-plow technology. And the same applies in a hundred other fields.

Moreover the sensitive citizen of one of these countries is easily led to wonder whether he is being treated properly if he is not offered the latest developments of Western technology. A fundamental distrust can easily be created from such an apparent treatment as a second-class citizen. Too often these countries are not satisfied to concentrate on better roads and better water transportation or even railroads; they must all have their own jet airline.

While most countries wish to do all they can to pay their own way to a higher standard of living, we appear to them to have created obstacles to their doing so. Somewhat like our farmers, the people of the less developed countries feel, with some justice, that they are between economic millstones in which the prices of the manufactured products they buy are constantly rising to provide better incomes to the well-organized workers and managers and owners of the industrialized world, while the prices of the primary products they sell fail to keep pace, even often fall sharply. Moreover, their sales volume is also often subjected to wide fluctuations as the rich countries go through periods of recession and boom. This is not a small problem for just a few countries: 45 of them receive over 60 percent of their export income from one or two commodities. To add insult to injury, when they try to export manufactured products at low prices, based on the low incomes their workers will accept, they are faced with quotas and tariffs and cries of market disruption.

It is certainly to our interest that they expand their exports so that they can pay for the supplies and parts needed to keep their new factories operating, pay us back the money we are providing to build them, and be able to assume an increasing share of the foreign exchange costs of development themselves as truly independent nations. Our statesmanship will be tested to the full in achieving a reconciliation between their need to export to live and our need to protect our people and industries against the social dislocations of sudden swamping by imports. It will probably prove a harder nut to crack than securing large enough foreign-aid appropriations.

I suspect that we have created a further difficulty for ourselves by letting "development" be handled too much by the economists as primarily an economic problem; we also have gone too far in accepting the materialistic measure of success. Time and again I have heard discussions of "development" turn on percentage growth in gross national product as if health, education, governmental efficiency, even an individual's happiness in his environment didn't really matter. Perhaps we are led to this bias by the ease of measuring economic progress in precise terms. It's a lazy man's answer.

Creating Proper Political Framework

Not only are other areas of development important in themselves, but success in economic development is entirely dependent on success in creating a mature political and social framework in which economic activities can take place.

There must, of course, be political order. There must also, however, be a positive sense of loyalty which will enlist sacrifices for the common good by all citizens if the hard work, the savings, the cooperative effort, which are required if outside help is to do any good, are to be forthcoming.

National or international agencies can develop economic plans and make recommendations as to what should come first. But only the local government can in the last analysis decide what its national objectives are and in what order they shall be reached, and thus enlist a full measure of support from its citizens. It must be wise and strong to do this task well, and it is not a simple one. Even we have great difficulty, for example, in deciding as a nation such a broad question as what proportion of our economic output should go for consumer goods and what proportion should go for public services, like schools, hospitals, and roads. But for capital-starved new countries decisions in much greater detail are essential to maximizing their rate of growth.

In addition to the question of what to spend resources on, there is always the question of how fast an expansion should be sought. The gap between present levels of living and what would be decently humane, to say nothing of Western levels, is in every case so great that it is hard to resist trying to do some of everything at once and to spend much more rapidly than available resources in fact permit. The result is inevitably an inflation which destroys the desire to save and forces

a new start after serious real losses. There are no more difficult political—or economic—decisions than those involved in this question of the proper balance between growth with inflation versus deflation with stagnation, as we in this country should well know.

Closely related to this problem of inflation is that of a sound public fiscal system which, without curbing local initiative, will provide the local resources for the basic economic infrastructure needed to match aid from abroad.

There must also be chosen an appropriate political attitude toward foreign private enterprise. It is seldom that public enterprise alone can do the whole job. Not only does private enterprise have unique capacities, but it is an additional source of capital in a situation where capital is nearly always the scarcest resource. Here again these countries are faced with one of their most difficult policy decisions, as they naturally fear greatly the loss of real independence through possible economic imperialism, with which they have in many cases had some past experience. Even as mature a country as Canada is now finding cause for concern in the proportion of its enterprises which are owned in the United States.

And lastly a responsible government must find the means to insure that its growing wealth is equitably shared among its people, not all concentrated in the hands of a few. Here in the United States we can well understand the strains put upon a society in reaching and maintaining a workable and acceptable compromise between the superficial logic of equality and the practical importance of stimulating effort and sacrifice by appropriate material rewards.

I have mentioned just a few of the difficult political decisions which a country must make if its economic development is to succeed. I have said nothing about such less dramatic but still difficult questions as adequate staffing of the bureaucracy, its efficient operation free of corruption, and similar problems. What I have said should indicate that the creation of proper political attitudes, of a proper understanding of the role of the government and the nature of a sound political process for reaching decisions, as well as an understanding of difficult political-economic issues themselves, is an essential prerequisite to the organization and execution of an adequate economic development program. Of course, there are also many important noneconomic objectives

to be achieved by sound political development.

It is far more difficult to create proper attitudes and understanding in people, whether they are operating in a well-established cultural system or just beginning to create a new one, than helping them to learn to dig ditches or pile up bricks and mortar or repair a jeep. To the extent that it is a matter of attitudes and understanding, there is moreover undoubtedly less that can be done from the outside. Nevertheless, for all the reasons cited, I do believe that we must give more attention to the problems which many of these people face in creating a political system with a sense of depth of the sort which you as historians must well understand from your studies. Political development should take its place on the world stage alongside the present star—economic development.

Availability of Resources

If we could assume that the political foundations required for economic development did exist and would continue to improve as the economic problems presented for solution became more complicated with the development of a more intricate economic system, we would then find ourselves faced with several important issues in the economic field alone. Basically they are issues of availability of resources.

I want to talk first about people. Since the peoples being helped must do most of the work, must run the factories which we build for them, must operate their own economy in the end, it is essential that we provide the training which is appropriate to the kinds of economic development projects and programs which are shaping their future. While our funds for this purpose have probably been quite inadequate, and, with the emergence of 16 new states in Africa this year looking for rapid economic progress as the normal and obvious result of independence, will become even more so, we still have not been able to fill all the jobs for which we had money.

Not only do we need more people, but we need many more people with a sense of mission and a spirit of enthusiasm of the sort which can multiply the impact of the technical knowledge which they possess. Most of you are teachers and will be familiar with what I mean when I say that the task before us is one which challenges the most skilled of our teachers. The gap between teacher and student is usually far greater than you will find in your classroom. By the same token the

teaching genius required to bridge that gap, to select from the technical knowledge and experience of a rich and complicated society the knowledge that the citizens of one of the newer states need to acquire first and can best assimilate as a first step along the progress to full understanding—all this requires a teaching artist of the first order. In many cases he will have to start, not by explaining a new and better way to do something, but by proving that to change at all from the ways of the ancestors is a good thing. But he must also have technical knowledge, practical experience, and a willingness to live for periods of time in foreign lands, often under highly uncongenial conditions.

I do not see how we can meet the challenge of the 20th century to which I referred earlier with any degree of adequacy, or feel any assurance about our own longer term future, unless we can awaken in this country and in the industrialized countries of Europe a missionary spirit, embodied in an adequate number of inspired teachers who can show the way to the higher civilization, in all its facets, which we believe we possess. There is encouraging evidence that the newer generation coming out of our universities is inspired by this challenge and does see how exciting in terms of accomplishment such a life can be.

Need for Material Resources

But given this army of people we also need material resources in unprecedented amounts. Personally I think we need a rapid expansion in the flow of capital soon, though it will take a little time to develop the political and economic resources in the less developed countries to absorb efficiently the large quantities of additional capital that they will eventually need. But we must be prepared to step up its availability as rapidly as it can be utilized.

Our ability to expand our capital assistance has fortunately been greatly increased in the past few years, which have seen the greatest expansion of needs. For we have clearly crossed the line between the period of postwar economic reconstruction and the next era in the economic history of the industrialized West, as yet unnamed. The most dramatic symbol of this change is the disappearance of the dollar gap and the appearance of a U.S. balance-of-payments problem of considerable gravity. But with united efforts we can

now provide goods and finance on a constantly enlarging basis. With the establishment of the new Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, whose charter was signed this month in Paris,² the Atlantic world is better organized to press ahead with its common economic tasks.

Total public and private investment now going into the less developed countries has been estimated to be about \$5 billion a year. This, well used, might provide an annual per capita increase in gross national product of 1½ to 2 percent. It has been estimated that, if we assume it is 1¾ percent per year and continue at this level of investment for 40 years, we can raise the average per capita income in the less developed countries of the free world from about \$100 a year to \$200 a year. Meanwhile, if present trends continue, U.S. per capita income will increase not by \$100 but by nearly \$4,000, and that of the rest of the industrialized free world by \$2,600.

In large part this is such a discouraging result because it assumes present trends in population growth. But even apart from that it is indicative of the enormous problem which we face in giving these less fortunate people even a slight sense of progress, let alone a decent standard of living. The gap between "have" and "have not" countries would on these assumptions widen hugely by 2000 A.D., unless we should destroy our own future through mismanagement.

I have no pat solution to offer to this discouraging picture. I think it justifies what I said at the outset about the crucial nature of the decisions which we must make in the next few years. We do not have long to toy with the problem. We must either face it and solve it, or reap the disastrous consequences of failure.

I have suggested some lines along which we might seek encouragement. I have mentioned the need for more and better technicians, improved use of resources and harder work through improved political arrangements, a cutback in population increase, and better export markets for less-developed-area products, all of which would increase the rate of improvement forecast above. Again I should also remind you that gross national product, even per capita, is a limited measure of progress, failing (except indirectly) to take into account such things as better education and health and government.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1961, p. 8.

Favorable Developments

To add a further optimistic note, which underlines what we are capable of, if we have the will, I suggest you think back to 1945, perhaps even 1950, and ask yourselves if you then thought the bulk of the African colonies could become independent by consent by 1960. Current troubles in the Congo should not obscure the larger fact, which has been no mean achievement in statesmanship, to say nothing of what has been done in the vast Indian peninsula and in Southeast Asia.

The fact that the seriousness of this problem is recognized in ever-widening circles is also a good omen for success. I sometimes get the impression that nearly all of my economic professorial friends who 10 years ago were busy on books about the dollar gap are now turning out books on economic development. I sincerely hope that the best brains in the fields of political science, sociology, and history will also bring their contributions to bear on the solution of this crucial and difficult issue and not assume that it is one to be left to the economists.

We need help from all sources, and I think most of all from those so-called less scientific and less practical domains which deal with the relations between human beings in the realm of the mind and the spirit. But unless we Americans can, by our own actions and leadership, demonstrate and convince the peoples of the free world that there are important things in life besides the standard of living, that there are other objectives worth seeking and having, we shall, I fear, be faced with a real prospect of failure. Both our race against time for material prosperity itself and the probable need to achieve political maturity despite less-than-hoped-for material progress, as well as success in our across-the-board competition with Soviet communism for men's loyalties, depend on the growth of a belief in moral values on which day-to-day discussions can be founded.

Perhaps our major problem in promoting economic growth is that we are not in command of the situation. We are better able to transmit the fruits of growth than the seed. The process we are trying to set in motion and help to sustain requires widespread transformations in attitudes, institutions, and structure. It requires leaders committed to economic and social progress and competent to organize, administer, and inspire their own people. We cannot bestow leadership.

We can set some examples in behavior and attitudes, and we do command substantial resources that are important determinants of growth, in particular capital and technical skills. Where governments are making a determined effort to propel their economies forward, it is imperative that we help them in full measure. Where governing groups resist change in the interest of privilege or are weak, unstable, and ineffective in translating ideas into action, our problem is to try to fashion our assistance in such ways as to encourage the transformations that are needed. What is clear is that the process will be long-term and that it will require substantial and sustained effort on our part, guided by the wisest leadership we possess.

U.S. Calls for Consultations on Situation in Laos

Following are texts of two Department statements read to news correspondents by Joseph W. Reap, press officer, on December 31 and January 1.

Statement of December 31

The Department is following with close attention the grave situation in Laos, including in particular reports of intervention from the outside.¹ It is also consulting with Allied governments. Mindful of its obligations under the SEATO Treaty, the United States Government would take the most serious view of any intervention in Laos by the Chinese Communists or Viet Minh armed forces or others in support of the Communist Pathet Lao, who are in rebellion against the Royal Laotian Government.

Statement of January 1

The Department has instructed Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, the U.S. Permanent Representative on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Council, to ask for a meeting of the Council as early as possible. We have further instructed our ambassadors to all SEATO capitals to inform the governments to which they are accredited of these new developments in Laos and to explain the

¹ For an exchange of notes between the United States and the U.S.S.R., see BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1961, p. 15.

United States view that these developments warrant consultation by the SEATO Council.

We have begun preliminary consultations with some of our Allies here in Washington.

NASA To Promote Commercial Use of Communication Satellites

Statement by President Eisenhower

White House press release dated December 31

The commercial application of communication satellites, hopefully within the next several years, will bring all the nations of the world closer together in peaceful relationships as a product of this Nation's program of space exploration.

The world's requirements for communication facilities will increase severalfold during the next decade, and communication satellites promise the most economical and effective means of satisfying these requirements.

Increased facilities for overseas telephone, international telegraph, and other forms of long-distance person-to-person communications, as well as new facilities for transoceanic television broadcasts, through the use of manmade satellites, will constitute a very real benefit to all the peoples of the world.

This Nation has traditionally followed a policy of conducting international telephone, telegraph, and other communications services through private enterprise subject to governmental licensing and regulation. We have achieved communications facilities second to none among the nations of the world. Accordingly, the Government should aggressively encourage private enterprise

in the establishment and operation of satellite relays for revenue-producing purposes.

To achieve the early establishment of a communication satellite system which can be used on a commercial basis is a national objective which will require the concerted capabilities and funds of both Government and private enterprise and the cooperative participation of communications organizations in foreign countries.

Various agencies of Government, including the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, have important interests and responsibilities in the field of communications.

With regard to communication satellites, I have directed the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to take the lead within the executive branch both to advance the needed research and development and to encourage private industry to apply its resources toward the earliest practicable utilization of space technology for commercial civil communication requirements. In carrying out this task NASA will cooperate closely with the Federal Communications Commission to make certain that the high standards of this Nation for communications services will be maintained in the utilization of communication satellites.

Letters of Credence

Mali

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Republic of Mali, Abdoulaye Maiga, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on December 27. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 708 dated December 27.

International Consultations on Rubber

by Sydney L. W. Mellen

Rubber illustrates with classic simplicity several of the typical features of an international commodity problem. As an export product it is vital to the economic welfare and progress of 10 or 12 underdeveloped countries, most of them in the southern periphery of Asia but 2 or 3 in tropical Africa, and it is an essential raw material in all industrial countries. It is subject to sharp fluctuations in price. Over the past 45 years, in the course of alternating periods of oversupply and scarcity, the price has swung several times from 20 cents or less a pound to 70 cents or more, including extremes of 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ cents in 1932 and \$1.21 in 1925, with severe hardship occurring in producing areas in times of oversupply and serious dislocations or even threats to defense capability in the industrialized countries in times of scarcity. In recent years great technological advances have been made in the growing of natural rubber and especially in the production of synthetic rubber.

Governments have made several efforts to deal with these problems. The first major attempt was the ill-fated Stevenson Scheme of the 1920's, imperfect in conception and calamitous in final outcome. It was essentially an attempt to control supply within the British Empire, but the control provisions were unwieldy, and one of the two largest producers, the Netherlands East Indies, declined to participate. It is suggestive that during the life of the Scheme production in the East In-

dies increased twice as fast as in British Malaya, the other major producer.

Some years later, in response to the great depression, another attempt at governmental intervention was made, this time in the form of the International Rubber Regulation Committee, sanctioned by international treaty. This was a much more sophisticated undertaking, and it operated from 1934 until the middle of World War II with a certain measure of success, though there was still mistrust in some countries. It was in effect an agreement among producing countries for the purpose of controlling the supply, but it covered nearly all of the world's output and was more flexible in operation. Representatives of consuming industries in the United States and elsewhere participated in an advisory capacity.

The International Rubber Study Group

In 1945 the latest mechanism for international cooperation was established, in the form of the International Rubber Study Group, with the United States participating fully for the first time. This organization, for which the term "international study group" was invented, has grown and developed over the past 15 years and gives every appearance of having a long, useful life ahead of it. It has been followed by the organization of nearly a dozen international commodity study groups in recent years. It has no control powers at all; its essential function is to provide for the exchange of information and views among the principal producing and consuming countries. Primarily it builds up and publishes statistics and other information, including especially forecasts of supply and demand.

Originally organized by the Governments of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United

• *Mr. Mellen is Chief of the Commodities Division, Department of State. He was the U.S. delegate to the 15th meeting of the International Rubber Study Group at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, September 19-23, 1960.*

States, the International Rubber Study Group is open to all countries with a substantial interest in rubber and now has a membership of 23 governments.¹ Meetings have been held at intervals of 1 or 2 years. Since 1947 the Study Group has had a secretariat in London, consisting of an experienced secretary-general and a small staff. There is also a Management Committee supervising the work of the secretariat between meetings of the Group.

A problem which has received close attention in the International Rubber Study Group almost from the beginning has been that of fluctuations in the price of natural rubber and the possibility of international action to achieve a greater measure of stability. In 1952 a working party examined this problem rather exhaustively. In the following year the Study Group reported that the majority of countries producing natural rubber and some consuming countries considered it necessary and practicable to adopt measures to avoid burdensome surpluses and serious shortages but that other countries were not convinced of the necessity of such a scheme. The United States was included in the latter group. The Study Group then concluded that it could not recommend summoning a conference to negotiate an international commodity agreement. In succeeding years the Group continued to consider the subject but always without reaching a general consensus as to the means by which a stabilization of prices should be achieved or as to the necessity of a buffer stock agreement or any other form of international commodity agreement.

At all its meetings the Study Group has discussed the statistical position of rubber and made short-term forecasts. Member governments have presented statements on important developments in their countries. Problems concerning the market for rubber and the expansion of its use have regularly been discussed. Some of the other subjects frequently considered have been strategic

stockpile policies, the development of agreed international type descriptions and packing specifications for natural rubber, the development of high-yielding strains of natural rubber, and progress in synthetic rubber.

The 1960 Meeting

The 15th meeting of the International Rubber Study Group was held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, September 19-23, 1960. As at previous meetings, the U.S. delegation included not only Government officials but prominent leaders of the U.S. rubber industry and trade. The two major items on the agenda were a review of the world supply-demand position and the problem of the instability of the price of natural rubber.

On the first of these subjects, the Study Group made estimates of natural and synthetic rubber requirements and supply during the calendar year 1960. It estimated that the world might consume, i.e. turn into manufactured goods, some 2,070,000 long tons of natural rubber and 1,770,000 long tons of synthetic rubber, apart from synthetic rubber produced in nonmember countries. The Study Group estimated that the world production of natural rubber would be 2,055,000 tons and that synthetic rubber production in member countries would be 1,940,000 tons. In addition it estimated that some 160,000 tons of natural rubber would be delivered during the year from government stockpiles. The Study Group concluded that the estimated surpluses of production over consumption, amounting to 145,000 tons of natural rubber and 170,000 tons of synthetic, would permit commercial stocks to be built up to more normal levels.

The Study Group also noted continuing progress in the development of new and improved types of both natural and synthetic rubber and in particular the development of stereo-regular synthetic rubbers which have now reached the stage of commercial production, constituting a new competitive element.

The review of progress in natural rubber dealt with the farsighted and effective efforts being made by some rubber-growing countries to increase productivity and reduce costs of production. As an outstanding example, Malaya has been carrying out with the aid of the governmental taxing power and subsidies a vast program of replanting with high-yielding strains, which is designed to

¹ Australia, Austria, Belgium, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Liberia, the Federation of Malaya, the Netherlands, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Viet-Nam, plus Nigeria since its independence on Oct. 1, 1960. In recent years the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have sent observers to meetings of the Rubber Study Group.

cover the country's entire rubber acreage in time. Since replanting increases the yield per acre roughly threefold and drastically reduces the cost of production per pound, countries like Malaya will be able to export rubber profitably at prices substantially lower than heretofore.

Stereo-regular Synthetic Rubbers

The stereo-regular synthetic rubbers (so named because of the regular patterns of their molecular structure, a characteristic which they share with natural rubber) do indeed constitute a new competitive element in the world rubber situation and one which is likely to become increasingly significant in the coming 5 or 10 years. The discussion and conclusions of the Study Group on this subject were based largely on information furnished by the U.S. delegation, since the United States has been the leader in the development of the stereo-regular rubbers.

The latter are of two main types, cis-polyisoprene and cis-polybutadiene. Cis-polyisoprene, which has been called "synthetic natural rubber," is for all practical purposes interchangeable with natural rubber. For some months it has been produced in this country and sold commercially in small quantities, at prices below the market price of natural rubber. It is now being produced at a rate of about 20,000 tons a year, or 1 percent of world production of natural rubber. In November 1960 the selling price was reduced from 32 cents a pound to 27 cents a pound; the leading grade of natural rubber had for some weeks been selling at approximately 30 cents a pound, but soon afterward it fell to about 28½ cents. Cis-polybutadiene is somewhat different from natural rubber but in some respects superior, and it contributes some very desirable characteristics when blended with natural rubber or cis-polyisoprene. It has been manufactured in pilot plants by several companies and for the past several months has been produced by one of them on a small commercial scale and sold at 30 cents a pound.

Additional plants for the production of both types of stereo-regular rubber are now under construction or planned. It is expected that by the end of 1962 there will be a total production capacity of about 230,000 tons a year in the United States, and additional plants are scheduled for construction thereafter in the United States and Europe. Many of these plans, however, are sub-

ject to change depending upon market conditions. If the market price of natural rubber should rise again to 35 or 40 cents a pound, where it sold during most of 1960, and seem likely to stay at some such level, then the construction of stereo-regular plants would undoubtedly be accelerated. On the other hand, if the market price of natural rubber should fluctuate around 25 cents a pound and seem likely to stay there for some time, plans for the construction of additional stereo-regular plants would in all probability be deferred, in the absence of new technological advances, since boards of directors would in that situation hesitate to approve the required investment of tens of millions of dollars.

Instability of Natural Rubber Prices

The Study Group gave due weight to these considerations in its discussion of the instability of natural rubber prices. On the one hand the Group concluded that the increasing production of stereo-regular rubbers would in the long run exercise an important stabilizing influence on natural rubber prices at competitive levels. On the other hand the delegations of several countries emphasized that the actual or potential competition of the new synthetic rubbers made it necessary for the rubber-growing countries to concentrate on replanting programs to increase their yields per acre and lower their costs of production. There appeared to be a spreading awareness that stabilizing the price of natural rubber at a high level might well have disastrous consequences for the rubber-growing countries in the long run.

In any case, no specific proposals were made for an international price stabilization agreement, and it was clear that many of the delegations, including those of some of the rubber-growing countries, felt that such an agreement would not be the right solution for the problems confronted in the case of rubber. There were a number of additional reasons for this attitude, including the great practical difficulties involved in negotiating and enforcing such an agreement and the substantial cost of a buffer stock of appropriate size.

At the same time the Study Group fully appreciated the importance of a greater measure of stability in the price of natural rubber, especially for countries whose economies are largely dependent on exports of that commodity. It felt that a significant contribution to the reduction of

excessive fluctuations, supplementing the contribution made by the stereo-regular rubbers and indeed the conventional types of synthetic rubber, could be made by a variety of unspectacular measures including, for example, better and more widely disseminated statistics and other information. A number of measures of this nature were considered by the Study Group, and the Management Committee was instructed to study them. Several delegates referred to the important work being done in this field by the United Nations Commission on International Commodity Trade, which is to hold its next meeting in May 1961.

The United States gave an indication of the importance which it attaches to the work of the International Rubber Study Group by inviting the Group to hold its next meeting at Washington. The invitation was accepted, and it was decided that this next meeting would be held in the spring of 1962.

It was also decided that as a general rule the Management Committee should, in each year when there was no meeting of the full Study Group, hold two meetings which would be open to all member governments, one in May or June and one in the late autumn. These special enlarged meetings would be primarily for the purpose of developing and publishing estimates of the world rubber position, but they would also consider other matters of general interest. In conjunction with this plan there appeared to be fairly general agreement that full meetings of the Study Group might now be held ordinarily only once every 2 years, probably in May or June. The combined result may be to facilitate and improve the substantive technical work of the organization, while limiting the frequency of full-dress meetings.

The U.S. Rubber Disposal Program

The press communique issued by the International Rubber Study Group at the close of its recent meeting included the following statement:

The Group noted that disposals of natural rubber are now taking place from government stockpiles and expressed its appreciation of the fact that the disposal arrangements adopted by the United States of America and the United Kingdom were decided after full consultation with all member countries having a substantial interest in the production of natural rubber.

This refers to the disposal plan announced by the U.S. Government in September 1959 and the

smaller disposal plan announced at the same time by the Government of the United Kingdom. The two plans had been the subject of extensive consultations with the governments of the rubber-growing countries. To avoid premature reports and speculation, the consultations had been carried on not through the International Rubber Study Group but on a confidential government-to-government basis.

In the case of the United States it had been determined early in 1959, after a lengthy review and recalculation of current maximum requirements in the event of an emergency, that there was an excess of 470,000 long tons of rubber in the national stockpile. Since this was a large amount, representing a total market value at that time of something like \$350 million and almost one-fourth of a year's world production, long and careful deliberation was given to the question of whether and how the excess could be disposed of without disruption of world markets. It was recognized, in the first instance by the executive branch and at a later stage by the Congress, that foreign policy considerations were important. An ill-considered disposal action by the U.S. Government could have a very serious impact on a number of foreign countries with whom it is important to the United States to maintain relations of friendly mutual confidence. In some of the rubber-growing areas the United States has in recent years provided substantial amounts of economic aid.

In the highly volatile markets for natural rubber, psychological factors are so important that at times a relatively small imbalance in the world supply-demand situation can cause a wide movement of prices. For example, the bullish psychology which prevailed generally during 1959 coupled with an overall deficiency of less than 60,000 tons in that year caused a rise from 30 cents a pound in February to 45 cents in November. Conversely, the somewhat bearish psychology which prevailed during the last half of 1960 coupled with a surplus estimated at 145,000 tons for the year resulted in a decline from about 47 cents in June to 28½ cents in November.

The consequences of price changes such as these are much more serious for rubber-growing countries than for the United States—both relatively, because the rubber-growing countries are smaller and less diversified, and also in some cases absolutely, because the volume of their comparable

rubber transactions is actually greater. Thus rubber exports now represent well over 60 percent of the value of total exports in Malaya and Viet-Nam, and close to 50 percent in Liberia and Indonesia. They represent smaller but still important percentages in Cambodia, Thailand, Ceylon, and Nigeria. Other important areas are also concerned. In absolute terms, a drop of 10 cents a pound in natural-rubber prices results in a loss of \$150 million or more to Malaya or Indonesia in the foreign exchange receipts from a year's rubber exports. In many cases governmental revenues are heavily dependent on rubber prices and wages can be seriously affected.

How the Program Was Developed

For these reasons the U.S. Government recognized at an early stage that a disposal of excess rubber could hardly be undertaken unless there was to be a program containing real safeguards against market disruption. It was not simply a matter of the U.S. Government's satisfying itself that sales would be carried out prudently and circumspectly; it was considered essential to proceed in such a way that at the outset the rubber-growing countries would also be reasonably confident of this. Advice and suggestions were obtained from the U.S. industry and trade. After protracted discussions within the Government a plan and certain implementing procedures, which together can be referred to as the disposal program, were developed and were then discussed with the governments of the interested foreign countries. Those governments thereupon tendered views and suggestions regarding possible changes. The U.S. Government found it possible and desirable to adopt a number of these changes, at least in part.

The disposal program finally adopted contemplated the sale of the 470,000 tons of excess rubber over a period of about 9 years. It included the following graduated scale of prices and quantity limits to be put into effect at the outset:

<i>Price range</i> (Cents per pound)	<i>Maximum disposal per calendar quarter</i> (Long tons)
Under 30.....	No disposals
30 up to but not including 32	9,000
32 up to 34.....	18,000
34 up to 36.....	27,000
36 and above.....	No limit

In the consultations with foreign governments it was invariably made clear that any U.S. disposal plan for rubber was subject to approval by the Congress. It was made clear also that the disposal program to be adopted finally by the United States would be not an intergovernmental agreement but a decision of the U.S. Government alone, taken after careful study and consultation with interested foreign governments. It was made clear, finally, that the U.S. Government might in the future adopt changes in its disposal program, even substantial ones such as a change in the graduated scale of prices and quantity limits given above. If and when there is a basic and lasting change in the rubber market—because of developments in stereo-regular rubber or for any other reason—the rubber disposal program will have to be brought into conformity. Contingencies not originally foreseen may arise at any time and may in some cases require that action be taken. The U.S. Government informed the other substantially interested governments, however, that it was its intention not to adopt any change of a substantial nature in its disposal program without first consulting them.

There have been certain misconceptions about the Government's rubber disposal program. One is that it is somehow a price-stabilizing scheme. The mere possession of a very large stockpile inventory, to be sure, has some influence on markets. The disposal program, however, is a program for orderly disposal of rubber and not a program for stabilizing prices. At any given time the market price of natural rubber is determined by supply and demand. There are many variables, and several of them are more important than any anticipated volume of stockpile sales: the level of production in the major rubber-growing areas; the volume of purchases of rubber by the Soviet Union, the European satellites, and Communist China; the level of tire production and general business activity in the United States and the other major consuming countries in the free world; and the proportion of synthetic rubber used in manufacturing tires and other products in the free world.

The existence of upper and lower extremes in the graduated scale of prices and quantity limits has suggested to some people a resemblance to buffer stocks. This resemblance is entirely superficial. The differences are of fundamental im-

portance. A buffer stock undertakes (perhaps in conjunction with the regulation of exports) to prevent market prices from falling below a stated floor price, by buying at that level, and to prevent them from rising above a stated ceiling price, by selling at that level. The graduated scale in the rubber disposal program has no such purpose. There is no intention whatever of preventing the market price of rubber from falling below the cutoff price, as it is called—at present 30 cents a pound—or from rising above 36 cents a pound. In fact for the first 12 months after the program was publicly announced the market price of the leading grade of rubber was consistently and often substantially above 36 cents a pound, and then, after a period of less than 3 months in which prices stayed within the 30–36 cent range, the market price dropped below 30 cents a pound (resulting in the suspension of sales) and had not yet recovered when this article went to press.

The real purpose of the cutoff price of 30 cents a pound in the graduated scale established at the outset is twofold: to avoid having sales by the U.S. Government exert a downward pressure on market prices at times when the market is weak for other reasons, and to avoid selling rubber from the stockpile at prices disadvantageous to the U.S. Government. In order to prevent the market price of natural rubber from falling below the cutoff price, it would be necessary to stand ready to buy all the rubber offered in the world at that price or lower; the disposal program of course contemplates no purchases at all, and it is unthinkable that it should. At the other end of the scale, the absence of any limitation on the volume of sales at prices of 36 cents a pound or higher is intended to enable the U.S. Government to take full advantage of especially favorable market conditions in disposing of its excess rubber.

In spite of occasional misconceptions or complaints, the United States rubber disposal program has on the whole been reasonably successful so far. Since the commencement of sales on October 17, 1960, nearly 100,000 tons of rubber have been sold. Yet this sizable and potentially disruptive operation has been carried out without significant market impact and without injury to the foreign relations of the United States. The note of appreciation expressed in the press communique of the recent International Rubber Study Group meeting has been heard in other forums also.

It seems just possible that, if the Government should in this case succeed in disposing of a large stockpile excess without causing injury or alarm to the producing interests concerned, the operation might provide a helpful pattern for the disposal of other portions of the Government's large excess stockpile inventories in cases where other producing interests, foreign or domestic, are concerned.

It appears that in large measure the favorable results so far are attributable to three factors: the timing of the disposal to coincide at the outset with a period of undersupply and of high market prices; the principle of a cutoff price and some sort of graduated scale of prices and quantity limits, established in advance but subject to change in conformity with changing conditions; and careful and serious prior consultation with the interested foreign governments.

U.S. Officials and Foreign Minister of Ecuador Conclude Talks

Following is the text of a joint announcement made by the United States and Ecuador on December 30.

Press release 713 dated December 30

Foreign Minister José R. Chiriboga of Ecuador has consulted during the past few days with high-level officials of the Department of State and of various United States Government financial institutions concerning President José María Velasco Ibarra's economic and social development plans and the part that the United States can play in assisting Ecuador to realize these plans to raise the standard of living of its people. Various missions from the United States have already performed preliminary surveys of the projects Ecuador hopes to accomplish in the fields of low-cost housing, electrification, road construction, provision of potable water to various Ecuadorean communities, and economic mapping of the country. On the basis of these studies and the discussions with Foreign Minister Chiriboga, U.S. officials are confident that prompt consideration can be given to the proposals for loans that Ecuador plans to submit in the near future.

The projects discussed that appear to be promising include the following: Assistance to Ecuador in establishing savings and loan institutions that

will permit low-cost housing to be made available to people of moderate means, as well as assistance in initiating "self-help" housing in Ecuador.

Construction of first-class roads from Santo Domingo to Esmeraldas and from M. J. Calle to Huaquillas.

Municipal water systems which would contribute to the economic growth of Ecuador and the welfare of its citizens.

Electric power installations in the Manta-Bahía de Caragues area, with accompanying transmission systems, and projects to increase the power generating capacity in Cuenca, Alao-Riobamba, San José, and Loja.

Mapping of Western Ecuador as a preliminary to establishing development projects.

United States officials are awaiting receipt of loan applications for these projects, and for others which are still in the preliminary state, and look forward to careful consideration of these projects as they are submitted and to further mutual consultation with the Government of Ecuador.

U.S. and Togo Sign Economic and Technical Aid Agreement

Following is the text of a joint Togo-U.S. communique released at Lomé, Republic of Togo, on December 28.

Press release 711 dated December 29

In an exchange of notes¹ between Mr. Sylvanus E. Olympio, Prime Minister of the Republic of Togo, and Leland Barrows, Ambassador of the United States, an Economic and Technical Assistance Agreement was concluded on December 22, 1960, between the Government of Togo and the Government of the United States of America.

The accord provides for establishment at Lomé of an operations mission of the International Cooperation Administration, the agency charged with administration of American foreign assistance programs in the economic, technical and related fields.

The first members of the mission will arrive at Lomé in January 1961, and their first task will be to discuss with Togolese authorities specific projects to be realized under the accord.

¹ Not printed.

Highway equipment, comprising various vehicles and spare parts, that the Government of the United States agreed to grant to the Government of Togo in an exchange of notes on November 9, 1960, will be furnished under the December 22 agreement.

Paul Amégée, Togo Minister of Public Works, accompanied by an engineer, will travel to the United States shortly to select equipment to be provided.

U.S. Helps Viet-Nam Finance Jet Runway Construction

Press release 715 dated December 30

The Department of State on December 30 announced the award of a contract to the E. V. Lane Corp., Palo Alto, Calif., for construction of a heavy-duty jet runway which will be built with U.S. financial assistance at the Tan Son Nhut Airport at Saigon, Viet-Nam.

The runway will cost approximately \$4,106,000, of which about 80 percent will be dollar financing by the U.S. International Cooperation Administration and 20 percent local currency (piastres) financing by the Government of Viet-Nam.

The project will facilitate the handling of jet plane traffic at the Saigon airport, which serves a number of international airlines.

A contract with the Lane Corporation was signed on December 29 by Bui Quay Lan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Embassy, representing his Government, and Julius Kessler, ICA contract officer, representing the United States.

U.S. Grants Iceland \$6 Million for Monetary Stabilization

Press release 714 dated December 30

The Governments of Iceland and the United States announced on December 30 that in an exchange of notes on that day a grant of \$6 million was extended by the United States to Iceland. Notes were exchanged at Washington, where representatives of the Department of State and the Icelandic Embassy affirmed that the grant was intended as a means of assisting Iceland in attaining its goal of monetary stabilization.

This grant will be used to pay for the importation of various commodities in the same manner

as for loans which in past years have been obtained from the International Cooperation Administration. In order to insure that the grant will confer maximum benefit upon Iceland's foreign exchange position and contribute to the stabilization program as intended, the counterpart of the money in Icelandic kronur will be placed in a special closed account with the Icelandic Central Bank.

Initial talks took place during January of 1960, when assurances were given for necessary financial assistance in an amount up to \$6 million. This was to be further negotiated during the latter part of the year. Discussions began again at the end of August, when the State Department agreed to the request of the Icelandic Government for the \$6 million grant.

Yugoslavia To Receive Aid for Reform of Foreign Exchange and Trade

Press release 709 dated December 27

In association with the International Monetary Fund and a number of European countries the U.S. Government announced on December 27 its intention to assist Yugoslavia in carrying out a reform of its foreign exchange and foreign trade system.

The Yugoslav reform involves the establishment of a unitary exchange rate of 750 dinars per U.S. dollar and the introduction of a system of customs tariffs. The Yugoslav Government also intends to liberalize considerably its import controls and to reduce bilateralism in its foreign trade. These measures represent a major simplification and liberalization of Yugoslavia's present system of complex multiple exchange rates with restrictions on most imports and invisible payments. They will facilitate Yugoslavia's foreign trade and payments relations and will serve to integrate Yugoslavia more closely with the international economy.

The credits from the U.S. Government, totaling approximately \$100 million, will be provided from the following sources:

Mutual Security Program	\$25 million
Export-Import Bank	50 million
Development Loan Fund	25 million
	<hr/>
Total	100 million

In addition to the financial support to be provided by the United States the International Monetary Fund will make available up to \$75 million in various currencies held by the Fund, and a number of European countries, including Austria, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, as well as private German banks, will provide credits in excess of \$100 million.

President Directs Use of Mutual Security Funds for Office of IGC

Following is the text of a letter from President Eisenhower to Secretary Herter concerning the Office of Inspector General and Comptroller, Mutual Security.

Press release 706 dated December 23

DECEMBER 23, 1960

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The Comptroller General of the United States informed you by letter dated December 8, 1960, that unless certain documents were furnished to the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Monetary Affairs of the House Committee on Government Operations by December 9, 1960, mutual security program funds would no longer be available for expenses of the Office of the Inspector General and Comptroller established under Section 533A of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and any such use of program funds after that date would be disallowed by the General Accounting Office. The Comptroller General subsequently advised you by letter dated December 13, 1960 that since the documents had not been furnished, program funds were not available to liquidate obligations incurred after December 9, 1960, and any such payments made would be disallowed.

This position, I am advised by the Attorney General, is based upon an erroneous interpretation of law which would reach an unconstitutional result and that mutual security funds continue to be available for expenses of the Office of Inspector General and Comptroller.

Accordingly, you are hereby directed until the end of my term of office on January 20, 1961, to cause to be certified and presented vouchers for the payment of the expenses of the Office of In-

spector General and Comptroller out of mutual security program funds as heretofore.

A copy of my directive to the Secretary of the Treasury on this subject is enclosed for your information.¹

In this instance files and reports of investigations of individuals prepared by the Office of Inspector General and Comptroller were requested, as were also Mutual Security Program evaluation reports prepared by the same office. In adherence to a principle steadfastly maintained by my predecessors and by me, I certified on December 2, 1960, that the requested documents not be furnished and set forth my reasons for this decision in my Certification (copy attached). As is indicated in that Certification, it is my practice that facts shown by Mutual Security Program evaluation reports be furnished and in this case that was done several weeks ago.

The Comptroller General's decision of December 8, 1960, meant either that the described documents would have to be furnished to the Congress despite a Presidential determination that it would be against the public interest to do so, or that the Office of Inspector General and Comptroller, Mutual Security, would cease to function for lack of funds, thereby terminating the vital means, originated by the Congress itself, by which the Executive Branch evaluates the Mutual Security program and prevents and ferrets out any wrongdoing or waste that might arise in the administration of that program. I could not conscientiously permit either of these alternatives to happen.

This decision meant also, for the approximately 90 people employed in the Office of Inspector General and Comptroller, Mutual Security, that work in that Office would summarily cease on one day's notice. While measures have been taken by the Department of State to avert temporarily the effects of the Comptroller General's action, these measures could not be continued for long and in due course there would be a dispersion of highly trained investigators and other skilled personnel assembled over a period of more than a year. One result of the action I am taking, therefore, will be the preservation of a valuable organization which could not be effectively reconstituted ex-

cept over a considerable period of time and at great expense.

In approving the bill containing the 1959 amendments to the Mutual Security Act, I made the following statement as to the effect of the provision here in question and two similar provisions also contained in that bill:²

I have signed this bill on the express premise that the three amendments relating to disclosure are not intended to alter and cannot alter the recognized Constitutional duty and power of the Executive with respect to the disclosure of information, documents, and other materials. Indeed, any other construction of these amendments would raise grave Constitutional questions under the historic Separation of Powers Doctrine.

The fundamental Constitutional principle here involved was recognized by the Congress itself as recently as May of this year when the House Conferees on the Mutual Security Act of 1960, in commenting in their report on another provision in the Mutual Security Act relating to the furnishing of documents, said:

The committee of conference recognizes that the separation of powers under the Constitution makes it impossible for the Congress to infringe the prerogatives of the Executive by legislative action and that consequently this provision would serve to indicate the will of the Congress but that it could neither prescribe nor limit the constitutional powers of the Executive.

Every effort was made, as you know, to persuade the Comptroller General to reconsider his decision, or at least to postpone his December ninth deadline. Those efforts having failed, I have concluded that I have no alternative but to direct certification and disbursement.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable CHRISTIAN A. HERTER
Secretary of State
Washington, 25, D.C.

CERTIFICATION

I am advised that on October 31, 1960, there were delivered to the Secretary of State, the Director of the International Cooperation Administration, and the Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund written requests from the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Monetary Affairs of the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives for certain documents relating to the United States aid program in seven South American countries.

¹ Not printed here.

² BULLETIN of Aug. 10, 1959, p. 207.

As I have stated on other occasions, it is the established policy of the Executive Branch to provide the Congress and the public with the fullest possible information consistent with the national interest. However, the Executive also has a recognized Constitutional duty and power with respect to the disclosure of information, documents and other materials relating to its operations.

It is vital to the national interest that the officials and employees of the Executive Branch be able to conduct its operations in an effective manner. It is essential to effective operations that such officials and employees be in a position to be fully candid in advising with each other on policy, personnel or other official matters, that they be able to engage in frank and informal exchanges of views with foreign officials and other foreign persons, and that they be in a position to conduct effective investigations into the conduct and suitability of personnel and other matters. The disclosure of certain conversations, communications or documents relating to the foregoing matters can tend to impair or inhibit essential investigative, reporting or decision-making processes or the proper conduct of our foreign relations, and such disclosure must therefore be forbidden, as contrary to the national interest, where that is deemed necessary for the protection of the orderly and effective operation of the Executive Branch.

I have accordingly found it necessary to forbid the disclosure of certain of the documents which are included or understood to be included in the written requests referred to above. These documents are identified in the lists³ attached to this certificate.

1. Of these documents, those which contain references to statements or policy of the National Security Council or the Operations Coordinating Board recommend changes in such statements or policy or reflect the advice to the President of members of his cabinet and others of his principal advisers. Another document requested contains advice to the Secretary of State by one of his principal assistants concerning policy matters as to which recommendations were to be made to the President. The President must be free to receive the confidential advice of his officers in the Executive Branch. Such documents as these have traditionally not been disclosed outside of the Executive Branch and in my opinion such disclosure would be contrary to the national interest.

2. A number of the documents requested relate to informal conversations or communications between United States officials and foreign officials of the highest rank or other foreign persons of importance. The disclosure of documents of this character outside of the Executive Branch would have an adverse effect upon the willingness of such foreign officials and other persons to engage in the frank and informal exchanges of views which are essential to the proper conduct of our foreign relations.

3. Several of the documents requested relate to personnel matters and contain statements as to the performance, efficiency, loyalty, character or other qualities of particular personnel of the United States Government. It has

³ Not printed here.

been the traditional policy of the Government that the disclosure of documents of this character outside of the Executive Branch would be contrary to the proper protection of individuals and could tend to inhibit the candid evaluation of personnel.

4. A number of the documents requested contain investigative matter such as unsubstantiated allegations, confidential sources of information, techniques of investigation and the like. The disclosure of documents of this character would be unfair to the individuals concerned and would tend to impair the ability of the Executive to conduct effective investigations.

5. The requests are also understood to include evaluation reports and exchanges of several airgrams describing recommendations or otherwise referring to such reports as to the Mutual Security Program, prepared by the Department of State or the International Cooperation Administration. For the reasons which I have stated in connection with prior requests for similar reports, such documents may not be released, but the facts shown by such reports are to be furnished.

6. One document requested contains a statement given in confidence to a United States Ambassador by a person who specifically requested that his confidence be respected. The protection of such confidences is necessary to preserve the ability of United States officials abroad to obtain information in the course of their duties as representatives of the President.

In the case of a number of documents requested, more than one of the above reasons for not furnishing the document is applicable.

I accordingly certify, pursuant to Section 101(d) of the Mutual Security and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1961, that for the reasons set forth above I have forbidden the furnishing, pursuant to the requests referred to above, of the documents identified on the attached list.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

DECEMBER 2, 1960.

New Tariff Rates Established for Certain Wool Fabrics

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

White House press release dated December 28

The President has issued a proclamation establishing new tariff rates for imports of certain woolen and worsted woven fabrics after January 1, 1961.

The new rates are set forth in the proclamation. The new rate will be 38 percent ad valorem for most fabrics valued over \$2 per pound and will be 76 cents per pound, with a maximum ad valorem of 60 percent, for lower priced fabrics.

At the present time these fabrics are subject to a compound tariff duty consisting of a specific duty and ad valorem rates, both of which vary according to the nature of the fabric. The specific duty of 37½ cents per pound, which is compensatory for the duty on raw wool, will remain unchanged. The ad valorem rates presently in effect have since 1956 been subject to a tariff quota under which the rates for most fabrics were 25 percent ad valorem for imports within the quota limits and 45 percent for imports after the quota was filled. Exceptions were made for certain specialty fabrics which entered at lower rates even after exhaustion of the quota. With the exception of these specialty fabrics the new ad valorem portion of the duty will be 38 percent for fabrics valued over \$2 per pound and 76 cents per pound for lower priced fabrics, with a maximum ad valorem limit of 60 percent.

The total duty, including the specific rate, resulted in an average incidence in 1959 of 45 percent on all imports. The incidence of the new rates, computed on the basis of 1959 trade data, would be 48 percent for fabrics valued over \$2 and upwards of 57 percent for lower priced fabrics.

The new tariff rates have been the subject of negotiations with the interested supplier countries.

tions of the United States of America and such continuance of existing customs or excise treatment of articles imported into the United States of America as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out the trade agreement specified in the first recital of this proclamation on and after January 1, 1948;

3. WHEREAS items 1108 and 1109(a), and the appropriate headings, in Part I of Schedule XX—Geneva 1947, which items were given effect by the proclamation of December 16, 1947, read as follows:

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of products	Rate of duty
1108	Woven fabrics, weighing not more than four ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool, regardless of value: If the warp is wholly of cotton or other vegetable fiber. Other.....	30¢ per lb. and 25% ad val. 37½¢ per lb. and 25% ad val.
	NOTE: The United States reserves the right to increase the ad valorem part of the rate applicable to any of the fabrics provided for in item 1108 or 1109(a) of this Part to 45 per centum ad valorem on any of such fabrics which are entered in any calendar year in excess of an aggregate quantity by weight of 5 per centum of the average annual production of similar fabrics in the United States during the 3 immediately preceding calendar years	
1109(a)	Woven fabrics, weighing more than four ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool, regardless of value.	37½¢ per lb. and 25% ad val.

PROCLAMATION 3387¹

White House press release dated December 28

MODIFYING THE DUTY ON CERTAIN WOOL FABRICS

1. WHEREAS, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Constitution and the statutes, including section 350(a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, 48 Stat. 943, 57 Stat. 125, 59 Stat. 410, the President on October 30, 1947 entered into a trade agreement with certain foreign countries, which trade agreement consists of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Protocol of Provisional Application of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, together with a Final Act, 61 Stat. (Parts 5 and 6) A7, A11 and A2051; including a schedule of United States concessions (hereinafter referred to as "Schedule XX—Geneva 1947");

2. WHEREAS by Proclamation No. 2761A of December 16, 1947,² 61 Stat. (pt. 2) 1103, the President proclaimed such modifications of existing duties and other import restric-

4. WHEREAS, pursuant to the authority cited in the first recital of this proclamation, on April 21, 1951, the President entered into a trade agreement with certain foreign countries, which trade agreement consists of the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (3 UST (pt. 1) 615, (pt. 2) 1841), including a schedule of United States concessions constituting a United States Schedule to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (3 UST (pt. 1) 1125) (hereinafter referred to as "Schedule XX—Torquay 1951");

5. WHEREAS by Proclamation No. 2929 of June 2, 1951 (65 Stat. C12), the President proclaimed, effective June 6, 1951, such modifications of existing duties and other import restrictions of the United States and such continuance of existing customs or excise treatment of articles imported into the United States as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out the trade agreement specified in the fourth recital of this proclamation;

6. WHEREAS item 1109(a), and the appropriate headings, in Part I of Schedule XX annexed to the said Torquay Protocol, which item was given effect by the said proclamation of June 2, 1951, read as follows:

¹ 25 Fed. Reg. 13945.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1947, p. 1258.

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of products	Rate of duty
1109(a)	Woven green billiard cloths in the piece, weighing over 11 but not over 15 ounces per square yard, wholly of wool, regardless of value.	37½¢ per lb. and 20% ad val.

NOTE: This item shall be subject to the note in item 1108 in Part I of Schedule XX (original).

and item 1109(a) was made effective as of June 6, 1951 by the letter of the President to the Secretary of the Treasury dated June 2, 1951 (3 C.F.R. 1949 ed., 1951 Supp., p. 530; 16 F.R. 5386), pursuant to the procedure described in Part I(b)(1) of said Proclamation No. 2929 of June 2, 1951;

7. WHEREAS the President, by Proclamation No. 3160, of September 28, 1956,³ which proclamation has been amended by Proclamation No. 3225, of March 7, 1958,⁴ by Proclamation No. 3285, of April 21, 1959,⁵ and by Proclamation No. 3317, of September 24, 1959,⁶ invoked the right reserved in the notes to item 1108 in Part I of Schedule XX—Geneva 1947 and to item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX—Torquay 1951 by increasing to not more than 45 per centum the ad valorem part of the rate applicable to any of the fabrics provided for in item 1108 or 1109(a) of Part I of Schedule XX—Geneva 1947 (including any of the fabrics provided for in item 1109(a) of Part I of Schedule XX—Torquay 1951) in excess of amounts, not greater than 5 per centum of the average annual production of similar fabrics in the United States during the three immediately preceding calendar years, to be notified by him to the Secretary of the Treasury for each year;

8. WHEREAS Article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade provides that a contracting party may, pursuant to procedures provided for therein, modify or withdraw concessions in its schedules to that Agreement;

9. WHEREAS the procedures of Article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade are being complied with to the extent necessary to permit the modification on January 1, 1961 of the concessions provided for in the items set forth in the third and sixth recitals of this proclamation so that such items may read as hereinafter proclaimed in Part I of this proclamation;

10. WHEREAS reasonable public notice of the intention to conduct the trade agreement renegotiations necessary to accomplish the modifications of the concession hereinafter proclaimed in Part I of the proclamation was given, the views presented by persons interested in such renegotiations were received and considered, and information and advice with respect to such renegotiations were sought and obtained from the Departments of State, Agriculture, Commerce, and Defense, and from other sources;

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1956, p. 556.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1958, p. 673.

⁵ For text, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, p. 720.

⁶ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 560.

11. WHEREAS, pursuant to section 3 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, 65 Stat. 72, as amended, I transmitted to the United States Tariff Commission for investigation and report a list of articles imported into the United States of America to be considered for possible modification of duties and other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or continuance of existing customs or excise treatment in such renegotiations, and the Tariff Commission made an investigation in accordance with that section and thereafter reported to me its determinations made pursuant thereto within the time specified therein; and

12. WHEREAS, as a result of the modifications of the concessions set forth in the third and sixth recitals of this proclamation which are hereinafter proclaimed in Part I of this proclamation, I determine that it is required or appropriate to carry out the trade agreements specified in the first and fourth recitals of this proclamation that, on and after January 1, 1961, the proclamations specified in the second and fifth recitals of this proclamation be modified as proclaimed in Part II of this proclamation, and that the justification for the proclamations specified in the seventh recital of this proclamation will then cease to exist:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, including section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, do hereby proclaim that, effective January 1, 1961:

PART I

1. The concessions provided for in items 1108 and 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX—Geneva 1947 set forth in the third recital of this proclamation are hereby modified so that such items, and appropriate headings, read as follows:

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of products	Rate of duty
1108	Woven fabrics, weighing not more than four ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool: Hand-woven fabrics with a loom width of less than thirty inches; and other fabrics, if valued over \$4 per pound and wholly or in chief value of wool of the sheep, in solid colors, imported to be used in the manufacture of apparel for members of religious orders: With warp wholly of cotton or other vegetable fiber. Not with warp wholly of cotton or other vegetable fiber. Other: With warp wholly of cotton or other vegetable fiber, valued— Not over \$2 per pound..... Over \$2 per pound.....	30¢ per lb. and 25% ad val. 37½¢ per lb. and 25% ad val. \$1.06 per lb., but not over 30¢ per lb. plus 60% ad val. 30¢ per lb. and 38% ad val.

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of products	Rate of duty
1108 (con.)	Other (con.): Not with warp wholly of cotton or other vegetable fiber, valued— Not over \$2 per pound.....	\$1.13½ per lb., but not over 37½¢ per lb. plus 60% ad val.
	Over \$2 per pound.....	37½¢ per lb. and 38% ad val.
1109(a)	Woven fabrics weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool: Hand-woven fabrics with a loom width of less than 30 inches; and serges weighing not over 6 ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool of the sheep, valued at over \$4 per pound, in solid colors, imported to be used in the manufacture of apparel for members of religious orders. Other fabrics, valued— Not over \$2 per pound.....	37½¢ per lb. and 25% ad val.
	Over \$2 per pound.....	\$1.13½ per lb. but not over 37½¢ per lb. plus 60% ad val.
		37½¢ per lb. and 38% ad val.

2. The concession provided for in item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX—Torquay 1951 set forth in the sixth recital of this proclamation is hereby modified so that such item, and appropriate headings, read as follows:

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of products	Rate of duty
1109(a)	Wovengreen billiard cloths in the piece, weighing over 11 but not over 15 ounces per square yard, wholly of wool.	37½¢ per lb. and 30% ad val.

PART II

The provisions of items 1108 and 1109(a) of Part I of this proclamation shall be applied, and all proclamations of the President heretofore issued under the authority of section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, are terminated insofar as they are inconsistent with this proclamation.

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 28th day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.



By the President:
LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT,
Acting Secretary of State.

IFC Reports High Level of Investments in 1960

Investments of the International Finance Corporation during 1960 continued at the high level reached in the previous calendar year; 13 investments were made, aggregating the equivalent of \$18.6 million, some \$8.4 million above last year's record. The Corporation has now made 36 investments totaling \$45 million in 17 member countries.

Of the projects in which IFC invested during 1960, eight are owned and managed by residents of the country where the project is located, four are joint enterprises of local and foreign ownership and management, and one is a subsidiary of a foreign firm. The sizes of enterprises helped by IFC during the year ranged from the equivalent of about \$600,000 to \$22 million, with IFC's own investments ranging from \$156,000 to over \$3 million.

Seven of the year's investments—in Tanganyika, Argentina, Venezuela, Finland, and Italy—were made in countries where IFC had not previously invested. The purposes for which IFC investments were made show the usual concentration on industrial enterprises.

In Tanganyika IFC invested in a new company to grow and mill sugarcane and to produce refined sugar for the Tanganyikan market.

In Argentina two investments were made, one for a wide range of steel products and the second for pulp and paper.

In Australia a private enterprise producing rubber products received a supplemental investment to increase its output capacity and add a new product line.

In Chile additional funds were used to defray extra costs incurred by the company in building a new cement plant.

In Colombia IFC is assisting a company in the construction of a plant to manufacture metal cans for food packing and for general use.

In Mexico a jointly owned manufacturing company used IFC funds to finance production of high-speed twist drills.

In Venezuela two companies, one producing steel and steel products and the other food products, also received funds from the Corporation.

In Italy a locally owned company is using an IFC investment to construct a plant near Naples for the manufacture of low- and medium-voltage circuit breakers.

In Finland two locally owned companies, one producing textiles and the other pulp, lumber, machinery, and shipbuilding, were able to expand operations with the help of IFC investment funds.

In India an IFC investment will assist a company in producing refractory bricks.

Participations by private investors in IFC investments, which in December 1959 totaled

\$3,175,000, increased during the year to \$5,839,000.

During the year, Spain and the Sudan joined the Corporation; at the same time Cuba and the Dominican Republic withdrew from membership in the World Bank, thus automatically ceasing to be members of IFC. Total membership numbers 58 countries, with a subscribed capital of \$96.2 million.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Adjourned During December 1960

UNESCO General Conference: 11th Session	Paris	Nov. 14-Dec. 13
ITU CCITT: 2d Plenary Assembly	New Delhi	Nov. 21-Dec. 15
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: 12th Session	Geneva	Nov. 28-Dec. 2
OAS Special Meeting of Government Representatives on IA-ECOSOC	Washington	Nov. 28-Dec. 9
Inter-American Statistical Institute: Committee on Improvement of National Statistics	México, D.F.	Nov. 28-Dec. 10
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport and Communications Committee: 5th Session of Highway Subcommittee	Katmandu	Nov. 30-Dec. 6
ICEM Council: 13th Session	Geneva	Dec. 1-9
WMO Commission on Climatology: 3d Session	London	Dec. 1-16
Inter-American Children's Institute: 41st Meeting of Directing Council	Montevideo	Dec. 5-9
U.N. ECE Inland Transport Committee: 20th Session	Geneva	Dec. 5-9
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: 4th Regional Technical Conference on Water Resources Development	Colombo	Dec. 5-12
ILO African Regional Conference: 1st Session	Lagos	Dec. 5-17
U.N. ECE Housing Committee: <i>Ad Hoc</i> Meeting of Rapporteurs on Rural Housing	Geneva	Dec. 8-10
CENTO Economic Committee	London	Dec. 12-16
U.N. ECOSOC Regional Seminar on the Participation of Women in Public Life	Addis Ababa	Dec. 12-23
OECD Ministerial Conference	Paris	Dec. 13-14
UNESCO Executive Board: 58th Session	Paris	Dec. 14-15
UNESCO International Center for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property: 1st General Assembly	Rome	Dec. 14-16
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: Metals and Engineering Subcommittee	Rourkela, India	Dec. 14-21
NATO Ministerial Council	Paris	Dec. 16-18
U.N. ECE Coal Trade Subcommittee	Geneva	Dec. 19-20
U.N. Special Fund: 5th Session of Governing Council	New York	Dec. 19-22
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 30th Session (resumed)	New York	Dec. 21-22

In Session as of December 31, 1960

Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
5th Round of GATT Tariff Negotiations	Geneva	Sept. 1-
U.N. General Assembly: 15th Session (recessed Dec. 20, 1960, until Mar. 7, 1961)	New York	Sept. 20-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Dec. 28, 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; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IA-ECOSOC, Inter-American Economic and Social Council; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; OAS, Organization of American States; OECD, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; WMO, World Meteorological Organization.

U.S. Reaffirms Confidence in Work of IAEA

Statement by Francis O. Wilcox

*U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

It is refreshing, in the midst of the political turmoil that plagues this troubled world of ours, to pause for a few moments to talk about the solid progress that is being made in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Sometimes—like all my colleagues here at the United Nations—I get a little discouraged because we are not able to move ahead faster in the solution of our major political problems.

I am greatly encouraged when I look at the work of the specialized agencies. Slowly but surely these agencies are moving ahead in their great task of bringing a better life and higher standards of living to many people in many lands. Without many headlines and without much fanfare they are gradually building a solid reputation for the United Nations throughout the world.

My delegation is pleased once again to welcome to the Assembly the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency [W. Sterling Cole], and I want to thank him for his interesting and informative statement on the accomplishments of the Agency during the last year and to wish him and his staff every success in the future.

The United States welcomes the close working relations which have developed between the Agency and the United Nations. In particular we are pleased to note the considerable degree of cooperation between the United Nations Radiation Committee and the IAEA and believe that this should be continued and developed. In addition we would like to stress our hope that the Agency will play a major role in the proposed third United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

The report for 1959-1960² is an impressive record of the accomplishments of this Agency for the period to June 30.

The Agency is now making a substantial contribution to the technically less developed world in preparing many states for a fuller use of atomic

energy for peaceful purposes. It has provided technical assistance in nuclear matters to 45 of its members. This has been done through surveys, expert advice and consultation, and the provision of equipment and supplies. In what is its most important accomplishment in 3 short years the Agency has offered training to a thousand scientists and technicians. In this way the Agency is building solidly for future generations.

My Government is also particularly happy with the Agency's activities in the field of health and safety. It is here in the regulatory field where the Agency can make an invaluable contribution to all areas of the world. The Agency should be supported to the utmost in its work in setting standards in the transportation of radioisotopes and other radioactive materials and in preparing draft conventions to give adequate liability coverage both for land-based reactors and nuclear-ship operation. The Agency has already given much attention to the subject of safe design and operation of critical assemblies, research reactors, and power reactors. In the important field of disposal of radioactive waste the Agency, it is hoped, will press forward in its research and study.

It is not my intention to discuss all these activities at length or to go into the details of other programs of the Agency, such as its conferences and symposia, its promotion of research, and its information and publication activities. We would like, however, to express our satisfaction with all these operations. It should be mentioned also that the Agency is making some progress as a supplier of nuclear materials. Most notably, the Government of Finland is acquiring special nuclear material as well as a Triga reactor through the Agency. A part of this fuel is being drawn from the United States offer to the Agency of over 5,000 kilograms of enriched uranium. Finland also directly benefited from the United States annual free offer of \$50,000 of uranium for research purposes through the Agency.

We have always given the Agency our energetic support, both financially and in the supply of technical know-how. Since the Agency came into being, we have contributed one-half of the voluntary fund for technical assistance, including fellowships, and we have never placed restrictions on the use of these funds. We have followed a general policy of offering financial assistance in freely

¹ Made in plenary session on Dec. 12 (U.S. delegation press release 3613).

² U.N. doc. A/4531 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1.

convertible currency to be spent how and wherever the Agency and its members should decide. In addition to our voluntary contributions we have tried to help the Agency during the early years by special grants which have totaled almost \$1 million. Furthermore, we have placed \$150,000 worth of research contracts through the Agency and have granted more than 200 cost-free fellowships.

I believe it appropriate here, Mr. President, to refer to the difficult financial problems facing the Agency. As the members of the General Assembly know, the heart of the Agency's technical assistance program depends upon the voluntary contributions of the members. Contributions to the general fund, however, have fallen below expectations, even though at the last conference many members pledged substantially greater amounts. The United States, while continuing its contributions amounting to as much as 50 percent of the budget each year, sincerely hopes that the trend started at the September conference will continue and that the program of the Agency will not be crippled for lack of funds. The programs which will be most directly affected by a failure to achieve the targets set for voluntary contributions will be those aimed at helping the underdeveloped members, namely, the provision of technicians, supplies and equipment, and training and fellowships.

In this connection, Mr. President, my delegation would like to express our full support for the sentiment behind the draft resolution³ put forward by Brazil, Ghana, India, and Yugoslavia in the Second Committee. In urging the Agency to continue the development of its technical assistance program, the sponsors call on the more developed countries to increase their voluntary contributions to the operational fund. We associate ourselves with this resolution. We hope that the one economically developed country which has managed in one way or another not to contribute a single usable kopeck to the operational fund will heed this resolution.

In his statement earlier this afternoon the representative of the Soviet Union [Valerian A. Zorin] deprecated the work of the IAEA. He went on to say that the United States had stood

in the way of the Agency's doing its job, and he accused the United States of seeking to interfere in the affairs of other countries.

As I have already pointed out, the U.S.S.R. has contributed nothing, nothing at all, to the operational budget of the Agency. As to interference in the affairs of others, the members of the Assembly will be able to judge for themselves what great power it is that has interfered, often by force, in the internal affairs of many, many nations. Indeed, what United Nations member represented here in the General Assembly has not felt the cold reach of Soviet Communist interference? If the Soviet Union would only devote half as much time and constructive energy to supporting the United Nations as it does to criticizing the United States, we would make much more progress in our quest for world peace.

One of the fundamental requirements of the Agency's statute is to insure that assistance provided by the Organization is not used to further any military purpose. My delegation is pleased to note that the conference this last September examined the principles and procedures of safeguards prepared by the Board of Governors. This plan of safeguards was the result of exhaustive study by men of technical competence and by the Board itself; the safeguards document was accepted by a substantial majority of members. The United States Government, to demonstrate that in its view the type of inspection contemplated does not compromise the sovereignty of the member states, offered to place several of its own facilities under the safeguards system. We agreed to consult with a number of our bilateral partners in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy to transfer the safeguards responsibilities to the Agency when it is in a position to assume these responsibilities.

Mr. President, it is not my intention to draw any elaborate comparisons with the general subject of controlled disarmament; however, we believe that the Agency safeguards system offers an opportunity where, with a bit of good will, the member states can demonstrate that developments in atomic energy, fostered by the Agency, are aimed at furthering the welfare and health of the world community and not at its destruction.

In conclusion I would like to quote from a message sent by President Eisenhower to the recent IAEA General Conference. This quote illus-

³ U.N. doc. A/C. 2/L. 512/Rev. 1.

trates the satisfaction of my Government with the activities of the Agency.

“In three short years”, the President noted, “the Agency has become the prime international organization in the nuclear field. Its activities are stimulating much of the global effort to bring to more people more benefits of this still new atomic age. This Agency is an organization that has no secrets; an organization devoted to the sharing of effort, research and information; one in which the major powers can lay aside political differences to work for the common good. . . . My country will continue to support this organization and I wish for it continued progress and success.”

U.S. Explains Votes in Committee I on Three Nuclear Resolutions

Statement by Francis O. Wilcox

*U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

My Government fully recognizes and sympathizes with the high motivations and spirit which prompted the submission of the two resolutions on nuclear tests contained in Documents L.256 and L.258. Moreover, we share the sense of urgency reflected in the appeal to the states concerned that an agreement on controlled suspension of nuclear weapons tests should be achieved at an early date. However, my Government has serious reservations about these resolutions which compel it to abstain in the vote on operative paragraph 2 and on the resolution as a whole. These reservations were voiced last year during the debate on this subject.² In the light of the passage of another year without the conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests, the seriousness with which we hold these reservations is understandably greater.

We are disturbed by the statement in the first operative paragraph of the resolution that there remain only a “few” questions to be resolved before an agreement on cessation of nuclear testing can be achieved.

I wish to point out again, as we did in considerable detail in our statement of November 29,³ that

¹Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Dec. 19 (U.S. delegation press release 3626).

²BULLETIN of Dec. 21, 1959, p. 917.

³*Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1960, p. 930.

many of these problems are not merely side issues which can be easily removed by compromise. They are questions of a fundamental nature affecting the security interests of all countries. Upon the satisfactory solution of these problems depends the success of the Geneva conference. These basic issues include such questions as the staffing of on-site inspection teams, special aircraft sampling flights, the number and the installation schedule of control posts, safeguards for a seismic research program, criteria for conducting on-site inspection, high-altitude provisions, duration of the moratorium on small underground tests, the number of on-site inspections to be carried out annually in the territories of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, explosions for peaceful uses, and voting on budgetary and financial questions.

My Government has a much more fundamental problem with operative paragraph 2, which urges the parties concerned in these negotiations to continue their present voluntary suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons.

Last year, when the United States supported a similar resolution,⁴ my Government subscribed to a voluntary test moratorium. However, on December 29, 1959, President Eisenhower announced that the moratorium would end on December 31, 1959.⁵

At the same time he announced that the United States would not resume nuclear weapons tests without stating in advance its intention to do so. This is still the policy of the United States Government.

My Government is frankly concerned over the possibility that an indefinite extension of the voluntary suspension on nuclear testing may come to be regarded as an acceptable alternative to the achievement of a safeguarded agreement on nuclear testing. The United States does not wish to encourage any such belief. We believe the possibility of reaching an agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests would only be reduced and the chances of resumed testing would be increased if such an impression were given currency. Negotiations at Geneva will *not* succeed—let me repeat, they will *not* succeed—if only *one* side is interested in building a reasonable control system.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 919.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1960, p. 78.

A system of agreed controls is an absolutely indispensable prerequisite to the permanent cessation of nuclear tests. We do not believe, as some here seem to do, that simply stationing a delegation in Geneva is an acceptable substitute for such controls.

Furthermore—this is a point we cannot ignore here, as we cannot ignore it in other areas of disarmament—Soviet secrecy prevents us from having any clear idea about what is going on in that country. Therefore the United States is not prepared to accept indefinite, self-imposed restraints which we have no way of knowing are not being systematically violated.

Thus far the United States has reached no decision as to whether or when nuclear weapons tests will be resumed. Last year Ambassador [Henry Cabot] Lodge told the General Assembly, “. . . I can assure you that the United States will continue to do everything in its power to enhance the prospects of success at Geneva.”⁶ Today I reaffirm that statement.

Mr. Chairman, because of the considerations I have just described, my delegation requests a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on these two resolutions.

Now, Mr. Chairman, may I turn briefly to an explanation of our vote on the Irish resolution [L. 253 and Add. 1-3]. I would like to make clear the position of my Government with regard to the resolution introduced by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Ireland [Frank Aiken] and to the problem to which it is addressed.

I believe it is well known that the United States does not wish to see the proliferation of national nuclear weapons production capabilities and ownership. This view has been expressed many times in the past by my Government. It is, moreover, reflected in our public laws, which forbid the transfer of nuclear weapons to any other country and also forbid the transfer of information which might assist any other country not already having a substantial nuclear capability to design or manufacture nuclear weapons.

The concern with which my country has viewed the prospects of an increasing number of national states having nuclear weapons has also been reflected in our efforts in disarmament negotiations. In the first instance these efforts were directed at

preventing a nuclear arms race. Many here will remember the Baruch proposals and the subsequent General Assembly resolution of November 4, 1948, which, had they been accepted, would have halted the nuclear race before it had gotten under way. The more recent proposals my Government has made in the nuclear field are aimed at bringing that race to a halt and beginning the reduction of existing nuclear weapons stocks.⁷

Our concern over the spread of independent national nuclear capabilities is based on a belief that it would increase the complexities of bringing the nuclear race under control. The growth of independent national capabilities would also tend to increase the chances that nuclear war might be started by accident, by miscalculation, or even by design. It would further destabilize the already precarious military balance in the world. These practical considerations are the basis for our concern, not any belief that the nuclear powers have a superior moral right to possess nuclear weapons or even to deny them to others. The nuclear powers cannot expect other nations indefinitely to deny to themselves such weapons as they may believe are required for their defense if they, the nuclear powers, refuse to accept the responsibility of halting their own buildup of nuclear weapons and refuse to begin the process of their destruction. This is why we have for so long sought action in the nuclear field by the nuclear powers. One of our concerns with this resolution, therefore, is that it does not recognize the central responsibility of the nuclear powers.

In the arrangements which the United States has found it necessary and desirable to conclude with NATO in the interests of collective self-defense, we have sought to give expression to the above policy. The United States and its NATO partners have arrangements under which the defense forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have atomic weapons available for their protection. American, as well as Allied, forces have in their possession the vehicles capable of carrying such weapons. The weapons themselves are maintained in a stockpile system under the custody of the United States in accordance with existing United States policy and law. This system provides the Alliance with effective resources to defend itself against an antagonist whose armed forces have at their disposal the

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 917.

⁷ For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1960, p. 482.

most modern and destructive weapons and the means of their delivery.

In today's world the most satisfactory protection against nuclear war is adequate defense, and we intend to maintain that defense. Ultimately the only reliable protection against nuclear war lies in disarmament agreements with effective international control provisions which would go to the heart of the nuclear threat.

There is a further feature of the Irish resolution which causes my Government concern. It calls for unverified commitment of indefinite duration. Such commitments are an unacceptable substitute for verified agreements. Unlike the United States, where democratic institutions insure full public discussion, certain areas of the world are closed societies, and without control arrangements suspicions of violations are likely to result. Trust is decreased and suspicion increased under such arrangements. The cause of disarmament would suffer rather than be advanced by such commitments.

Because my Government fully recognizes and sympathizes with the motivation behind the Irish resolution, we will not vote against it. For the reasons I have mentioned, however, we cannot support the resolution and will therefore abstain.

Attendance of Government Scientists at International Conferences

Following is the text of a letter from Walter G. Whitman, Science Adviser, Department of State, to Daniel M. Singer, General Counsel of the Federation of American Scientists.

DECEMBER 19, 1960

DEAR MR. SINGER: A reply to your letter of October 31, directed to the attention of Mr. Walter Rudolph, was postponed since the matter at issue—the participation of federally-employed scientists in the Fifth International Biochemistry Congress to be held at Moscow next August—was under consideration in the Department.

The Department has recently indicated to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that it has no objection to that Department's plans for the participation of its scientists in the Biochemistry Congress. This is in accord with the Department's policy of not hindering the partici-

pation of Government employees in international scientific meetings if membership and participation are not based upon political consideration and such attendance is in the national interest.

The Department does not usually accredit an *official* United States Government delegation to take part in international conferences at which the attendance of nationals of unrecognized regimes is expected. This does not, however, preclude Government employees from taking part in nongovernmental meetings at Government expense without accreditation if the Department of State determines that their participation is in the national interest. Without accreditation, a participant does not represent nor speak for his government.

I regret that this reply has been delayed, but hope that it answers your questions.

Sincerely,

WALTER G. WHITMAN

MR. DANIEL M. SINGER,
Federation of American Scientists,
1700 K Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

SEATO Heads of Universities Conference

The Department of State announced on December 30 (press release 712) that it had designated three American educators to participate in a Conference of Heads of Universities sponsored by the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization to be held at the University of Karachi in Pakistan, January 25–February 1. The educators are:

William E. Stevenson, President Emeritus of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and current Chairman of the Middle East University Survey Commission
Douglas M. Knight, President of Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis.
Robert G. Van Duyen, Chief, Education Division, U.S. Operations Mission to Thailand, Bangkok, Thailand

The Karachi conference is part of the cultural and educational program sponsored by SEATO since 1957 to increase and deepen cultural contacts and promote mutual understanding among the people of Southeast Asia and of member states. It is one of a series of seminars on educational problems which SEATO expects to sponsor.

In January 1960 a preparatory commission met at Bangkok to draw up plans for the conference. It developed agenda topics which include an appraisal of cooperation among universities in Southeast Asia, problems of university administration and curricula, language problems in education, and other subjects.

The University of Karachi has extended invitations to participants and observers from the SEATO member countries and several nonmember Asian countries.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Aviation

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, 1955.¹

Signature: Pakistan, August 8, 1960.

Ratifications deposited: Venezuela, August 26, 1960; Netherlands, September 21, 1960.

Finance

Articles of agreement of the International Development Association. Done at Washington January 26, 1960. Entered into force September 24, 1960. TIAS 4607.

Signatures and acceptances: Ireland, Israel, and Turkey, December 22, 1960.

Health

Constitution of the World Health Organization. Opened for signature at New York July 22, 1946. Entered into force April 7, 1948. TIAS 1808.

Acceptances deposited: Congo (Brazzaville), October 26, 1960; Senegal, October 31, 1960.

Shipping

Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Signed at Geneva March 6, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958. TIAS 4044.

Acceptances deposited: Ivory Coast, November 4, 1960; Senegal, November 7, 1960; New Zealand, November 9, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

Sixth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva April 11, 1957.¹

Signatures: Brazil and Chile, November 21, 1960.

Eighth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva February 18, 1959. Will enter into force on date on which signed by all contracting parties to the General Agreement.

¹ Not in force.

Signatures: Austria (subject to ratification), February 18, 1959; Netherlands, February 19, 1959; Rhodesia and Nyasaland, February 20, 1959; Denmark, February 27, 1959; Norway, April 23, 1959; Sweden, May 5, 1959; Luxembourg, May 13, 1959; New Zealand, May 19, 1959; Greece, Pakistan, and Union of South Africa, May 22, 1959; United Kingdom, May 25, 1959; Belgium and Indonesia, May 26, 1959; Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, and Finland, May 29, 1959; India and Japan, June 24, 1959; Peru, July 14, 1959; Ghana (subject to ratification), October 13, 1959; Malaya, November 6, 1959; Brazil, November 9, 1959; Canada, November 16, 1959; Australia, December 14, 1959; France, October 18, 1960; United States, December 16, 1960.

Declarations confirming signature: Austria, December 2, 1959; Ghana, March 28, 1960.

Acknowledged applicable rights and obligations of United Kingdom: Nigeria, October 11, 1960.

Declaration on relations between contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Done at Geneva May 25, 1959. Entered into force for the United States November 19, 1959. TIAS 4385.

Signatures: Switzerland, November 15, 1960; Malaya, November 17, 1960; Pakistan, December 8, 1960.

Declaration on provisional accession of Israel to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva May 29, 1959. Entered into force for the United States December 19, 1959. TIAS 4384.

Signature: Malaya, November 17, 1960.

Ninth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva August 17, 1959. Will enter into force on date on which signed by all contracting parties to the General Agreement.

Signatures: Norway, August 17, 1959; Union of South Africa, August 28, 1959; Austria (subject to ratification), September 3, 1959; Czechoslovakia and Sweden, October 29, 1959; Ceylon, October 31, 1959; Canada, Denmark, and United Kingdom, November 6, 1959; Brazil, November 9, 1959; Peru, November 16, 1959; Netherlands, December 2, 1959; Australia, December 14, 1959; Belgium (subject to ratification), February 9, 1960; Japan, April 26, 1960; Malaya, May 19, 1960; Rhodesia and Nyasaland, May 24, 1960; France, October 18, 1960; United States, December 16, 1960.

Declarations confirming signature: Austria, March 16, 1960; Belgium, April 5, 1960.

Acknowledged applicable rights and obligations of United Kingdom: Nigeria, October 11, 1960.

Declaration on relations between contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Government of the Polish People's Republic. Done at Tokyo November 9, 1959. Entered into force November 16, 1960.

Signatures: Burma, November 3, 1960; Switzerland, November 15, 1960; Ceylon, November 16, 1960; New Zealand, December 7, 1960; Pakistan, December 8, 1960.

Declaration confirming signature: Ghana, November 16, 1960.

Declaration on provisional accession of Tunisia to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Tokyo November 12, 1959. Entered into force for the United States June 15, 1960. TIAS 4498.

Signatures: Ceylon, November 16, 1960; Malaya, November 17, 1960; Greece, November 18, 1960; Pakistan, December 8, 1960.

Declaration on provisional accession of Swiss Confederation to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva November 22, 1958. Entered into force for the United States April 29, 1960. TIAS 4461.

Signature: Malaya, November 17, 1960.

United Nations

Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Done at London November 16, 1945. Entered into force November 4, 1946. TIAS 1580.

Signatures: Ivory Coast, October 13, 1960; Dahomey, October 18, 1960; Mali, October 21, 1960; Congo (Brazzaville), October 24, 1960; Nigeria, November 2, 1960; Senegal, November 3, 1960.

Acceptances deposited: Dahomey, October 18, 1960; Congo (Brazzaville), October 24, 1960; Ivory Coast, October 27, 1960.

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Malagasy Republic, December 15, 1960.

BILATERAL

Uruguay

Agreement setting forth an understanding concerning the rate of exchange under the agricultural commodities agreement of February 20, 1959, as supplemented (TIAS 4179, 4238, 4356, 4375, and 4406). Effected by exchange of notes at Montevideo September 13 and 16, 1960. Entered into force September 16, 1960.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Resignations

Dempster McIntosh as Ambassador to Colombia, effective December 31, 1960. (For an exchange of correspondence between President Eisenhower and Ambassador McIntosh, see White House press release 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.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4532. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and

Poland, amending the agreements of June 7, 1957, February 15, 1958, and June 10, 1959, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington July 21, 1960. Entered into force July 21, 1960.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4533. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Thailand, amending the agreement of March 13, 1956, as amended. Signed at Washington June 11, 1960. Entered into force July 26, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4535. 14 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Poland. Signed at Washington July 21, 1960. Entered into force July 21, 1960. With exchanges of notes.

United States Educational Commission in Korea. TIAS 4536. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea, amending the agreement of April 28, 1950. Exchange of notes—Signed at Seoul June 30, 1960. Entered into force June 30, 1960.

Uranium Reconnaissance. TIAS 4537. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, amending the agreement of December 26, 1957. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington December 2, 1958. Entered into force December 23, 1959. And extension agreement. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington December 23, 1959, and January 6 and July 6, 1960. Entered into force July 6, 1960.

Defense—Weapons Production Program. TIAS 4538. 9 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Italy. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rome July 7, 1960. Entered into force July 7, 1960.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4539. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, amending the agreement of August 3, 1955, as amended. Signed at Washington June 11, 1960. Entered into force August 2, 1960.

Exchange of Official Publications. TIAS 4540. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Cambodia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Phnom Penh July 15, 1960. Entered into force July 15, 1960.

Air Transport Services. TIAS 4541. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico, extending the provisional arrangement of March 7, 1957, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at México June 30, 1960. Entered into force June 30, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4542. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic. Signed at Cairo August 1, 1960. Entered into force August 1, 1960. With exchanges of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4543. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and India, supplementing the agreement of May 4, 1960. Signed at New Delhi July 29, 1960. Entered into force July 29, 1960. With related letter.

Atomic Energy
 U.S. Explains Votes in Committee I on Three Nuclear Resolutions (Wilcox) 94
 U.S. Reaffirms Confidence in Work of IAEA (Wilcox) 92

Aviation. U.S. Helps Viet-Nam Finance Jet Runway Construction 84

Colombia. McIntosh resigns as Ambassador 98

Department and Foreign Service
 President Directs Use of Mutual Security Funds for Office of IGC 85
 Resignations (McIntosh) 98

Economic Affairs
 International Consultations on Rubber (Mellen) 78
 IFC Reports High Level of Investments in 1960 90
 NASA To Promote Commercial Use of Communication Satellites (Eisenhower) 77
 New Tariff Rates Established for Certain Wool Fabrics (text of proclamation) 87
 The United States and New Crossroads in World Economy (Martin) 71
 U.S. Grants Iceland \$6 Million for Monetary Stabilization 84
 U.S. Officials and Foreign Minister of Ecuador Conclude Talks (text of joint announcement) 83
 Yugoslavia To Receive Aid for Reform of Foreign Exchange and Trade 85

Ecuador. U.S. Officials and Foreign Minister of Ecuador Conclude Talks (text of joint announcement) 83

Educational and Cultural Affairs. SEATO Heads of Universities Conference (delegation) 96

Iceland. U.S. Grants Iceland \$6 Million for Monetary Stabilization 84

International Organizations and Conferences
 Attendance of Government Scientists at International Conferences (Whitman) 96
 Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings 91
 International Consultations on Rubber (Mellen) 78
 IFC Reports High Level of Investments in 1960 90
 SEATO Heads of Universities Conference (delegation) 96

Laos. U.S. Calls for Consultations on Situation in Laos 76

Mali. Letters of Credence (Maiga) 77

Mutual Security
 President Directs Use of Mutual Security Funds for Office of IGC 85
 The United States and New Crossroads in World Economy (Martin) 71
 U.S. and Togo Sign Economic and Technical Aid Agreement (text of communique) 84
 U.S. Helps Viet-Nam Finance Jet Runway Construction 84

Presidential Documents
 NASA To Promote Commercial Use of Communication Satellites 77

New Tariff Rates Established for Certain Wool Fabrics 87
 President Directs Use of Mutual Security Funds for Office of IGC 85
Publications. Recent Releases 98
Science
 Attendance of Government Scientists at International Conferences (Whitman) 96
 NASA To Promote Commercial Use of Communication Satellites (Eisenhower) 77
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
 SEATO Heads of Universities Conference (delegation) 96
 U.S. Calls for Consultations on Situation in Laos 76
Togo. U.S. and Togo Sign Economic and Technical Aid Agreement (text of communique) 84
Treaty Information. Current Actions 97
United Nations
 U.S. Explains Votes in Committee I on Three Nuclear Resolutions (Wilcox) 94
 U.S. Reaffirms Confidence in Work of IAEA (Wilcox) 92
Viet-Nam. U.S. Helps Viet-Nam Finance Jet Runway Construction 84
Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia To Receive Aid for Reform of Foreign Exchange and Trade 85

Name Index

Eisenhower, President 77, 85, 87
 Maiga, Abdoulaye 77
 Martin, Edwin M 71
 McIntosh, Dempster 98
 Mellen, Sydney L. W 78
 Reap, Joseph W 76
 Whitman, Walter G 96
 Wilcox, Francis O 92, 94

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: December 26-January 1

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Release issued prior to December 26 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 706 dated December 23.

No.	Date	Subject
708	12/27	Mali credentials (rewrite).
709	12/27	Aid to Yugoslavia for foreign exchange and trade systems.
*710	12/29	Length-of-service awards.
711	12/29	Economic and technical aid agreement with Togo.
712	12/30	Delegation to SEATO Heads of Universities Conference (rewrite).
713	12/30	Consultations with Ecuadorean Foreign Minister.
714	12/30	Financial aid to Iceland.
715	12/30	Aid to Viet-Nam for construction of jet runway.

*Not printed.

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



the
Department
of
State

DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT

November 15, 1945, through December 29, 1959

This two-volume publication contains important postwar documents regarding negotiations on the international control of atomic energy, the reduction of armaments and armed forces, safeguards against surprise attack, the problem of nuclear weapons tests, various problems of outer space, and related questions.

All the papers in the collection have previously been released, but this is the first time that some of them have been made widely available. Volume I covers the years 1945-56 and Volume II the period 1957-59. The number of papers selected for the 5 years from 1955 through 1959 is much larger than for the preceding 10 years. This is because the developments of recent years bear more directly upon the current negotiations in this general field and because recent years have witnessed intensified discussion of nuclear testing, safeguards against surprise attack, and outer space.

Publication 7008

Price: \$4.50

Order Form

Please send me....copies of *Documents on Disarmament*.

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Name: _____

Street Address: _____

Enclosed find:

City, Zone, and State: _____

\$.....
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

Locke

9-11-11

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1126

January 23, 1961

U.S. BREAKS TIES WITH GOVERNMENT OF CUBA, MAINTAINS ITS TREATY RIGHTS IN GUANTANAMO BASE • *Statements by President Eisenhower and James C. Hagerty and Exchange of Notes* 103

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL HEARS CUBAN COMPLAINT AGAINST UNITED STATES, ADJOURNS WITHOUT A VOTE • *Statements by James J. Wadsworth and James W. Barco* 104

UNITED STATES PROPOSES ABOLITION OR REDUCTION OF U.S. AND SOVIET TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS 118

THE CHANGING POSITION OF AFGHANISTAN IN ASIA • *Article by Ambassador Henry A. Byroade . . .* 125

For index see inside back cover

ICIAL
EELY RECORD
TED STATES
EIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1126 • PUBLICATION 7128

January 23, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 20, 1958).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

U.S. Breaks Ties With Government of Cuba, Maintains Its Treaty Rights in Guantanamo Base

Following is a statement by President Eisenhower accompanied by an exchange of notes regarding the termination of diplomatic and consular relations between the United States and Cuba, together with a statement by James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President, regarding treaty rights of the United States in the Guantanamo Naval Base.

TERMINATION OF RELATIONS

White House press release dated January 3

Statement by President Eisenhower

Between 1 and 2 o'clock this morning the Government of Cuba delivered to the United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the United States Embassy in Habana [Daniel M. Braddock] a note stating that the Government of Cuba had decided to limit the personnel of our Embassy and consulate in Habana to 11 persons. Forty-eight hours was granted for the departure of our entire staff with the exception of 11. This unusual action on the part of the Castro government can have no other purpose than to render impossible the conduct of normal diplomatic relations with that Government.

Accordingly I have instructed the Secretary of State to deliver a note to the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Cuba in Washington which refers to the demand of his Government and states that the Government of the United States is hereby formally terminating diplomatic and consular relations with the Government of Cuba. Copies of both notes are being made available to the press.

This calculated action on the part of the Castro government is only the latest of a long series of harassments, baseless accusations, and vilification. There is a limit to what the United States in self-

respect can endure. That limit has now been reached. Our friendship for the Cuban people is not affected. It is my hope and my conviction that in the not too distant future it will be possible for the historic friendship between us once again to find its reflection in normal relations of every sort. Meanwhile our sympathy goes out to the people of Cuba now suffering under the yoke of a dictator.

United States Note¹

JANUARY 3, 1961

SIR: I have the honor to refer to a note dated January 2, 1961, from the Government of Cuba to the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States Embassy in Habana stating that the Government of Cuba has decided that personnel of the Embassy and Consulate of the United States in the City of Habana, regardless of nationality, shall not exceed eleven persons.

This unwarranted action by the Government of Cuba places crippling limitations on the ability of the United States Mission to carry on its normal diplomatic and consular functions. It would consequently appear that it is designed to achieve an effective termination of diplomatic and consular relations between the Government of Cuba and the Government of the United States. Accordingly, the Government of the United States hereby formally notifies the Government of Cuba of the termination of such relations.

The Government of the United States intends to comply with the requirement of the Government of Cuba concerning the withdrawal of all but eleven persons within the period of 48 hours from 1:20 a.m. on January 3, the time of the de-

¹ Addressed to Dr. Armando Flórez Ibarra, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at the Cuban Embassy in Washington, D.C.

livery of the note under reference. In addition, the Government of the United States will withdraw its remaining diplomatic and consular personnel in Cuba as soon as possible thereafter.

The Government of Cuba is requested to withdraw from the United States as soon as possible all Cuban nationals employed in the Cuban Embassy in Washington and in all Cuban Consular establishments in the United States.

The Government of the United States is requesting the Government of Switzerland to assume diplomatic and consular representation in Cuba on behalf of the Government of the United States.²

I take this opportunity to reiterate to you the assurances of my reciprocity of your considerations.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

Cuban Note

HABANA, JANUARY 2, 1961, *Year of Education*

MR. CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES: I have the honor to inform you that the Revolutionary Government has decided that under present circumstances the personnel of the Embassy

and Consulate of Cuba in the City of Washington, whether diplomatic, consular, or of other character, whatever their nationality, should not exceed eleven persons. Likewise it has decided that the personnel of the Embassy and Consulate of the United States in the city of Habana, whether diplomatic, consular or of other character, whatever their nationality, should likewise be limited to eleven persons.

For the purpose of facilitating the departure of the persons who for this reason must abandon the national territory, a period of 48 hours has been fixed from the time of receipt of this note.

I take the opportunity, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires, to reiterate to you the assurance of my reciprocity of your considerations.

CARLOS OLIVARES

STATEMENT BY MR. HAGERTY

White House press release dated January 4

The termination of our diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba has no effect on the status of our naval station at Guantanamo. The treaty rights under which we maintain the naval station may not be abrogated without the consent of the United States.

United Nations Security Council Hears Cuban Complaint Against United States, Adjourns Without a Vote

The Security Council met January 4 and 5 to consider a complaint (S/4605) addressed to the President of the Security Council by Raúl Roa, Cuban Minister for External Relations, charging that the United States was "about to perpetrate, within a few hours, direct military aggression against the Government and people of Cuba." Following are texts of statements made by U.S. Representatives James J. Wadsworth and James W. Barco.

FIRST STATEMENT BY MR. WADSWORTH, JANUARY 4

U.S./U.N. press release 3630

Mr. President [Omar Loutfi of the U.A.R.], with your permission I would like to start my re-

²The Government of Switzerland assumed responsibility for representation of U.S. interests in Cuba on Jan. 7.

marks on a happy note—first, by extending a cordial welcome to you as the United Arab Republic joins us in the work of the Security Council and as you assume your responsibilities as our President for the month of January. I would also like to associate myself with my other colleagues around this table in welcome to our three other new colleagues here. The United States derives the greatest pleasure from the prospect of working with the representatives of Chile, Turkey, and Liberia. We know that the Council will benefit greatly from the wisdom and experience of their representatives, and we are happy to convey to them, as well as to you, Mr. President, our congratulations and best wishes. Finally, Mr. President, a word of thanks to the representatives of Argentina, Italy, Poland, and Tunisia. As has been said by more than one delegation here, they will be missed.

Now, to the business before us, namely, the

question of the agenda of this particular session of the Security Council.

Last night, as the members of the Council know, the United States Government announced the termination of diplomatic relations with Cuba.¹ I need not tell you with what heavy hearts we took that step. The Cuban people are our friends. We have worked hard, in the face of great and continued provocation, to prevent the leaders of Cuba from choking off these friendly relations; but that is what they seemed determined to do. Over nearly 2 years they have piled insult upon injury to a point where our diplomacy could not function any more.

Now, in these false and hysterical charges which have been laid before the Security Council by the Cuban Government, we have a fresh reminder of the strategy of harassment by which they brought us—and I think definitely on purpose—to last night's decision.

As the members of the Council know, the United States has a tradition of many years' standing of not opposing full and free debate on charges leveled against us in the United Nations—no matter how baseless the charges may be nor how discredited in world opinion. In conformity with that tradition we will not oppose the inscription of this complaint by the Foreign Minister of Cuba [Raúl Roa], even though it is totally fraudulent.

The United States has nothing to hide and nothing to fear from these charges. They are false and cannot stand the light of day. If anybody has reason to fear a debate on this question it is the Cuban leaders themselves, who have been crying "wolf!" for the past 6 months over an alleged "imminent invasion"—I repeat for the past 6 months—of their country and thereby are fast making themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world.

Let me remind the Council that last July the Foreign Minister of Cuba came here to the Council and accused the United States—without proof, of course—of aggressive intentions against his country—a charge which the Council did not sustain.² In August he made similar accusations against us at the meeting of Foreign Ministers of

the Organization of American States in San José—again without proof; and again he got no support.³ Then in September the Prime Minister of Cuba [Fidel Castro] made a 4-hour speech about it in the General Assembly.⁴ Then in October Dr. Roa came to the General Assembly with charges about a "large-scale invasion which the United States Government is prepared to launch at any moment," and then he asked for an immediate plenary debate on it.⁵

Recalling that record of wild charges in recent months, we are no longer very much surprised to read Dr. Roa's letter of December 31, in which he says in the very first sentence that the United States "is about to perpetrate, within a few hours, direct military aggression against the Government and people of Cuba." Those are his actual words—"within a few hours." It is the same midnight brew, dipped from the same cauldron of hysteria. I reject categorically the ridiculous charges of the Cuban Government.

Cuban Memorandum of December 31

Mr. President, we have searched among the adjectives of Dr. Roa's memorandum, and we have found just two specific charges which seem to be new. We are charged, first, with engineering the diplomatic isolation of Cuba. This charge comes with ill grace from a government which has made itself an instrument of the most cruel imperialism of all times; which has had a part in armed incursions into the territory of other American states; which has incited disorder and turbulence through minority groups; which has used its diplomatic officials—or at least those who have remained in its service—for interventionist activities; and which has continually and violently repudiated the regional organization of which it is a member.

Now, any diplomatic isolation of Cuba comes as a result of Cuba's own actions. Of course, the United States Government has consulted and will continue to consult with other American governments regarding the consequences of these Cuban activities and attitudes and many other Cuban actions which have contributed to tension in the

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1960, p. 395.

⁴ For texts of U.S. replies, see *ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1960, p. 621, and Oct. 31, 1960, p. 690.

⁵ For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1960, p. 787.

¹ See p. 103.

² BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1960, p. 199.

international relations of the hemisphere. But to say that the actions and decisions which these governments have taken within their own right are other than their own sovereign will is insulting to them as well as to the intelligence of the Security Council. And to attribute such actions to the United States Government is false and absurd.

Alleged Document on Intervention

In the jungle of adjectives of Dr. Roa's letter, we find one other comparatively new accusation and it has to do with a nebulous document. Dr. Roa asserts in his letter, ". . . there exists a document of the Department of State, circulated to all the Foreign Ministries on the American continent, in which it is stated, . . . that President Eisenhower's Government—"

[Ambassador Wadsworth was interrupted on a point of order by the representative of the U.S.S.R., after which he resumed as follows:]

Mr. President, had it not been for the point of order of our distinguished representative from the U.S.S.R., I would have finished long ago. I may also say that normally I would take very seriously any point of order made by Mr. [Valerian A.] Zorin having to do with the improper use of substance in a procedural address. He is the greatest expert on that in the entire United Nations. However, I am not in substance. I am discussing the request of the Cuban Government for a meeting of the Security Council. The explanatory memorandum which came with the request for this meeting today explains why they want a meeting—therefore, why they want an agenda adopted—and I am discussing the adoption of the agenda. I will hurry along to my long-planned finish as soon as I can, and I thank the President for his forbearance.

I was saying, when the point of order was called, that in this letter there is a quote which says that "there exists a document of the Department of State, circulated to all the Foreign Ministries on the American continent, in which it is stated, . . . that President Eisenhower's Government is prepared to order a military intervention in Cuba." The United States Government knows of no such document. We certainly did not originate any such document.

However, I do not place too much stress on these

particular charges because we know from experience from Dr. Roa's persistence in error that as soon as we answer these points he will produce a half a dozen more—again without logic or evidence.

But let there be no doubt in anybody's mind, Mr. President, as we approach this debate on substance; the real attacker here is the Cuban Government. The weapons are character assassination and false alarms. The target is not just the United States but all those governments of the Western Hemisphere whose policies the leadership in Habana does not happen to like. And the launching point for the propaganda invasion is right here in the United Nations.

In fact, false propaganda, bad as it is, is only one of the weapons being used. I will go into that when I get into substance. But these are the real threats in the Western Hemisphere. It is and has been a matter of concern to the Organization of American States, which is the competent regional organization. In fact, the last time that the Government of Cuba brought these charges to the Security Council, the Council suggested very politely that they be taken first before the Organization of American States.

As to Cuba's monotonously reiterated charges, they have been by no means neglected. My Government has twice requested convocation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which was created by the Seventh Meeting of the American Foreign Ministers in San José, to look into the facts of such charges.⁹ These efforts have been deliberately ignored by the Government of Cuba, which obviously desires only to build false propaganda fires rather than have its complaints dealt with within the regional organization. But since we are accused here by the principal agent of the threat involved, we are prepared to describe to the Council, after the agenda is adopted, just what the threat is and where it comes from.

And we hope that the Government of Cuba, having failed three times out of three to gain support in the United Nations for its propaganda, will realize at last that such tactics do not hurt us and that it is not so easy as one might think to pervert the United Nations to serve the selfish purposes of any nation.

⁹ For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1960, p. 747.

U.S./U.N. press release 3631

Beginning in the spring and summer of 1959 a series of invasion attempts upset the peace of the Caribbean area. Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti were the victims. In every case it has been established beyond reasonable doubt that the expeditions had the support of Cuban officials. In the case of the invasion of Panama in June of 1959, the investigating committee appointed by the Council of the Organization of American States studied the facts and concluded that—and I quote from their report—“the Republic of Panama was the victim of an invasion organized abroad that sailed from a Cuban port and was composed entirely of foreigners.” In fact, the chairman of the committee was able to confirm that 82 out of the 84 invaders who were taken prisoner were Cubans. The invasions of Haiti were apparently attempted with the complicity of the Cuban Ambassador there and his five military attachés.

Finally, Mr. President, by plunging their country into this subversive and military activity which is far beyond the resources of Cuba acting alone, the leaders of Cuba have put that unhappy country more and more into the hands of international communism.

Last February, when the First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, Mr. [Anastas I.] Mikoyan, visited Cuba, a communique was issued in Habana about Mr. Mikoyan's conversations with the Cuban leaders. It contained this statement: “Expression was given to the constant striving of both governments to implement active and joint activity in the United Nations.” We have already seen evidences of that joint activity—not only today but as when, last September, the General Assembly voted on a Soviet proposal for a plenary debate on its discredited charge of United States aerial aggression. There were only 10 votes for that proposal: the 9 votes of the Soviet bloc, which virtually always votes together, and—Cuba.

And now, Mr. President, I submit that we see another example of that “joint activity” right here in the Council. It has been remarked to me, and I think truly, that the Soviet Union must find it very convenient that the Security Council should be hearing this spurious Cuban charge of an

imaginary United States aggression at a point when world opinion might otherwise be noticing certain events in Laos or in the Congo.

Such is the record of Cuba's self-isolation in the past 2 years. What began 2 years ago as a bright hope for the Cuban people, applauded widely by the American people and by the Eisenhower administration, as well as throughout the world, quickly turned into a reign of terror at home and thence into a danger to the peace and freedom of the entire hemisphere.

Now, Mr. President, severely provoked though we are, as last night's action will attest, the United States' aims regarding Cuba have not changed. In the face of this situation we shall cooperate with our allies in the Western Hemisphere to help maintain its security against aggression from whatever source.

And we will never cease to look for a way back to peace and friendship between Cuba and the United States.

OAS Good Offices Committee

Now, in all these efforts the United States has placed the greatest emphasis—and we think rightly so—on the Organization of American States. We believe strongly in the Organization of American States and in the inter-American tradition. At San José last August the OAS created an *Ad Hoc* Committee of Good Offices, composed of representatives of Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Venezuela, to provide a forum where the difficulties between Cuba and the United States might be ironed out. Last September 12 the United States proposed that the committee be convened in order to clarify the facts in the controversy between ourselves and Cuba. On October 28 we reiterated that proposal in a note to the Secretary General of the OAS and promised to cooperate fully with the committee, on the sole condition that Cuba would do the same.

Perhaps if that offer had been accepted, Mr. President, the false, vague, and somewhat hysterical charges which we have heard today could have been brought into some reasonable order and studied in a calm atmosphere, an atmosphere generated between sister states. Evidently that is not what the Cuban Government wanted. They would rather come in here and fling wild charges

about. As long as they are in that frame of mind, we see no chance for improvement.

I noted particularly over the simultaneous translation that Dr. Roa stated specifically that Cuba could not accept any resolution of the Security Council which would ask the Government of Cuba and the Government of the United States, as it is presently constituted, to get together and talk these things over. This again is another evidence of the attitude which is held by the Government of Cuba.

But we will never despair, Mr. President, and we will never cease to look for the day when Cuba will break out of the prison of hatred in which her present rulers have confined her and will rejoin the community of nations.

After listening to Dr. Roa's speech I have no reason to change what I said in my brief statement this morning about the Cuban charges as set forth in his letter to the Council. The charges in the speech, just like those in the letter, are completely without foundation and given to us in a rather hysterical manner. I rather seriously doubt that Dr. Roa himself believes them. To try to refute them all in detail would be like making a point-by-point rebuttal of *Alice in Wonderland*.

There was one thing that he said toward the early part of his speech—and I am sorry I do not have the verbatim of it—but over the simultaneous translation it sounded something like this: that the actions of the United States, as he was about to give them in his speech to us, were unbelievable. I agree. They are unbelievable, and they should not be believed.

Now, my delegation will make not very much comment on Dr. Roa's speech until we have had an opportunity to see it in writing. But I will say a few words about the main charges in his letter, which is before the Council in Document S/4605 and which we have had a brief opportunity to study.

First Charge

First, as I mentioned very briefly this morning, the letter charges that there is some sort of a "confidential note," some sort of a "document of the Department of State," in which the United States Government has informed the foreign ministries in the Western Hemisphere of our intention to carry out a military intervention in Cuba under

certain contingencies, namely, if construction is resumed on "seventeen sites for the launching of Soviet rockets." *Alice in Wonderland*?

On the first page of Dr. Roa's letter this was all stated flatly as a fact: the United States note exists, it has been circulated, and words are quoted from it in quotation marks. But then, at the bottom of page 2 and the top of page 3, the existence of the note is rather oddly attributed to "cabled despatches from Montevideo, Uruguay." Now, that is the sort of evidence which is being presented to the Security Council to support a charge of aggression, of "imminent invasion"—the most serious charge, I am sure that Dr. Roa realizes, that one nation can make against another on the basis of "cabled despatches from Montevideo, Uruguay."

Now, we have great respect for the free newspapers of Montevideo, just as we do for the free newspapers of New York. But it is common experience, at least in societies such as ours—perhaps Dr. Roa has not had this experience—that reports appear from time to time in free newspapers in any city which turn out, upon examination, to be inaccurate or even entirely erroneous. And I know all of us around this table have been subjected to such erroneous reporting from time to time, and in many, many cases which we all know of, the newspaper in question has printed a retraction.

Now, in addition to the fact that some of these reports may be erroneous, there is always the possibility of what we call "inspired press stories," particularly in the case of the Communist-guided *Prensa Latina*.

The United States Government has not circulated any document or note of any kind relating to the supposed construction of Soviet missile bases in Cuba or stating an intention to launch a military intervention against Cuba. And perhaps it is significant, Mr. President, that, in spite of a welter of photographs and in spite of a large number of quotations from various newspaper and magazine articles, the Security Council has not been shown any such document. Cannot we all realize, understanding international relations as we do at this table, that if any Cuban authority had come to any United States authority about this so-called document, we could have told them that this particular press report was completely erroneous? They obviously did not want to be

told that. They would much rather spread it in the press and come to the Security Council of the United Nations and make a big noise about it.

Now, so much for our latest "invasion plot." That is a good example of the kind of second-hand rumor which Dr. Roa uses instead of evidence.

As you see, Mr. President, in order to keep this invasion scare in perspective, we must keep in mind recent Cuban propaganda. For the past year or more it has been the practice of the Cuban leaders, particularly of Prime Minister Castro, to ascribe to the United States an intention to carry out a military invasion of Cuba and to urge all patriotic Cubans to be ready to die fighting the Yankee invaders. We had a sample here when Dr. Roa asked for an immediate debate on what he called "the large-scale invasion which the United States Government is preparing to launch at any moment against Cuba." You can just imagine the headlines in which these charges were spread across the pages of the controlled press of Cuba in order to whip the Cuban people into a state of fear and alarm. Of course there was no invasion. There was never any plan for any such invasion. And the matter lay on the agenda of the Political Committee of the General Assembly for 7 weeks without being raised again by anybody, even though the United States had indicated its full agreement that if any real emergency came up the Cuban item could be moved directly to the head of the list. And so the Assembly adjourned the first part of its session.

Then the New Year approached and with it the second anniversary of the accession to power of the Castro regime. The morning papers in Habana on December 31 all carried a lurid scare story under one identical banner headline, one headline in all the papers: "Yankee Invasion Imminent." That night Prime Minister Castro addressed a banquet in Habana and devoted one hour of his speech to the new invasion charge, with particular emphasis on the supposed United States document, alleging the construction of Soviet rocket bases in Cuba—the same nonexistent document with which Dr. Roa has attempted to startle the Security Council.

So, unfortunately, Mr. President, that is the daily or an example of the daily mental diet for the Cuban people, whose free press has been strangled by the Castro regime.

Second Charge

Now I come to the second principal charge in Dr. Roa's letter, that our "sinister plan," so-called, against Cuba was developed "with the open cooperation of Cuban war criminals who have sought refuge in the United States—including mercenaries, adventurers, spies, saboteurs and terrorists of every kind."

Well now, of course, it is a fact that thousands of Cubans, including editors, intellectuals, and professional men in all fields, have fled from Cuba in the past 2 years. Many hundreds of them have taken refuge in the United States. They are not war criminals. Like most Americans, the great majority of them, including nearly all the original chief lieutenants of Dr. Castro, supported the Castro revolution until they were sickened by the suppression of freedom in Cuba in all fields of endeavor. Those who were not able to get to the United States or to some other free country for asylum are in prison. They were sickened by the suppression of freedom, by the wiping out of every political party except the Communist Party, by the complete muzzling of the press, radio, and television, by the taking over of the universities and the labor movement by the regime, the subjection of the courts to political control, the widespread execution and imprisonment of individuals who were suspected of political opposition. Yes, Mr. President, there are a great many Cubans who do not choose to live in Cuba under these circumstances. But the United States is only one of many free countries which have given them asylum.

Now, our Federal and local governments, as well as some private organizations, have given emergency assistance to some of these refugees who had to leave Cuba without money or property and must make a new start somewhere.⁷ We are doing our best to find housing and jobs for them and schooling for their children. We have informed the Council of the Organization of American States all about these steps and have expressed the hope that other American Republics might wish to cooperate in dealing with this purely humanitarian problem. Now, those are

⁷ For text of an interim report on the Cuban refugee problem made to President Eisenhower by Tracy S. Voorhees on Dec. 19, see *ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1961, p. 45.

all actions which any free country would take as a matter of common humanity.

But, to imply, as Dr. Roa has done, that we have supported military incursions by Cuban refugees into Cuba is absolutely false. It is natural and readily understandable that some Cubans on our shores should want to engage in activities against the government which has done them so much harm. But the United States Government has been in no way associated with such activities. On the contrary, we have made unusual and special efforts to prevent violation of our laws.

Third Charge

Now for the third charge in Dr. Roa's letter. It is that the United States "is now engaged in a manoeuvre with a view to the diplomatic isolation of Cuba within Latin America." As evidence for this Dr. Roa cited the fact that Guatemala and Peru had broken diplomatic relations with Cuba and that the Uruguayan Government was reported in the press to be contemplating the same action. He added that other governments seemed to be considering the same step.

Now, Mr. President, of course the United States consults with other American Republics on matters of common concern, including our relations with Cuba and their relations with Cuba and the position of Cuba in our Western Hemispheric situation. For Dr. Roa to say that we have used "tremendous pressure" on other American Republics to cause them to break relations with Cuba is entirely false. It shows how far he has slipped into the totalitarian state of mind in which there are only two possible relationships between governments: either command and obedience, or open hostility.

Now, anybody who knows the extent to which Cuban diplomatic missions throughout this hemisphere have been used for subversion and hostile propaganda can understand why some of the sovereign governments should find it necessary to break relations with Cuba—and this requires no underscoring from us.

Harassment of U.S. Citizens

In this context let me add one word about the actions of the United States last night in breaking our diplomatic relations with Cuba. This was a step which we took, as I said this morning, with

heavy hearts, and we were driven to it. Probably nowhere in the history of recent civilization has any government been as forbearing in the face of provocation as has the United States Government in connection with Cuban actions. For many months the Cuban Government, and particularly the Foreign Ministry over which Dr. Roa presides, has made normal diplomatic contact by our Embassy virtually impossible. Our country has been made the chief target for all Cuban hate propaganda; our nationals have been the chief victims of their harassment. In the first 10 months of 1960 at least 43 United States citizens were harassed and arrested without charges by the Cuban police. I stress the phrase "without charges." This is not the action of a government with the ideals which have been professed by the leaders of the Cuban revolution. In one of these cases last August 18 an American woman and her two young sons were dragged from their car by a mob and beaten while the Cuban police stood by and watched; then the police took them to headquarters and questioned them intensively before releasing them many hours later, still without giving any reason for the arrest.

Then on September 15 at 1 a.m. armed representatives of the Cuban Army's Department of Investigations forced their way into the apartment of a woman staff member of the United States Embassy in Habana. They searched her apartment, refused to tell her of any charges against her, and would not let her make contact with her Embassy. She was taken to police headquarters. Our Embassy was still not allowed to talk to her. Forty hours later, after vigorous representations by our Ambassador, she was released and ordered to leave Cuba immediately—without any charges ever being filed against her.

Dr. Roa speaks with great eloquence of the ideals and principles of the Cuban revolution. These are only two of many incidents. In these circumstances of constant harassment the United States Government suggested to its citizens in Cuba that, unless there were compelling reasons to keep them there, they should consider returning to the United States. We gave similar advice to Americans who might be thinking of traveling there because we, the United States Government, were not in a position to defend them against arrest without charge, against detention without charge, against all kinds of harassment and em-

barrassment. And in view of the increasing difficulty of providing this protection for citizens through regular diplomatic channels, it was our duty to give this advice. And I think every member of the Security Council would agree that his country would do the same under similar circumstances.

Now, then, as the world knows, only yesterday morning the Cuban Government suddenly issued an order, without warning, that the United States Embassy should be reduced arbitrarily to 11 persons. All members of the Embassy above that number were summarily ordered to leave within 48 hours and were said by Prime Minister Castro to be engaged in "espionage."

Such hostile and provocative actions by the Cuban Government have long since destroyed the confidence and mutual respect which are essential to effective diplomatic relations and have made the maintenance of the United States Embassy in Habana impossible.

Events Inside Cuba

In our opinion, the leaders of the Cuban revolution have isolated their nation from the rest of the nations even though the representative of Cuba has boasted this morning that "We do not stand alone." They have isolated their nation at least from the rest of the Western Hemisphere, which were their natural friends, by their extreme thirst for power and domination and fanatical intolerance of any and all dissent. From this state of mind have flowed many tragic results:

The imposition of censorship and thought control;

The banning of all political parties except the Communists;

Summary justice by drumhead courts, which have arbitrarily caused hundreds to be put to death;

The consequent flight of many thousands of refugees, including many of Cuba's ablest citizens;

Economic troubles arising from irresponsible policies and a constant defection of political and economic leaders;

The official creation of a "Yankee Devil," whom the unfortunate Cuban people, including the smallest school children, are taught to fear and despise as being ready to invade their beloved fatherland;

An open advocacy of subversion and violent revolution throughout Latin America;

The mortgaging of Cuba's economic future for the purchase of large quantities of arms from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia;

The military mobilization of hundreds of thousands of Cubans;

And, finally, the gradual transformation of an increasingly insolvent Cuba into a political and economic dependency of the Soviet Union and a springboard for Soviet ambitions in the Western Hemisphere.

I shall not dwell at length on the events inside Cuba, even though they are the real source of the turmoil. But since this Council, the Security Council, is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, something must be said about those aspects of Cuba's policy which have not only contributed to its moral isolation in the Western Hemisphere but have caused great dangers to peace in the region.

I began my remarks this afternoon, Mr. President, with a very brief description of the invasions which had taken place over the last 2 years, and we must all recognize, because it is openly avowed, that subversion in the Western Hemisphere is a definite policy of the Castro government. High officials of the Cuban Government have proclaimed that the Governments of Latin America do not represent the peoples of Latin America. On August 30, 1960, Prime Minister Castro said: "What happened in Cuba will some day happen in America." By that I suppose he meant the United States. "And if for saying this we are accused of being continental revolutionaries, let them accuse us. If for saying this we are accused of wanting there to be revolution in all of America, let them accuse us." I do not know of anything that could be much clearer than that.

But to nail down the last nail, 2 days later, on September 1, Foreign Minister Roa said that the Cuban revolution "will act as a springboard for all the popular forces of Latin America following a destiny identical to that of Cuba."

Role of International Communism

Now, if the rulers of Cuba set out by themselves to carry out such a policy, it would be dangerous enough. But it is made far more dangerous by the fact that it is openly espoused and abetted

by the entire international Communist movement and by the leaders of the Soviet Union. Just a month ago in Moscow the leaders of the Communist parties of the world, in their directive on worldwide Communist strategy, proclaimed that "the victory of the popular revolution in Cuba is a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America."

These words have been supported with weapons. I will not take the time of the Council to go through the listing of the types of weapons, of the military technicians that came with them, of the establishment of the huge civilian militia, far beyond the needs of defense and international security. But the Cuban program of disruption in Latin America under the Castro government is already well known. It is aimed at the establishment of regimes of the Castro-Communist mold.

I know that all of the members of the Council, Mr. President, do not need to be reminded that when the Castro government first came to power the people of the United States, the Government of the United States—now called various names by the Cuban representative—rejoiced. They rejoiced together with the Cuban people, who had been given promise after promise of a more wonderful day to come.

As I said earlier, it was not until they were sickened by the realization that many of these promises were empty, were not being fulfilled, and probably never would be that the very able lieutenants of Dr. Castro started gradually to move away and finally to turn their backs on the regime, to the extent that perhaps only two or three still remain, one of them Dr. Castro's brother and the other one not even a Cuban.

We of the United States are truly sorry that the great ideals as expressed by the leaders of the movement, I believe it is called, of the 26th of July, have been thus spurned by the existing regime in Cuba. For if they could have been followed through, if they could have come true, you never would have had anything like this meeting of the Security Council or the July meeting of the Security Council, or the speeches made in the General Assembly in September and in October.

We realize as much as anyone else the crying need on the part of the peoples of Latin America for true self-determination, and we can only deplore the fact that apparently this time the people of Cuba have been taken in by empty promises.

From the standpoint of the United States, as I said this morning, the charges brought today by the Foreign Minister of Cuba are empty, are groundless, are false, are fraudulent; and I suppose that in the lexicon of diplomacy one might find perhaps 40 or 50 other words to indicate that they are without basis in fact.

I ask the members of the Security Council to study the charges, to study the history of the relationships between Cuba and the United States over the past 2 years, which has become an open book to all of you Council members, and then to decide on the basis of merit as to whether these charges should be considered in a serious vein. We believe that they should not be.

We believe actually that there should be no resolution before this Council taking any cognizance of these charges whatever. I hope, Mr. President, that as we draw to the close of our deliberations on this particular item, this particular position as to resolutions will be recognized and supported by the great majority of the Council.

STATEMENT BY MR. BARCO, JANUARY 5

U.S./U.N. press release 3634

I wish to make one or two comments on several of the very interesting speeches that we have heard this afternoon. I say "interesting" because at least two of them represented a lack of content and a tone which, in view of the way in which this debate began, I find somewhat extraordinary and something to be noted well by this Council. I refer in particular to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Cuba and to the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union.

I feel that it is necessary and desirable that the members of the Council remember what this meeting began with. The Foreign Minister of Cuba alleged as the reason for these meetings that the United States was preparing to invade Cuba "within a few hours." Today he made a general attack on the United States with no submission of any evidence whatsoever of his previous allegation that the United States was going to invade Cuba "within a few hours." This is not the first time, members of the Council will remember, that the Foreign Minister of Cuba has made this kind of charge and on the basis of which he has obtained meetings of the Security Council and has

taken up the time of the General Assembly. I think that this is a matter which is of very serious concern to all those who are interested in truth, in the purposes of the United Nations, and in the obligations of all the members of the Security Council.

His vague statement we heard today, devoid of any evidence, does not belong in a Security Council meeting called for the purpose of considering such a serious allegation. It is an abuse of the privilege of coming here. It is an imposition on the good will of the members, and it subverts the seriousness of purpose of the Security Council. It is a device which should not be allowed.

The representative of the Soviet Union made one allegation in an otherwise rather extraordinary statement when he said that the breaking off of diplomatic relations by the United States was in itself a threat to Cuba of aggression from the United States. I find this in itself rather extraordinary coming from the representative of the Soviet Union, who knows what aggression is. He knows it as the representative of the Soviet Union. I find it rather extraordinary that he and the representative of Cuba have sought to make the breaking of diplomatic relations by the United States with Cuba something which is unconnected with the fact that the Cuban Government limited diplomatic representation of the United States to 11 and that this occurred before rupture of diplomatic relations by the United States and that they have further sought to imply that we in the United States had in some way restricted Cuba to 11 members of its diplomatic mission in the United States, which, of course, is not true. But it is typical of the type of statement that we hear from these representatives trying to distort the facts and the sequence of events.

I have one further thing to say about the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union. He expressed a viewpoint which, I submit, is not the viewpoint of other members of this Council. He can speak for himself and for his Government. If this is his viewpoint, very well. But I hope that he will not expect that others here accept as a summation of this debate and as a concluding note his rendition of the facts.

I think it is noteworthy that the representative of the Soviet Union ended up his statement with a quite mild approach, in view of the way in which this all began, a quite mild approach to the new

United States administration. I found this quite significant, but I would remind the representative of the Soviet Union that the American people are united and that our policy is consistent.

I would like to make one comment on the statement of you, Mr. President, as representative of the United Arab Republic, when you quoted from the New York *Times* editorial of January 3. The statement that you read is, quite true, a part of that editorial. I take no exception to it. It is in an editorial in which the New York *Times* expresses its own incredulity "that the Cubans can believe we are about to invade their island." Then, after some further comment, it says that, as you said, Mr. President, "This is the simple fact that the Cuban revolutionary leaders do sincerely believe in the danger of an armed attack some day or other from the United States."

Now, I can accept that there exist fantasies in the minds of the revolutionary leaders in Cuba, and the fact that they exist is something that needs to be dealt with. And I think that the New York *Times* editorial puts it in right perspective when it went on to say that it could help to lessen the tensions between us "if there were some way of persuading the Cuban leaders, and especially Premier Castro, that we have no intention of invading Cuba or of permitting an invasion from our shores."

I submit, Mr. President, that the best thing that this Council can do is to treat this utterly fantastic allegation with which the Cuban Foreign Minister came here in that spirit and to convince the representatives of Cuba that they are wrong.

It is in this spirit that I express our sympathetic understanding for the efforts of the representatives of Chile and Ecuador which, I feel, wisely have not been pressed.

I should like to conclude by saying that, as is always the case, the distinguished representative of China, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, put the question in proper perspective when he said this afternoon that the best thing that the Security Council could do when allegations of this kind are made is to pass a resolution which concludes, as is the case here, that they have not been substantiated. Certainly this is the viewpoint of the United States, and I feel that the Security Council could do well to ponder this question for the future if the Security Council is to remain an effective organ for peace. It should not allow the type of allega-

tion that we have heard here fall to the ground by the very presentation of those who have alleged it without pointing this out. This, as I say, would be the viewpoint of the United States. We are not pressing that on the Council. We think that it is clear to all.⁸

Letters of Credence

Ecuador

The newly appointed Ambassador of Ecuador Alejandro Teodoro Ponce Luque, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on January 3. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 1 dated January 3.

Nigeria

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Federation of Nigeria, Julius Momo Udochi, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on January 6. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 6 dated January 6.

U.S. Cites Evidence of Soviet and North Vietnamese Aid to Lao Rebels

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT OF JANUARY 3

Press release 2 dated January 3

The Department of State, in view of the seriousness of the current situation in Laos, considers it necessary to make generally available the information now in its possession concerning the extensive Soviet and north Vietnamese participation in the Communist military operations against the Royal Lao Government and the Lao people.¹

Since the withdrawal of Kong Le forces, accom-

panied by Pathet Lao units, from Vientiane on December 15, 1960, the Soviets and north Vietnamese Communists have been engaged in an extensive airlift of war material to the Communist forces in the general area of Vang Vieng, Phong Hong, and Sam Neua, and most recently in the operations around Xieng Khouang. Substantial numbers of north Vietnamese Communist personnel were also parachuted into and landed in these areas from Soviet and north Vietnamese aircraft.

While we do not know the exact total, hard evidence shows that Soviet and north Vietnamese transport aircraft since December 15 have made at least 180 sorties into Laos in support of the Kong Le/Pathet Lao forces. These aircraft consisted mostly of Soviet and north Vietnamese IL-14's (a Soviet-made aircraft comparable to the Convair).

These 180 sorties were in addition to the 34 known flights into the Vientiane airport between December 3 and December 14. As is known, during this period Soviet IL-14 aircraft introduced into the battle for Vientiane 105-mm. howitzers, ammunition, gasoline, combat rations, and other war material. North Vietnamese military personnel were also landed or parachuted in to augment Kong Le's forces outside Vientiane who were engaged in the battle for Vientiane.

The registration numbers of Soviet aircraft engaged in this airlift include 52042, 52051, 52065, 61797, 52008, 52043, 61796, 61798, and 61800. The last five of these aircraft were involved in the clandestine Soviet airlift in the Congo.

Soviet heavy transport aircraft have been transiting Communist China into the north Vietnamese cities of Hanoi and Haiphong, backing up the illegal airlift into Laos.

The chronology of this illegal Soviet and north Vietnamese airlift into Laos from December 15 is as follows:

Date	Location	Number of flights
Dec. 15	Vientiane-Vang Vieng . . .	1
16	Vientiane-Vang Vieng . . .	8
17	Vientiane-Vang Vieng . . .	1
18	Vientiane-Vang Vieng . . .	8
	Sam Neua	3
20	Vientiane-Vang Vieng . . .	1
23	Vientiane-Vang Vieng . . .	8
24	Vang Vieng	10
	Sam Neua	5
25	Vang Vieng	11
	Sam Neua	10
26	Vang Vieng	8
	Sam Neua	10
27	Vang Vieng	9
	Sam Neua	10

⁸ The Council adjourned on Jan. 5 without taking action.

¹ For a U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange of notes on the situation in Laos, see BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1961, p. 15; for Department statements of Dec. 31 and Jan. 1, see *ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1961, p. 76.

28	Vang Vieng	8
	Sam Neua	8
29	Vang Vieng	9
	Sam Neua	9
30	Vang Vieng	11
	Sam Neua	10
31	Vang Vieng	8
Jan. 1	Vang Vieng	10
2	Vang Vieng	8
Total		184

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT OF JANUARY 7

Press release 9 dated January 7

In September 1959 the Department of State issued a "White Paper" on Laos.² That paper described in detail the manner in which the Communists, directed and materially assisted from Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow, were working to obtain control over Laos through a combination of diplomatic maneuvers, political subversion, and guerrilla warfare.

Despite these Communist actions, Laos had been making steady progress in welding itself together as a nation. This progress was beginning to provide some degree of security against Communist subversion and political maneuver, and the Lao Army was achieving a capability adequate to deal with domestic Communist guerrillas. During 1958, 1959, and 1960, successive Lao governments under Prime Ministers Souvanna Phouma, Phoui Sananikone, Khou Abhay, and Prince Somsanith issued repeated public statements of Laos' intention to follow a policy of neutrality and of its determination to observe its international undertakings.

By July 1959 the Communists evidently had concluded that their opportunities for gaining control of Laos through subversion, propaganda, and small-scale guerrilla activity were being foreclosed by the country's increasing stability. In mid-July they launched a series of military actions on an increasingly expanded scale in the two northern provinces of Laos bordering on north Viet-Nam and Communist China. These actions were made possible through external direction and assistance. Then, following a Lao appeal to the United Nations, this Communist military advance terminated almost simultaneously with the ap-

pearance on the scene of a subcommittee of the Security Council,³ and every attempt was made by the Communists to erase evidences of external support.

When such support was withdrawn, Communist military activity subsided and the course of internal progress in Laos was resumed. Progress toward domestic stability and tranquillity continued until August 9, 1960, when the Kong Le coup plunged the country into chaos. Although originally there may have been some doubt concerning the inspiration for Captain Kong Le's action, his motivation and support, those doubts have been dispelled by the tragic events of the past few weeks. His initial collaboration with the Pathet Lao, including arming them from the Royal arsenals, his clandestine cooperation with foreign Communist governments, and the baneful effect on Laos are all now a matter of history.

This series of events culminated in the abandonment of the capital by the Prime Minister and most of his Cabinet, who fled the country between December 9 and December 15. They thus abandoned any realistic pretense of fulfilling their responsibilities as a government.

On December 8 most of the deputies of the National Assembly had taken advantage of the anti-Communist movement in Vientiane led by Colonel Kouprasith to escape from the capital, which since the coup of August 9 had come under increasing Communist control. These deputies subsequently went to Savannakhet, where they rejoined others who had managed to make their way there earlier. On December 12, the 38 deputies who had escaped unanimously voted censure of and no confidence in the Souvanna government, which was thereupon dismissed by the King's Royal Ordinance. On December 14 another Royal Ordinance appointed as the provisional government the government presided over by Prince Boun Oum. The end of the fighting in Vientiane made it possible for the King to call a meeting of the National Assembly in the capital, and on January 4 the Assembly gave a unanimous vote of confidence in the Boun Oum government.

Despite the above actions and immediately following Prince Souvanna's flight from Vientiane, the Soviets openly intervened by airlifting mili-

² A limited number of copies of a pamphlet entitled *The Situation in Laos* are available upon request from the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

³ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

tary supplies and personnel to the capital. Their planes, which had been bringing in foodstuffs and fuel, began unloading howitzers, mortars, and personnel to operate them. The result was the bloody struggle for the capital (December 13 to 16) between the Royal Lao forces and the Communist-supported rebels.

Following the withdrawal from Vientiane of Communist forces, the Soviets and Vietnamese Communists continued an extensive airlift of war materiel, including personnel, to rebel forces in the interior of the country. During the period December 15 through January 2, at least 180 sorties by transport aircraft were flown into Laos in support of these forces.

Such Communist intervention is of course directly related to the geographical position of Laos contiguous to Communist China and Communist north Viet-Nam and separating the Communist bloc from the rest of southeast Asia. Although the country is small, sparsely populated, militarily dwarfed by its Communist neighbors, and lacking in economic development, any evidence of its progress as an independent nation appears to cause frustration in Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow. This can only be due to the thwarted expansionist intent of the Communists, but the public expression of this frustration takes the form of an alleged fear of a threat from Laos. Anyone who has ever been in Laos can testify to the absurdity of such a fear.

It is obvious to all that Laos is not a military threat to any of its neighbors, least of all to the strong military regimes in north Viet-Nam and Communist China. It is equally obvious that Laos cannot defend itself alone against the various kinds of overt and covert attacks which north Viet-Nam and the Communist Chinese with Soviet aid can mount against it. Under these circumstances, Laos can remain independent only if the non-Communist nations of the world render the assistance it has requested to maintain its independence.

The United States, in pursuing its basic objective of insuring the right of free nations to preserve their independence, has furnished aid to Laos for some years. This aid is designed solely to provide the basic elements of internal order and of social and economic viability necessary for survival and the welfare of the Lao people. These efforts have been supplemented by help from other

friendly countries and from the United Nations.

United States aid has been extended to Laos within the framework of existing international agreements and at the request of the Royal Lao Government. No United States aid has been given except pursuant to agreements with that Government, nor has any been given without its knowledge and approval. This includes aid given to the Royal Lao Army during the recent premiership of Prince Souvanna Phouma. The Soviet Union's constant repetition of charges to the contrary in both its propaganda and official communications to other governments can only be explained as an effort to divert world attention from the Soviet Union's recent illegal deliveries of munitions and military supplies to pro-Communist rebels. No government of Laos has ever asked for these deliveries which the Soviet Union is airlifting to Laos in growing quantities.

Although the Communists' assertion that Laos threatens the security of the Communist world is incredible, much thought and effort have been given to assuring the Communists that Laos does not and cannot pose such a threat. In addition to repeated statements of neutrality, successive governments of Laos have again and again asserted that they would not permit the establishment of foreign military bases on its soil, except those permitted by the Geneva Agreements, and that they would not enter into any military pacts. For its part, the United States has often stated the fact that it was not engaged in building any military base there. The United States has never sought to persuade Laos to enter into a military alliance.

In fact, the Communists are under no such misapprehensions. It is clear that it is not fear of military attack from Laos which motivates Communist intervention but rather a determination to take over the country in line with the Communists' well-known and indeed oft-stated objective of ultimate global dominion. If Laos should be seized by the Communists, the effects could be far-reaching and the implication for other small and vulnerable states all too evident.

The United States believes that it can best contribute to a solution of the Laos problem:

First, by attempting to further international recognition and understanding of the true nature of Communist intentions and actions in Laos;

Second, by the United States itself continuing

clearly to show that it has no intention and no desire to establish a Western military position in Laos;

Third, by joining with other free nations to support and maintain the independence of Laos through whatever measures seem most promising.

The Lao nation is entitled to an opportunity which it has never really had since its birth to develop in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility, with an assurance that its national efforts will not be thwarted by predatory threats from without. The history of its struggles to date reveals the incontrovertible fact that there never has been any threat to the security of Laos but that which has come from its Communist neighbors. These efforts to undermine its national integrity have been insidious and constant.

The United States on its part has contributed considerable wealth and effort to help this new nation develop its economy and its social and political institutions. It is recognized that this effort is of little avail if the nation does not have the capability of protecting itself from attacks from without and the maintenance of security against disruptive influences from within. In the spirit of the Geneva Agreement which ended the war in Laos in 1954, and with the full cooperation and at the request of all successive governments, the United States has worked toward these objectives.

SEATO Council Representatives Consider Situation in Laos

Following is the text of a communique released at the close of a meeting of the Council Representatives of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization at Bangkok, Thailand, on January 4.

The Secretary General, Mr. Pote Sarasin, announced to the press that the Council Representatives met January 4 to consider the serious situation in Laos, in particular the events that had taken place there during the past week.

They noted with concern the reports of increasing supply of war materials by Soviet aircraft from North Vietnam to Communist rebel elements engaged in operations against the Royal Laotian Army and the people of Laos.

The Council Representatives were convinced

that the continuance of such intervention could only serve to promote diversion and civil war in Laos and lead to a situation which would imperil not only the integrity of the Kingdom of Laos but also the security of neighboring countries.

The present situation could pose a grave threat to international peace and security. The Council Representatives felt that every effort should be made to find a solution by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Manila Treaty. At the same time, Mr. Pote Sarasin recalled the statement made on November 9¹ that all SEATO member countries remained determined to continue to develop and maintain their readiness to fulfill anywhere in the treaty area their obligations under the Manila pact.

The Council Representatives welcomed the convening of the Laos Assembly at Vientiane and expressed the hope that this would open the way to early reconciliation of all those elements in the Kingdom devoted to maintaining the integrity and genuine independence of their country.

U.S. Rejects Charges of Harassment of Soviet Ship "Faleshty"

Following is an exchange of notes between the United States and the Soviet Union.

TEXT OF U.S. NOTE²

Press release 5 dated January 5

JANUARY 4, 1961

The Department of State refers the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the note 138/OSA of December 20, 1960 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Embassy of the United States of America in Moscow alleging that an American destroyer carried out maneuvers in the Mediterranean Sea on November 4, 1960 which seriously endangered the Soviet ship *Faleshty*, and wishes to state the following.

A careful investigation of the facts has clearly

¹ Not printed here.

² Delivered to the Soviet Embassy at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 4.

established that the American ship which passed the *Faleshty* on November 4 did not carry out any provocative maneuvers. No alerts were sounded for a mock attack, as alleged in the Ministry's note, nor did the American ship ever approach the *Faleshty* in such a way as to endanger the Soviet ship.

It is common practice for ships moving in international waters to establish mutual identification. This, the investigation clearly showed, was the full extent of the American vessel's action.

Under the circumstances, the Government of the United States rejects the Soviet Government's charges.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 4, 1961.

TEXT OF SOVIET NOTE

Unofficial translation

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. expresses its respects to the Embassy of the United States of America and on instructions of the Soviet Government has the honor to state the following:

The Soviet cargo motor vessel *Faleshty* of the Black Sea State Shipping Agency en route from Marseille to Odessa on November 4 at 1100 hours—Moscow time—

was met in the Mediterranean by Destroyer No. 817 of the U.S. Navy in an area of 42°30'6" North latitude and 6°41'1" East longitude. The American destroyer for some time followed a parallel course and then approached the Soviet ship more closely. After reaching a distance some 3 to 4 miles off the motorship *Faleshty*, the destroyer made several turns and then again took a course approaching the Soviet ship.

After the American destroyer reached a distance of some 70–80 meters offside the Soviet ship and still continued coming closer to it, the captain of the motor vessel was forced to stop the engines to prevent a collision. It could be seen from the motor vessel that an alert had been sounded on the destroyer and that as a result the crew had manned the guns. Those maneuvers of the American destroyer, which continued for 1 hour, were carried out dangerously close to the Soviet motorship and constituted a serious danger to both the motor vessel and to its crew.

The actions of the American destroyer with respect to the Soviet merchant ship *Faleshty* cannot be classified but as provocative, and as measures violating the principles of freedom of navigation in the open sea and scorning the elemental principles of international law.

Directing attention to the provocative actions of the American destroyer toward the Soviet merchant motorship *Faleshty*, the Soviet Government demands that persons responsible for these actions be rigorously punished and that the U.S. Government take proper measures so that similar actions toward Soviet merchant ships will not be allowed to take place in the future.
Moscow, December 20, 1960

United States Proposes Abolition or Reduction of U.S. and Soviet Travel Restrictions

Press release S dated January 6

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

In a note delivered on January 6 to the Soviet Ambassador at Washington, the United States proposes that representatives of the two Governments meet in the near future to discuss the abolition or reduction of the travel restrictions maintained by the U.S.S.R. and the United States. The note reviews the repeated efforts made during recent years by the United States Government to achieve the abolition or reduction of these restrictions and points out the failure of the Soviet Government to respond to these initia-

tives, despite its professed willingness to discuss the question. The note describes the arbitrary manner in which the Soviet Government administers its travel restrictions and concludes that this contrasts sharply with the Soviet Government's professed desire to better relations significantly with the United States, since maintenance by the Soviet Union of the closed area system on so large a scale can only contribute to fostering suspicions and promoting tensions. The note also takes account of the changes made in the Soviet system of closed areas on August 18, 1959, and informs the Soviet Government of amendments made in U.S. travel regulations as a consequence.

JANUARY 6, 1961

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [Mikhail A. Menshikov] and has the honor to refer to note No. 485/Pr of August 18, 1959, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Embassy of the United States of America at Moscow which contained new restrictions applicable to foreigners traveling in the U.S.S.R. Reference is also made to the notes from the Secretary of State to the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of January 3, 1955¹ and November 11, 1957,² which establish regulations concerning travel by Soviet citizens in the United States comparable to those previously imposed by the Soviet Government on the movement of citizens of the United States in the Soviet Union.

The United States Government first instituted a system of closed areas on January 3, 1955, as a result of the absence of any indication that the Soviet Government was willing to relax substantially its long-standing travel restrictions which have been in effect since 1941. The Department's note of that date stated that, if the Soviet Government should liberalize its regulations restricting the travel of United States citizens in the Soviet Union, the United States Government would be disposed to reconsider its regulations. In the six years that have passed since that date, the United States has on a number of occasions reiterated its desire for mutual abolition of closed areas. For a short while in 1957, it appeared that the Soviet Government might consider reducing the barriers to travel. In its note of August 28, 1957,³ to the American Embassy at Moscow, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that "it is ready to discuss with the Embassy the question of the exclusion from the list of cities and localities in the U.S.S.R. forbidden for visits by foreigners of a number of cities and localities in the U.S.S.R. on a basis of reciprocity." The expectation raised by this note unfortunately was not fulfilled.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 31, 1955, p. 193.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1957, p. 934.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, p. 936.

In reply to the Ministry's note, the Department on November 11, 1957, reiterated the United States Government's desire for abolition of closed zones and proposed such an abolition. There was no reply to this note. On May 22, 1958, the Department addressed a new note⁴ to the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which offered concrete proposals for a mutual reduction of closed areas in the absence of an agreement to abolish restricted zones completely. This proposal also went without reply. On August 19, 1958, the Department once more reminded the Embassy that no response had been received to the United States proposals for easing travel restrictions.⁵ No reply was received to this note. On a number of occasions since August 1958 the subject has been raised with Soviet officials by United States representatives. As of the present time, despite its professed willingness to discuss the travel restrictions question, the Soviet Government has still not even acknowledged the proposals of the United States Government.

In the most recent amendments to the Soviet closed areas restrictions on August 18, 1959, the Soviet Government opened several cities as well as a remote part of the Soviet Arctic. The same regulations, however, provided for the closing of four of the largest cities in the U.S.S.R. and 30,000 square miles of territory.

The regulations contained in the Department's notes of January 3, 1955 and November 11, 1957 as amended have therefore been revised as indicated in the enclosure. The Soviet Government will note that the areas closed in the United States continue to be reciprocal for those closed in the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet note of August 18, 1959 was not a direct response to the various United States proposals cited above, certain changes were made which correspond to changes proposed in the Department's note of May 22, 1958. The United States Government is willing, therefore, to honor the commitment contained in the note of May 22, 1958 by opening for travel by Soviet citizens the city of Newark, New Jersey and a direct highway from Baltimore, Maryland to Niagara Falls, New York.

Not only has the Soviet Government remained unwilling to discuss the abolition or reduction of

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, June 16, 1958, p. 1007.

⁵ For text of a note, see *ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1958, p. 385.

its impediments to free travel, but the Soviet authorities have periodically applied travel restrictions in such a way as to close areas that are supposedly open. This practice of "temporarily" closing an area has on occasion reached the extent of declaring the whole of the Soviet Union "temporarily" closed, as was the case in the spring of 1959. The city of Vorkuta was "temporarily" closed year after year until it was officially closed on August 18, 1959. Parts of Central Asia and the Caucasus are regularly closed "temporarily" each year. On the basis of the official notifications of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, over 25 per cent of the Soviet Union is formally closed to travel by foreigners. In practice, this percentage is often considerably higher.

Thus the practice of the Soviet authorities is in sharp contrast with the stated willingness of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to discuss reduction of closed areas as well as with the expressed desire of the Soviet Government to better relations significantly between the two countries. The United States Government finds it difficult to believe that the continued closing of such large parts of the Soviet Union, which precludes any possibility of contact between the people living in these areas with people from the rest of the world, is conducive to an improvement in the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States. On the contrary, the maintenance of the closed area system on so large a scale can only contribute to fostering suspicions and promoting tensions.

The Government of the United States reiterates its firm preference for the mutual abolition of closed zones. If, however, the Soviet Government is not prepared at this time to abolish its closed areas, the United States Government would agree to a partial easing of travel restrictions through the opening of at least some areas on a reciprocal basis. It proposes, therefore, that representatives of the two Governments meet at an early date to discuss this question on the basis of the United States proposals of November 11, 1957 and May 22, 1958, as well as on the basis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs note of August 28, 1959 and of any other proposals which the Soviet Government may wish to make.

Enclosure:

Areas Closed to Travel by
Soviet Citizens in Possession
of Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics Passports

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 6, 1961.

**AREAS CLOSED TO TRAVEL BY SOVIET CITIZENS
IN POSSESSION OF UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS PASSPORTS.**

(This list replaces the lists of closed areas contained in the Department's notes of January 3, 1955 and November 11, 1957, as amended.)

**A. Border Zones Closed to Travel by Soviet Citizens
in Possession of U.S.S.R. Passports**

1. USA-Canadian Border

In addition to the shores of the Great Lakes included within closed areas, the following lake shores are closed by a band fifteen miles wide in the states and counties listed:

a. *Lake Superior*: Minnesota—Cook, Lake, St. Louis; Wisconsin—Douglas, Bayfield, Ashland, Iron; Michigan—Gogebic, Ontonagon, Houghton, Keweenaw, Baraga, Marquette, Alger, Luce, and Drummond Island.

b. *Lake Michigan*: Michigan—Emmet.

c. *Lake Huron*: Michigan—Cheboygan, Presque Isle, Alpena, Arenac.

d. *Lake Erie*: Ohio—Lake, Ashtabula.

2. USA-Mexican Border

In addition to San Diego County, California and Cochise County, Arizona, the Mexican border is closed by a band fifteen miles wide except for that portion of the border which falls in Webb County, Texas.

**B. States and Counties Closed to Travel by Soviet
Citizens in Possession of U.S.S.R. Passports**

Alabama: Baldwin, Calhoun, Coffee, Colbert, Dale, Etowah, Geneva, Jefferson, Lamar, Lauderdale, Limestone, Madison, Mobile, Pickens, Russell.

Alaska:⁶ Aleutian Islands, Islands in the Bering Sea, Kodiak Island.

Arizona: Cochise, Maricopa, Mohave, Yavapai.

Arkansas: Cleburne, Conway, Crittenden, Cross, Faulkner, Grant, Jefferson, Lee, Lonoke, Mississippi, Monroe, Prairie, Pulaski, Saline, St. Francis, Van Buren, White, Woodruff.

California: Alameda, Butte, Contra Costa,⁷ Kern, Los Angeles,⁸ Madera (except for Yosemite Park), Mariu

⁶ Also closed is a band 15 miles wide running from Nushagak Peninsula north along the Bering Sea and east along the Arctic Ocean to the border of Canada.

⁷ Closed except for that portion which lies less than 25 air miles from San Francisco.

⁸ As detailed in Part D.

(except for Muir Woods National Monument). Merced, Monterey, Napa, Orange, Riverside, Sacramento, San Benito, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Joaquin, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Solano, Sonoma, Stanislaus, Sutter, Ventura.

Colorado: Adams, Alamosa, Arapahoe, Boulder, Clear Creek, Costilla, Custer, Douglas, Elbert, El Paso, Fremont, Gilpin, Huerfano, Jefferson, Larimer (except for Rocky Mountain National Park), Park, Pueblo, Teller, Weld.

Connecticut: Fairfield,⁹ Hartford, Litchfield, Middlesex, New London, Tolland, Windham.

Delaware: Kent, New Castle.

Florida: Bay, Brevard, Broward, Calhoun, Dade, Duval, Escambia, Flagler, Holmes, Indian River, Jackson, Martin, Monroe, Nassau, Okaloosa, Orange, Osceola, Palm Beach, St. Johns, St. Lucie, Santa Rosa, Seminole, Volusia, Walton, Washington.

Georgia: Bibb, Bryan, Bulloch, Burke, Calhoun, Camden, Chatham, Chattahoochee, Cobb, Columbia, Crawford, De Kalb, Dougherty, Effingham, Elbert, Fulton, Glynn, Hart, Houston, Jenkins, Jones, Lee, Liberty, Lincoln, Lumpkin, McIntosh, Mitchell, Monroe, Peach, Richmond, Screven, Terrell, Twiggs, Wilkerson, Worth.

Idaho: Ada, Bingham, Bonneville, Butte, Clark, Fremont, Jefferson, Madison, Owyhee, Teton.

Illinois: Du Page, Edgar, Kane, Lake, Massac, McHenry, Pulaski, Vermilion.

Indiana: Adams, Allen, Benton, Blackford, Boone, Carroll, Cass, Clay, Clinton, Dearborn, Decatur, De Kalb, Delaware, Elkhart, Fayette, Fountain, Franklin, Fulton, Grant, Hamilton, Hancock, Hendricks, Henry, Howard, Huntington, Jasper, Jay, Johnson, Kosciusko, Lagrange, Lake, La Porte, Madison, Marion, Marshall, Miami, Montgomery, Morgan, Newton, Noble, Ohio, Owen, Parke, Porter, Pulaski, Putnam, Randolph, Rush, St. Joseph, Shelby, Starke, Steuben, Tipton, Union, Vermillion, Vigo, Wabash, Warren, Wayne, Wells, White, Whitley.

Iowa: Harrison.

Kansas: Butler, Chase, Cloud, Coffey, Cowley, Dickinson, Douglas, Ellsworth, Harvey, Jackson, Jefferson, Kingman, Lincoln, Lyon, Marion, McPherson, Morris, Osage, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Reno, Rice, Saline, Sedgwick, Shawnee, Sumner, Wabaunsee.

Kentucky: Anderson, Ballard, Boone, Bourbon, Boyle, Bracken, Breckinridge, Bullitt, Butler, Caldwell, Calloway, Campbell, Christian, Clark, Crittenden, Daviess, Edmonson, Estill, Fayette, Franklin, Garrard, Grant, Grayson, Green, Hancock, Hardin, Harrison, Hart, Henderson, Henry, Hopkins, Jackson, Jefferson, Jessamine, Kenton, Larue, Livingston, Logan, Lyon, Madison, Marshall, Meade, Mercer, Muhlenberg, McLean, McCracken, Nelson, Nicholas, Ohio, Oldham, Owen, Pendleton, Robertson, Scott, Shelby, Spencer, Todd, Trigg, Trimble, Union, Washington, Webster, Woodford.

Louisiana: Acadia, Ascension, Assumption, Caddo, Calcasieu, Cameron, De Soto, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, Iberia, Iberville, Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Lafourche, Livingston, Plaquemines, Pointe

Coupee, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. Helena, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Martin, St. Mary, St. Tammany, Tangipahoa, Terrebonne, Vermilion, West Baton Rouge, West Feliciana.

Maine: Androscoggin, Aroostook, Cumberland, Hancock, Knox, Penobscot, Sagadahoc, Waldo, Washington, York.

Maryland: Anne Arundel,¹⁰ Baltimore, Calvert, Carroll, Cecil, Charles, Frederick, Harford, Howard, Kent, Queen Annes, St. Marys, Washington.

Massachusetts: Barnstable, Berkshire, Bristol, Dukes, Essex, Franklin, Hampden, Hampshire, Middlesex,¹¹ Nantucket, Norfolk,¹¹ Plymouth, Worcester.

Michigan: Alcona, Bay, Chippewa, Genesee, Huron, Iosco, Lapeer, Livingston, Mackinac, Macomb, Midland, Monroe, Oakland, Saginaw, St. Clair, Sanilac, Shiawassee, Tuscola, Wayne.

Minnesota: Polk.

Mississippi: Clay, Jackson, Lowndes, Monroe, Oktibeha.

Missouri: Benton, Cooper, Johnson, Morgan, Pemiscot, Pettis, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Louis City.

Montana: Beaverhead, Cascade, Chouteau, Deer Lodge, Fergus, Golden Valley, Judith Basin, Lewis and Clark, Silver Bow, Teton, Wheatland.

Nebraska: Butler, Cass, Douglas, Gage, Johnson, Otoe, Saline, Sarpy, Saunders, Seward, Washington, York.

Nevada: Clark, Lincoln, Nye.

New Hampshire: Hillsboro, Rockingham, Strafford.

New Jersey: Burlington, Camden, Cape May, Cumberland, Essex, Gloucester, Hunterdon, Middlesex,¹² Monmouth,¹² Morris,¹² Ocean, Passaic,¹² Salem, Somerset, Sussex, Union, Warren.

New Mexico: Bernalillo, Chaves, Lincoln, Los Alamos, Otero, Rio Arriba, Sandoval, Sante Fe, Sierra, Socorro, Taos, Torrance.

New York: Albany, Cayuga, Chenango, Cortland, Delaware, Erie, Franklin, Fulton, Hamilton, Herkimer, Jefferson, Lewis, Madison, Monroe, Montgomery, Nassau,¹³ Niagara, Oneida, Onondaga, Orange, Orleans, Oswego, Otsego, Schenectady, Schoharie, Seneca, St. Lawrence, Suffolk, Wayne.

North Carolina: Cumberland, Duplin, Greene, Harnett, Hoke, Johnston, Lenoir, Sampson, Wayne, Wilson.

North Dakota: Grand Forks, McHenry, McKenzie, Mountrail, Renville, Walsh, Ward, Williams.

Ohio: Allen, Ashland, Auglaize, Butler, Champaign, Clark, Crawford, Cuyahoga, Darke, Defiance, Delaware, Erie, Franklin, Fulton, Greene, Hamilton, Hancock, Hardin, Henry, Huron, Jackson, Logan, Lorain, Lucas,

¹⁰ Closed except for that portion south of U.S. 50 and South River.

¹¹ Closed except for those portions of these counties which lie less than 25 air miles from the center of Boston, Mass.

¹² Closed except for those portions of these counties which lie less than 25 air miles from the center of New York, N.Y.

¹³ Closed except for the Oyster Bay area north of Route 25A and the beach area south of Route 27.

⁹ Closed except for that portion of the county west of Route 33.

Madison, Marion, Medina, Mercer, Miami, Montgomery, Morrow, Ottawa, Paulding, Pickaway, Pike, Preble, Putnam, Richland, Ross, Sandusky, Seioto, Seneca, Shelby, Stark, Summit, Union, Van Wert, Wayne, Williams, Wood, Wyandot.

Oklahoma: Beekham, Caddo, Canadian, Cleveland, Comanche, Cotton, Creek, Garvin, Grady, Greer, Harmon, Jackson, Jefferson, Kay, Kiowa, Logan, McClain, Noble, Oklahoma, Osage, Pawnee, Stephens, Tillman, Tulsa, Washington, Washita.

Oregon: Clatsop, Columbia, Coos, Hood River, Multnomah.

Pennsylvania: Adams, Allegheny, Armstrong, Beaver, Bedford, Berks, Blair, Butler, Cambria, Carbon, Chester, Columbia, Cumberland, Dauphin, Delaware, Fayette, Franklin, Fulton, Greene, Huntingdon, Indiana, Juniata, Lackawanna, Lancaster, Lawrence, Lebanon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Mercer, Mifflin, Monroe, Montgomery, Montour, Northampton, Northumberland, Perry, Pike, Schuylkill, Snyder, Somerset, Union, Washington, Westmoreland, York.

Rhode Island.

South Carolina: Aiken, Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Colleton, Dorchester, Hampton, Jasper, Orangeburg.

South Dakota: Butte, Custer, Harding, Lawrence, Meade, Pennington, Perkins.

Tennessee: Anderson, Bedford, Bledsoe, Blount, Bradley, Campbell, Cannon, Cheatham, Clay, Coffee, Cumberland, Davidson, De Kalb, Dickson, Dyer, Fentress, Franklin, Giles, Grundy, Hamilton, Hickman, Houston, Humphreys, Jackson, Knox, Lauderdale, Lawrence, Lewis, Lincoln, Loudon, McMinn, Macon, Marion, Marshall, Maury, Meigs, Monroe, Montgomery, Moore, Morgan, Overton, Perry, Pickett, Polk, Putnam, Rhea, Roane, Robertson, Rutherford, Scott, Sequatchie, Sevier, Smith, Stewart, Sumner, Trousdale, Union, Van Buren, Warren, Wayne, White, Williamson, Wilson.

Texas: Anderson, Aransas, Armstrong, Austin, Bastrop, Bell, Bexar, Bowie, Brazoria, Brazos, Burleson, Caldwell, Calhoun, Callahan, Camp, Carson, Cass, Chambers, Cherokee, Collingsworth, Colorado, Comal, Dallam, Dallas, Deaf Smith, Delta, Denton, De Witt, Donley, Ellis, Falls, Fayette, Fort Bend, Franklin, Freestone, Galveston, Goliad, Gonzales, Gray, Gregg, Grimes, Guadalupe, Hansford, Hardin, Harris, Harrison, Hartley, Hays, Hemphill, Henderson, Hill, Hopkins, Hutchinson, Jackson, Jefferson, Johnson, Jones, Karnes, Kaufman, Lamar, Lavaca, Lee, Leon, Liberty, Limestone, Lipscomb, Madison, Marion, Matagorda, Milam, Montgomery, Moore, Morris, Navarro, Nolan, Ochiltree, Oldham, Orange, Pauola, Parker, Politer, Rains, Randall, Red River, Refugio, Roberts, Robertson, Rockwall, Runnels, Rusk, San Jacinto, Shackelford, Shelby, Sherman, Smith, Tarrant, Taylor, Titus, Travis, Upshur, Van Zandt, Victoria, Walker, Waller, Washington, Wharton, Wheeler, Williamson, Wilson, Wood.

Utah: Salt Lake, Tooele, Utah.

Vermont: Chittenden, Grand Isle, Lamoille.

Virginia: Aecomack, Clarke, Fauquier, Floyd, Frederick, Gloucester, Isle of Wight, King George, Loudoun, Mont-

gomery, Nansemond, Norfolk, Northampton, Page, Pulaski, Princess Anne, Prince William, Rappahannock, Richmond, Shenandoah, Southampton, Stafford, Warren, Warwick, Westmoreland, Wythe, York.

*Washington.*¹⁴

West Virginia: Berkeley, Brooke, Hancock, Jefferson, Marshall, Ohio.

Wisconsin: Kenosha, Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Racine.

Wyoming: Goshen, Laramie, Platte.

C. Cities in Otherwise Open Areas Which Are Closed to Travel by Soviet Citizens in Possession of U.S.S.R. Passports

Ashland, Kentucky
Charleston, West Virginia
Charlestown Area of Boston, Massachusetts
Haines, Alaska
Huntington, West Virginia
Kalamazoo, Michigan
Memphis, Tennessee
Ravenna, Ohio
Renton, Washington
Seward, Alaska
Skagway, Alaska
Steubenville, Ohio
Youngstown, Ohio

D. Cities in Otherwise Closed Areas Which Are Open to Travel by Soviet Citizens in Possession of U.S.S.R. Passports

Anaheim, California
Austin, Texas
Baltimore, Maryland
Berkeley, California
Boise, Idaho
Boulder, Colorado
Buffalo, New York
Camden, New Jersey
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Cleveland, Ohio
Colorado Springs, Colorado
Columbus, Ohio
Dearborn, Michigan
Denver, Colorado
Elizabeth, New Jersey
El Paso, Texas
Flint, Michigan
Fort Wayne, Indiana
Fort Worth, Texas
Gatlinburg, Tennessee
Gary, Indiana
Hammond, Indiana

¹⁴ Closed except for those portions of King County which lie less than 25 air miles from the center of Seattle and including city of Seattle but excluding Renton.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
 Jacksonville, Florida
 Knoxville, Tennessee
 Lawrence, Kansas
 Lenox, Massachusetts
 Little Rock, Arkansas
 Los Angeles, California¹⁵
 Lynn, Massachusetts
 Marblehead, Massachusetts
 Metuchen, New Jersey
 Miami, Florida
 Miami Beach, Florida
 Murray Hill, New Jersey
 Nashville, Tennessee
 New Brunswick, New Jersey
 New Orleans, Louisiana¹⁶
 Newark, New Jersey
 Niagara Falls, New York
 Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
 Omaha, Nebraska
 Palo Alto, California
 Portland, Oregon
 Providence, Rhode Island
 Reading, Pennsylvania
 Sacramento, California
 Saginaw, Michigan
 Salt Lake City, Utah
 San Antonio, Texas
 San Jose, California
 Savannah, Georgia¹⁶
 Shreveport, Louisiana
 South Bend, Indiana
 Spokane, Washington
 Stockbridge, Massachusetts
 Swampscott, Massachusetts
 Syracuse, New York
 Topeka, Kansas
 Tulsa, Oklahoma
 Utica, New York
 Worcester, Massachusetts

¹⁵ The following portions of the City of Los Angeles and adjacent Los Angeles County are open: Pacific Ocean between Manchester Avenue (Route 10) and Topanga Canyon Road (Route 27); Topanga Canyon Road (Route 27) to Ventura Road (Route 101); Ventura Road (Route 101) to Sherman Oaks, thence Route 134; Route 134 along San Fernando Boulevard and Colorado Boulevard to Verdugo Road (Route 2); Route 2 to Little Jimmy Spring area in Angeles National Forest, then by a line running south to Crystal Lake Recreation Area in Angeles National Forest on Route 39; Route 39 to San Bernardino Road (Routes 60, 70 and 99); Routes 60, 70, 99 to Rosemead Boulevard (Route 19); Route 19 to Santa Anna Freeway (Route 101); Route 101 to Slauson Boulevard; Slauson Boulevard to Sepulveda Boulevard (Route 101A); Route 101A to Manchester Avenue (Route 10); Manchester Avenue (Route 10) to Pacific Ocean.

¹⁶ Open except for port areas of these cities.

E. Specified Routes of Automotive Transit Through Areas Closed to Travel by Soviet Citizens in Possession of U.S.S.R. Passports

1. From Washington, D.C., and return:
 - a. To Baltimore via U.S. Route No. 1 or Washington-Baltimore Expressway.
 - b. To Morgan County, West Virginia, via Virginia Route No. 7 and Route No. 9.
 - c. To Spotsylvania County, Virginia, via U.S. Route No. 1.
 - d. To Maryland Eastern Shore counties via U.S. Route No. 50.
2. From Baltimore, Maryland, to New York, New York, and return through Farnhurst, Delaware, via U.S. Route No. 40 and New Jersey Turnpike.
3. From New York, New York, and return:
 - a. To Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., (See 1 and 2 above).
 - b. To the Oyster Bay, New York, area via Route 25D and Glen Cove Road.
 - c. To Sullivan County, New York, via Highway 17 across Orange County.
4. From Baltimore, Maryland, to Niagara Falls, New York: U.S. Highway 111 from Baltimore to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, U.S. Highway 15 from Harrisburg to edge of open zone south of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, New York State Thruway from east edge of Erie County, New York, to Buffalo, New York. New York Highway 266 and New York State Thruway, Buffalo to Niagara Falls.
5. U.S. Route 1 between New York and Philadelphia and intermediate open points.
6. New Jersey 73 between Interchange No. 4 on the New Jersey Turnpike and Philadelphia.
7. New Jersey Route 38 between Camden and the intersection of New Jersey 38 and New Jersey 73 east of Camden.
8. New Brunswick, New Jersey—access by New Jersey Turnpike to the New Brunswick tollgate, New Jersey 18 to New Brunswick.
9. Metuchen, New Jersey—access by U.S. 1 from New York or Philadelphia to New Jersey 501, New Jersey 501 to Metuchen.
10. Murray Hill, New Jersey—access from Elizabeth via New Jersey 82 past Springfield, southwest via New Jersey 512, to New Providence, southeast from New Providence to Murray Hill.
11. Lenox and Stockbridge, Massachusetts—by Interstate Highway 90 and U.S. 7 from New York State.
12. Chicago to Western Illinois—Congress Street Expressway, East-West Tollway, Route 30 across Du Page County.
13. Across Northern Ohio via the Ohio Turnpike.
14. Across Northern Indiana via the Indiana Toll Road.
15. Knoxville to Gatlinburg, Tennessee—U.S. Highway 441.
16. Kansas City, Kansas, to Lawrence, Kansas—Kansas Turnpike.

17. Denver to Boulder, Colorado—Denver-Boulder Toll Road.

18. San Francisco to Berkeley—via the Bay Bridge.

19. Los Angeles to Anaheim, California, by U.S. Highway 101.

20. Muir Woods, California, from San Francisco by U.S. Highway 101, California Highway 1, Panoramic Highway and Muir Woods Road.

SOVIET NOTE OF AUGUST 18

No. 485/Pr

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassies and Missions and has the honor to communicate that the following changes have been made in the lists of places and localities in the U.S.S.R. closed to visits by foreigners which were transmitted previously:

1. Excluded from the List of places and localities of the U.S.S.R. closed to visits by foreigners are:

(a) the cities—Ashkhabad, Vilnyus, Erevan, Tallin (provided it is reached by the Leningrad-Tallin railroad), Batumi, Echmiadzin.

(b) the area of the Taşmyr National Okrug within the confines: to the south of the line formed by the south bank of the Khatanga Gulf, the Khatanga River, the Novaya River and the Yangoda River to its confluence with the Pyasina River; to the east of the line formed by the Pyasina River to the settlement of Kresty and the eastern edges of the lakes Keta and Khantayskoye.

2. Transit will be permitted on the automobile route Moscow-Brest.

3. To be added to the List of places and localities closed to visits by foreigners are:

Vorkuta

Gorki

Dnepropetrovsk

Kazan

Kuybyshev

the Kabardino-Balkarskaya A.S.S.R.

the island of Novaya Sibir

the territory of the Yamalo-Neenetskiy National Okrug of Tyumen Oblast in the area encompassed by the rivers Nyda, Nadym and Tanlova

the territory of the Yakutsk A.S.S.R. in the area encompassed by the rivers Tumara, Dyanyskha and Lena.

Moscow, 18 August 1959

To all Embassies and Missions,
Moscow.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

General Assembly

Note Verbale Dated 12 November 1960 From the Chairman of the Delegation of Sweden Addressed to the Secretary-General Concerning A/4558. A/4572. November 14, 1960. 3 pp.

Note Verbale Dated 14 November 1960 From the Chairman of the Norwegian Delegation to the General Assembly Addressed to the Secretary-General Concerning A/4558. November 14, 1960. 3 pp.

Question of Assistance to Libya

Communication dated October 13, 1960, from Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4576, November 14, 1960, 27 pp.;

Report of the Secretary-General. A/4575, November 15, 1960, 6 pp.

Question of the Future of Western Samoa. Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa, as adopted on October 28, 1960, transmitted by the Permanent Representative of New Zealand to the United Nations by note verbale of November 10, 1960, to the Secretary-General. A/C.4/454, November 15, 1960, 67 pp.; and Add. 1, November 30, 1960, 18 pp.

Letter Dated 18 November 1960 From the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba Addressed to the President of the General Assembly Concerning U.S. Naval Aid to Guatemala and Nicaragua. A/4581. November 19, 1960. 4 pp.

Opportunities for International Co-operation on Behalf of Former Trust Territories and Other Newly Independent States. Report of the Secretary-General. A/4585. November 22, 1960. 21 pp.

Letter Dated 25 November 1960 From the Representative of the United States Addressed to the Secretary-General Concerning Soviet Allegations Regarding West Germany. A/4595. November 26, 1960. 3 pp.

Letter Dated 25 November 1960 From the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom Addressed to the Secretary-General Concerning Soviet Allegations Regarding West Germany. A/4597. November 28, 1960. 3 pp.

Question of Hungary. Report of the U.N. Representative on Hungary. A/4606. December 1, 1960. 18 pp.

The Situation in the Republic of the Congo

Second progress report of the Special Representative in the Congo and exchange of messages between the Secretary-General and the Permanent Representative of Belgium and between the Secretary-General and Mr. Tshombe, President of the Provincial Government of Katanga. A/4557, November 2, 1960, 63 pp.;

Letter dated 11 November 1960 to the President of the General Assembly from Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo. A/4571, November 12, 1960, 4 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.

The Changing Position of Afghanistan in Asia

by Henry A. Byroade
Ambassador to Afghanistan

Although the cold war is generally understood to typify the rivalry between the Communist and free worlds, in fact the cold war assumes different aspects in different parts of the world. In Europe, for example, it is symbolized by a relatively closely defined frontier separating the open from the closed societies. Many Americans and, rather curiously, many Asians tend to force the same conceptual framework on the cold war in Asia. My own belief is that the cold war, as seen from Afghanistan, is only a metamorphosis of an older pattern of conflict.

Think of Afghanistan in the 18th and 19th centuries, surrounded by the advancing forces of Russia and Britain. In the exact center, Afghanistan remained relatively untouched, while the great imperial forces of the century whirled around it, one coming up through India, on the flanks through Iran, Kashmir, and even Tibet, while the other steadily and ruthlessly subjugated the Muslim states of central Asia. The Russians moved from Orenburg to Termez and Khushka and the British from Madras to Peshawar and Quetta, squeezing, always squeezing, but leaving the core more or less intact. Perhaps a more accurate figure of speech would be to compare Afghanistan to the eye of a storm or the vortex of a whirlpool.

Although the progress of the British northward is well known and well chronicled, we are apt to forget the progress of Russia through central Asia, perhaps because the old Russian Empire shared one trait with the Soviet Empire today—namely, a pathological obsession with secrecy. Although its authenticity has never been proved, I cannot forbear a reference to the alleged testament of Peter the Great, who epitomized the object of the Russian push by counseling his successors “to ap-

proach as near as possible to Constantinople and India. Whoever governs there will be the true sovereign of the world. Advance as far as India, which is the depot of the World. Arrived at this point we shall have no longer need for England’s gold.”

Whatever the validity of Peter’s will, it is a fact that, after taking the Caucasian peninsula early in the 19th century, the Russians moved by force to take Samarkand, Tashkent, and Turkestan in the 1860’s, Khiva in 1873, and by the turn of the century had extended their influence to the Oxus River north of Afghanistan. Although the Russians occasionally sought to extend their influence into Afghanistan, and fluctuating British home policy resulted in two aberrational thrusts into Afghanistan, that country was generally squeezed but not swallowed.

Finally, in 1907, the Afghan position in the eye of the storm was formalized in the Anglo-Russian convention which sought, in the face of a rising German militarism, to stabilize the Russian and British spheres of influence in Asia. Persia was divided into spheres of influence, Tibet was neutralized under titular Chinese suzerainty, and Russia declared Afghanistan to be outside her sphere of influence while Britain agreed not to annex or occupy Afghanistan.

After World War I the first sign of a changing pattern appeared when Britain returned to Af-

• *The above article is based on an address made by Ambassador Byroade at Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., on December 15, 1960.*

ghanistan control over its own foreign relations, thereby withdrawing British influence southward. At the same time, however, Russia—far from withdrawing—was advancing under the new Soviet leadership to consolidate its control over the Asian Muslim states, the last of which, Bokhara, was finally subjugated in 1922, just at the time the Soviet-sponsored Congress of the Peoples of the East, in Baku, was proclaiming the end of imperialism. In the face of overwhelming Soviet power, Afghanistan was compelled to abandon its support of Bokhara.

Finally, in 1947, the old pattern was broken up with the withdrawal of Britain from the subcontinent, the independence of India and Pakistan, and the rivalry between these two new states. With this change the old rules of the game were outmoded. Since 1947 Afghanistan has been seeking to cope with the changed circumstances. These changes are great.

A New Pattern in Afghanistan

The old bilateral pattern was simple. The Afghans may have resented the constriction it imposed, but they could rely on Britain and Russia to restrain each other. Now the pattern is complex and requires more vigilance. Now there are the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as Britain in a different and less omnipresent role, plus Iran, India, and Pakistan, not to mention Communist China hovering in the wings. The point is that the alternatives in a six- or eight-handed game of poker are more difficult to calculate than in a two-handed game of chess.

Not only is the new pattern more complex, but the old area balance has been upset. Whereas the southern flank became weaker by a massive devolution of power, the northern flank, monopolized by the totalitarian military power of the U.S.S.R., remained intact. Afghan neutrality before 1947 rested on the balance of British and Russian power, manifested right up to the frontiers of Afghanistan. The balance now has to be maintained, if Afghanistan is to remain neutral, by a combination of neighboring states and the power of the United States, admittedly great in Afghan eyes but also very, very far away by comparison.

One way of righting the balance would have been to encourage the military strengthening and political orientation toward the West of the countries south of the Soviet Union. Indeed, from

1949 to 1954, Afghanistan seemed inclined in that direction and sought both military aid and protection from the United States. However, contrary to the Communist legend that the United States is always busy forcing military aid and pacts on smaller nations, the United States was not yet prepared to undertake the organization of a military counterforce in the area. By 1954, therefore, lacking either military support or security ties with the United States, Afghanistan began casting about for another formula. The Soviet Union came along and provided it by offering military aid. In the same general period, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey took the initiative to create an alliance which sought and eventually received U.S. support. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Central Treaty Organization are manifestations of this effort to restore balance.

Superficially the organization of SEATO and CENTO might seem partially to restore the pre-war pattern, if not a precise balance, leaving Afghanistan in a position similar to the one it occupied before the war. Unfortunately this is not the case. The most pertinent fact in this connection is that, while Afghan relations with the U.S.S.R. since 1954 have become progressively closer and more deeply intertwined, some rather broad gulfs separate Afghanistan from its Muslim neighbors on the west, south, and east.

Afghan-Iranian relations are cordial enough but rather distant in view of the wide, desolate wastes which separate the main political and economic centers of the two countries. Relations also are marred by the fact that, in the one area where the two countries have a common interest which could and should be cooperatively developed, they are unable to come to agreement. I refer to the lower Helmand Valley and the lack of agreement between Afghanistan and Iran on the proper division of the waters of the Helmand River.

On the other side of Afghanistan, relations with Pakistan have become exceedingly chilly because of a dispute over the future of Pushtun tribes living outside of Afghanistan and across a frontier which has been internationally recognized for nearly 70 years. Clearly there are many problems in the administration of these tribes straddling the border, and there is ample room for cooperation between the two countries in the economic,

social, and cultural fields of development. Ironically enough, in some respects Afghanistan and Pakistan daily face identical problems in the tribal areas on their respective sides of the frontier and might well benefit from cooperation.

Another indigenous Afghan factor which changes the situation from prewar days is the Afghan determination to force the rate of national economic and social development as rapidly as possible. The historical origin and significance of Afghanistan's underdevelopment may be illustrated by changing the former analogy of a storm to that of a lamb roasting on a spit over a hot fire. The outside of the meat may be seared and blackened by the flames while the center remains raw. Thus did Asia revolve slowly through the political fires of the 18th and 19th centuries, while Afghanistan was left raw and undeveloped in the center. Turkestan, Bokhara, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia all suffered deeply from the fires of the last two centuries while the Arab states, Iran, Pakistan, India, and southeast Asia were sorely tried, but they all also profited in military, economic, social, and educational development, leaving Afghanistan at a relative disadvantage.

From one point of view this is the price Afghanistan paid for the insulated hermit-like freedom it maintained during the earlier centuries, a freedom which was dependent as much on the balance of two world forces as it was upon Afghanistan's own policies. Some might say that the price was worth paying, and some of the most traditionalist Afghans probably would be willing to go on paying the price of underdevelopment in return for a kind of cocoon-like independence behind mountainous barriers. It is at least doubtful that this would be possible. In any event it is not the policy of the Afghan Government, which, on the contrary, feels almost obsessively the need to catch up with its neighbors.

Afghans realize that this underdevelopment dangerously exposes their country precisely at the time when it has suddenly been swept into the changing pattern of world forces. As they see it, Afghanistan is today surrounded by dynamic forces on every side. The rapid Russianization of the Muslim central Asian states to the north, the menacing posture of the beehive state, Communist China, the herculean efforts of India toward industrialization, the rapid development of Pakistan on the east and south, and the expanding economy

of Iran on the west—all symbolize the great distance Afghanistan must still run if she is to catch up. Situated in the middle of these dynamic forces, the people of Afghanistan can no longer accept the role of an underdeveloped trough between two great powers in rough balance, particularly since the old balance no longer exists, from a regional point of view at least, in the face of the devolution of power in south Asia as contrasted with the accelerated aggrandizement of power in the north.

This, then, is the framework within which it is useful to consider Afghanistan today. I suggest that now we narrow the focus and look briefly at what is occurring within the country itself.

Economic and Social Transformation

Over the past 5 years Afghanistan has made a dramatic response to the challenges presented by the great political and economic changes occurring in Asia. I believe that it can safely be said that the country has already emerged as an active element in the Middle East-South Asia complex of nation states.

The basis of this transformation was the adoption of a program of forced draft economic development, for which large-scale foreign aid was obtained. Another fundamental departure was the reequipping and modernization of the armed forces. At the same time the government encouraged far-reaching social changes, symbolized by the recently publicized lifting of the veil, and undertook the expansion and modernization of educational facilities, both in the general and technical fields. Modern techniques of public administration have gradually been introduced in the highly centralized bureaucracy which governs the country.

These changes add up to revolution—in the case of Afghanistan, revolution from above, for it has been the leaders of the present Government who have provided the impulse and set the course on which the country has embarked. Of necessity, so sweeping a program of economic and social change has been accompanied by a campaign to build up national unity. Press and radio stress the cultural and military heritage shared in common by the Afghan peoples, despite their diversity of languages and their multiple ethnic and tribal origins. While much is made of the past, at least equal or greater emphasis is placed on the present

and future needs of a developing state: education, technical training, hard work, and the cooperation of all ages and sexes in the tasks of development. Using the Pushtu-speaking tribes as the basis, the Government is endeavoring to impart a Pushtu character to this modern national state it is in the process of creating, replacing the Persian cast which had been deeply etched into it.

While much attention is understandably focused on Afghanistan's relations with her neighbors, it is also instructive to note the manner in which the Afghans are establishing a place in the broader international arena.

Over the past few years one or another of the emerging nation's top leaders have paid official visits to many of the world's capitals. King Zaher only recently completed state visits to the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, while during the past year President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Nehru of India, Prime Minister Sharif Emami of Iran, and West German Vice Chancellor Erhard, as well as Premier Khrushchev and other Communist bloc leaders, have been in Kabul. This partial list is indicative of the spreading range of diplomatic contacts which the Afghan Government now maintains. In increasing numbers lower level officials are complementing these top-level trips with technical and study missions abroad, while comparatively large numbers of Afghan students, a substantial proportion in the United States, are pursuing full courses of instruction in overseas universities.

These broadening contacts are not only indicative of the internal changes which have begun to shape Afghanistan into a modern state; they also underline the Afghan passion for independence and the continuing sense of self-identity which so sharply marks the Afghan character.

Changing Patterns of Trade

Just as Afghanistan's political role in the world is changing in accordance with postwar rearrangements of world forces, so is its economic role. Afghanistan's foreign trade has experienced a significant growth in the last 10 years. Its principal exports are fresh and dried fruits; furs, principally karakul or the so-called Persian lamb; raw cotton, wool, including some very fine cashmere; and carpets. Imports cover a wider range. Tea

and sugar loom large among imported foodstuffs. The largest import, however, has been textiles although this commodity will decrease in importance with increasing domestic production. Motor vehicles and spare parts and petroleum products are large items. Miscellaneous manufactures and consumer goods make up the balance.

This increase in total foreign trade has not occurred in equal proportions for all of Afghanistan's trading partners. Since 1954, especially, the share of the Soviet Union and its satellites has increased more than that of the free world. To an extent this trend is natural. In fact, prior to 1954 trade with the Soviet Union itself was surprisingly low in the light of the fact that the Soviet economy is somewhat complementary to that of Afghanistan. Afghanistan's other two neighbors have basic economies which are more or less parallel to Afghanistan's. So it is understandable that Pakistan is only Afghanistan's seventh most important trading partner and trade with Iran has been minimal.

Trade with and through Pakistan in recent years has been hampered occasionally by the general state of unsatisfactory political relationships existing between the two countries and by the inadequacy of Pakistan's port facilities and transportation system, severely overtaxed by its own development program. Thus the traditional route of outlet to the sea is slow and at times uncertain. Under these circumstances concessions, apparent or real, by the Soviet Union are attractive to Afghanistan. However, Soviet barter transactions have many flaws such as blocked accounts, limited range of selection of goods, low quality, and the ever-present danger that the Soviets may dump imported Asian products in the regular markets of the Asian countries.

Considering purely economic and geographical factors, it would appear natural for the Soviet Union to be one of Afghanistan's principal trading partners; yet we must never lose sight of the fact that in the Soviet Union foreign trade is merely an adjunct of foreign policy. Mr. Khrushchev himself has said that they value trade more for its political aspects than for its economic importance. So far there is no evidence that the U.S.S.R. has used its economic position to exert direct political pressure on Afghanistan. On the contrary it has made its offers more attractive with such devices as seemingly low prices arrived

at through artificial exchange rates, and by offering consumer goods on a consignment basis.

An Afghanistan excessively dependent on the U.S.S.R. as a source of supply and as a market for its exports would be highly vulnerable to a shift in Soviet foreign economic policy. For instance, Afghanistan already relies on the Soviet Union for an estimated 75 percent of its petroleum requirements and almost all of its imported sugar and matches, as well as a goodly proportion of its metallic building materials. On the export side the U.S.S.R. takes over 70 percent of Afghanistan's cotton exports and over 75 percent, by quantity, of wool exports. A shift in Soviet foreign economic policy could even now cause a serious temporary economic maladjustment in Afghanistan at a time when the Afghan Government is deeply committed to an all-out program of economic development.

The Soviet Union has chosen to make Afghanistan a battleground in the economic cold war. The free world faces a commercial challenge in this situation. The United States in particular, engaged in a vigorous export promotion program, cannot afford to ignore the market potential of Afghanistan as it has in the past. Not only do the smaller, less developed nations of the world collectively constitute an important market for American exports, but these same countries are all developing and will in time individually provide significant markets. American private business should begin to recognize Afghanistan as a distinct market area and attempt to promote sales. The U.S. trade mission last summer was a good step in this direction.

The fact that American-made products already enjoy a good, if limited, market in Afghanistan indicates acceptability. There is much evidence that Afghan importers prefer U.S. quality even on slightly stiffer terms. Afghanistan is not lost to the free world as a trading partner, but more vigorous sales activity is needed to maintain and strengthen our position. While the Soviet Union's totalitarian state-trading system has some tactical political advantages, the American free-enterprise system is in the long run a better and more reliable trading partner for Afghanistan.

Let me turn now to the keystone of the arch supporting the new Afghanistan now abuilding—foreign aid.

U.S. Aid to Afghanistan

First, American aid. The U.S. interest in Afghanistan is not limited by cold-war considerations. Our record shows a continuing basic interest in helping Afghanistan, along with other developing countries. We have not succeeded fully in convincing the Afghans that our real interest is to assist them as a nation and as a people for their own sake. I hope that we can find more effective ways to convince them that this is the case.

Let us look at the record. U.S. aid to Afghanistan actually began in 1950 with the first Export-Import Bank loan for Helmand Valley development. In 1952 the United States began a modest technical cooperation program. While these were small beginnings, they must be interpreted against the background of the times in which they occurred. From 1946 until 1952 U.S. aid had generally to be concentrated, because of the great need and danger to world peace, in areas and countries actually defending themselves against active Communist expansionism as revealed by Soviet efforts to absorb Azerbaijan in 1946, the Soviet-sponsored coup d'état in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1947, the Berlin blockade in 1948, and the Communist invasion of south Korea in 1950.

U.S. aid to Afghanistan has come from several sources. Before World War II the Afghan Government decided to embark upon a long-range irrigation and land reclamation project in the Helmand Valley, and it employed Japanese engineers to design and supervise the original plans. During World War II work in the Helmand Valley ceased, and after the war the Government, using its own funds, employed Morrison-Knudsen to expand and carry out the original project. The cost of the Helmand Valley development greatly exceeded the original estimates, and in 1950 on the application of the Afghan Government the Export-Import Bank made a loan of \$21 million to permit the Afghans to continue with the development of the valley. In 1954 another loan of \$18.5 million was made for the same purpose. Later, when we extended aid to Afghanistan under the Mutual Security Program, a part of our assistance was allocated to the Helmand Valley—to help the Afghans complete the project and realize adequate returns from it by assisting with the solution of drainage problems, combating salinity, and teaching the farmers how to use irri-

gation processes properly. While the concept of the Helmand Valley development is basically Afghan, U.S. financing and the employment of a U.S. contractor by the Afghans have tended to identify the United States closely with it.

In fiscal year 1952 the United States began very limited technical cooperation in Afghanistan by granting \$100,000 for an education program. Our technical assistance has gradually grown from that small beginning until, in fiscal year 1960, \$4.9 million was allocated and in the current year we are providing \$4 million for these programs. While we have aided the Afghans in a variety of fields, the technical cooperation program has concentrated on education, agriculture, and public administration. English has become the most important foreign language in Afghanistan, and a good part of our funds have been used to finance English-language teacher training. Technical assistance has also been given to Kabul University and to the Agricultural High School and the Afghan Institute of Technology. Since 80 to 90 percent of the people in Afghanistan are dependent on agriculture for a livelihood, our aid in agricultural research, improvement, and extension should, over a long period, help achieve a better standard of living for the people. And as a result of the introduction of new budgeting and accounting procedures by the public administration team financed by our program, the Government of Afghanistan has modernized its fiscal and accounting processes and in 1959-60 presented its first modern budget.

In fiscal year 1956 the U.S. Government extended its first "special assistance," that is, development assistance, to Afghanistan amounting to \$15.3 million. This special assistance was allocated principally to the air transportation project through which the United States helped the Afghans to establish their own airline, Ariana, and are helping them construct an international airport at Kandahar. While the airstrip has been completed and is being used, work on the secondary installations is still in progress, but Kandahar International Airport should be in full operation by 1962.

Another of the principal fields in which we have helped the Afghans with special assistance funds has been the building of an adequate internal road system. This is an essential part of their development program as there is no rail or water

transportation in the country. We are helping them pave the road from Kabul to the Pakistan border via Jalalabad. We have undertaken to design and will construct and pave the road from Kabul to Kandahar and then pave the existing road built by Morrison-Knudsen from Kandahar to the Pakistan border at Spin Baldak, thereby improving Afghanistan's links with the port of Karachi. We have also given some special assistance to the Helmand Valley project and in the fields of industry, mining, and education.

In 1953 the U.S. Government financed the purchase of wheat by Afghanistan by making it a loan of \$1.5 million. In both 1957 and 1958 we granted the Afghans 40,000 tons of wheat under title II of Public Law 480. In 1959 we granted them 50,000 tons of wheat under title II valued at about \$7 million a year. The funds derived from the sale of the wheat were used to meet local-currency costs of U.S.-supported projects in the country's development program, but this was accomplished only by receiving special permission from Washington to handle the wheat grants in this manner. The latest agreement, signed in November 1960,¹ provided for a grant of 50,000 tons of wheat under new legislation which permits the U.S. Government to help landlocked countries by paying freight to the point of entry into the country rather than to the nearest seaport, and also under a second provision, which permits surplus commodities to be sold within the country with the local currency derived therefrom to be used in the economic development program of the country. This second provision is a temporary one, but I hope that the Congress in its next session will extend this permission.

U.S. aid commitments from all sources to Afghanistan from 1949 to June 30, 1960, amounted to approximately \$168 million. The fiscal 1961 program envisages the expenditure of \$4 million for technical cooperation and approximately \$9 million for special assistance. The size of the bill is an indication of the magnitude of our activities in the country.

Of lesser financial proportions, but of considerable importance, has been the contribution of the Asia Foundation, an American philanthropic foundation, which, on a limited budget, supplies advisers for various ministries in the Afghan Gov-

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 872.

ernment and supports several small technical assistance programs.

CARE is just beginning to operate a fairly substantial program which will have great impact throughout Afghanistan once it gets into full operation. And in November 1960, Dr. Tom Dooley came to Kabul. In the course of a brief visit he, on behalf of Medico, entered into an agreement with the Government of Afghanistan under which Medico will help equip and support a hospital in Kabul and will send doctors and nurses to assist in its management and to train Afghans to carry on the work thus started.

Soviet Bloc Aid

It is well to remember, however, that we are not alone in the field. The Soviets also granted aid to Afghanistan in 1954, when they made the Afghan Government a relatively modest low-interest, long-term loan of \$3.5 million. These funds were used to finance construction of grain elevators at Kabul and at Pul-i-Khumri and a flour mill and bakery in Kabul, and to pave some streets in the city of Kabul. Incidentally, the Western press usually gives the Soviets credit for actually paving the streets in Kabul. The Afghans resent this, stating that the municipality of Kabul did use Soviet loan funds to buy paving equipment and to pay two or three Soviet technicians to teach them how to use this equipment, but they insist—and they are correct—that the streets were actually paved by the Afghans.

In the same year Czechoslovakia extended the Afghans a credit which was used to build a cement plant.

When Khrushchev and Bulganin visited Afghanistan in December 1955, the scope of Soviet aid quickly changed. At that time they agreed to extend a \$100 million line of credit to the Afghans to help with the construction of several large-scale projects. Under this credit the Afghans have financed, or are financing, the Bagram military airfield some 40 miles north of Kabul, the Naghlu hydroelectric project to generate electricity for Kabul and the industries developing in the area, and the Darunta irrigation and hydroelectric project near Jalalabad, which will irrigate some 60,000 to 75,000 acres and generate 10,000 kilowatt hours of electricity. Part of the \$100 million has been used to import consumer goods to generate local currency to support these various

projects. In 1959 the Soviets agreed to construct a heavy-duty road from Kushka on the Soviet border to Kandahar, through Herat, reportedly on a grant basis. It is estimated that this road will cost about \$80 million. In addition the Soviets are helping the Afghans to construct the road from Kabul northward through the Salang pass to the port of Qizil Qala on the Oxus River. This road, when completed, will give the Afghans an all-weather access road to the north and will cut off some 120 miles in distance. The Soviets have successfully assisted with petroleum exploration, as deposits of crude oil and natural gas have been found in the north near Andkhui, although the magnitude of their discoveries has not been revealed. They have also made two grants of 50,000 tons of wheat.

The value and terms of grants or loans for military equipment to the Government of Afghanistan by both the Soviets and the Czechoslovaks are kept secret. However, Soviet bloc aid, exclusive of military, is estimated at \$217 million in credits and grants, including \$5 million in credits from Czechoslovakia and \$1.5 million in credits from Poland.

Other Sources of Aid

The other large contributor to the economic development of Afghanistan has been the United Nations, including the Special Fund, the Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. Since the United Nations began aiding Afghanistan it has made \$8 million available for its programs in the country, and it currently has about 70 technicians on the job. Their activities are related to Afghanistan's overall development program and cover a wide range in scope, for example, teaching in Afghan schools and special training centers, basic surveys of natural resources, assistance in strengthening institutions required for the provision of government services, vocational training in technical fields, and malaria eradication.

The German Government has made available to Afghanistan grants of \$1.5 million and credits of \$50 million. These funds have been used to carry out geological and hydrological surveys and to assist in mechanical training. German private loans have helped to establish the Gulbahar textile mill. Various other nations have made small

contributions to the Afghan development program, including France, Japan, and Communist China.

It should also be remembered that the sums contributed by the Afghans themselves to their development program are large in relation to the limited revenue of the Afghan Government. During the past 5 years, through the budgets of the various ministries and through expansion programs of independent and quasi-independent agencies, the Afghan Government has spent over \$165 million on development projects. When I use the term "independent and quasi-independent agencies," I refer to organizations such as the Electricity Supply Board, which has made investments for developing sources of electricity, and the Bank-i-Milli, which has made large investments in the model Gulbahar textile mill.

Comparing U.S. and Soviet Aid

Observers often try to compare and contrast the U.S. and Soviet aid programs in Afghanistan. Most of them have tended to credit the Soviet Union with having achieved a greater impact by the magnitude and method of execution of its program. This may be true in the short run, but I am not personally convinced that it need be, or in fact will be, in the long run.

In the field of military aid, of course, the contrast is total and complete. The U.S.S.R. has furnished military equipment to Afghanistan while the United States has not. This fact has undoubtedly affected our total position in that country, especially in light of the fact that the Government of Afghanistan made repeated requests to the United States in the early 1950's for a military aid program and only turned to the U.S.S.R. after it was convinced that such a program would not be forthcoming from the United States. At the same time, the Soviet military aid program, unlike American military aid generally, is based on credits, not grants, and therefore creates an economic burden on Afghanistan which will some day have to be borne by the economic development program.

The United States found it impossible to meet Afghanistan's military assistance requests for reasons which seemed logical enough in the early 1950's and entirely consistent with Afghan neutrality. This was a most complex problem involving regional and global considerations which cannot be adequately covered here. For one thing,

the United States had no desire to extend the area of the cold war. Afghanistan had no obligations to meet toward any regional defense system. Military aid outside some area defense framework might have been misunderstood and might have had the effect of exacerbating existing intra-area differences. Whatever the logic of the U.S. position may have been, this bit of history has had an important bearing on the total position of Afghanistan in the world and upon the development of general Afghan-American relations.

In all other forms of aid the picture is more even. It is true that the total foreign-currency value of Soviet aid is greater than that of the United States. It is also generally true that their projects, largely because they can be plainly seen by the people, have made a greater initial impact than have many of ours. But this may not be a proper evaluation in terms of a long-range estimate. As in Russia itself, the U.S.S.R. seems to stress quantity rather than quality in its work. In construction, for instance, the standards the United States employs will leave Afghanistan with a much smaller maintenance problem than will the quicker methods employed by the Soviet technicians. Also, such a long-range project as the development of the Helmand Valley would be bound to give rise to a period of disappointment and criticism in any country that was in a hurry. Only after years of work have some of our difficult reclamation programs in the United States borne fruit. The Helmand Valley project is a long-range one, and I believe that the time is not far off when the real merits of this project will be more and more noticeable and more fully appreciated by the Afghans. Consider also the vital field of education. Assisting in the education of the youth of Afghanistan may not be as dramatic as building a grain silo for everyone to see. But it is far more important to the advancement and well-being of the people of Afghanistan.

The greatest criticism has been on the slowness of the U.S. programs. In many fields this criticism is not justified, and in some cases the Afghan officials would not hesitate to say that some of the delays can be laid at their own doorstep. But we must admit that in some fields criticism is fully justified. Our construction projects have in general been so noticeably slow in getting underway that they have obscured from public attention the other work which was going along in an entirely

satisfactory manner. While projects such as the education program and the general technical cooperation program have been proceeding on schedule, public attention has often been focused on construction projects which have been woefully behind schedule.

The delays in some of these projects have been such as to cause many an Afghan to question the whole policy of the United States toward their country. They could not believe that America was unable to meet commitments on construction projects such as Kabul University, and on roads and airports. The delays of course had nothing to do with policy motivations or any lack of desire to assist the Afghan nation. Nor were they the responsibility of any individual or groups of individuals. In fact, a great deal of personal effort on the part of a great many people was expended in trying to get these projects underway. Basically, the blame should lie, I believe, on some requirements in the mutual security legislation, as well as on organizational and bureaucratic difficulties inherent in trying to operate in such a remote country under our normal peacetime methods, which are so replete—and normally properly so—with private-enterprise competitive processes and all the checks and balances that such a system implies.

I am happy to report that our construction projects are now in much better shape and that our total aid program is on the move. The Corps of Engineers has agreed to take responsibility, as the agent of the International Cooperation Administration, to construct the Kabul-Kandahar-Spin Baldak Road. The Corps of Engineers is now pushing the completion of design to match their own high standards and will soon be in a position to let contracts to private firms for the construction of this huge project, which they themselves will supervise. The contracts will actually be let in the field, and the whole process will be greatly simplified. I do not believe that we could be better organized than we are at present on this project.

Similarly the remaining portions of the airport construction program have been awarded to a recognized and capable American firm. The airstrip at Kandahar International Airport is in use, and construction has begun on the first country airport in Herat. Also Kabul University, the first large modern university in Afghanistan, is now

under construction. The Bureau of Reclamation has been engaged by ICA to carry out our responsibilities in the Helmand Valley. They are now on the job, with several much needed and highly qualified men arriving there in December. As we progress from the planning to the construction stage, the people of Afghanistan will, I feel certain, develop a new attitude of confidence in U.S. intentions and abilities.

When one considers all of these things together—trade trends, the foreign aid picture reflecting an obsessive conviction of the absolute necessity for development, and the delicate position of Afghanistan with a strong monolith to the north and intra-area difficulties to the south—one sees the magnitude of the problems facing Afghanistan today, as well as the problems facing the free world as it considers its own interests in the future of Afghanistan. The steering of the course and the final destination depend largely on the policies followed by the Afghan Government, and there will be many critical decisions in the future that only Afghanistan itself can make. Our policies must necessarily be continually reviewed in the light of decisions taken by Afghanistan, based upon its sovereign right to guide its own destiny. But the outcome will also depend to some extent upon forces outside Afghanistan, including not only the Russians but us and our friends and allies. We should realize that Afghanistan is a sort of “economic Korea” and a prime example of the change in the nature of the present world struggle which has been mislabeled “peaceful competition.” The dangers faced in this new type of struggle may be as great as the ones faced in Korea itself; in some ways they may be greater, since the process is deceptive because of its slow and nondramatic nature and more difficult for the peoples of free societies to understand.

It is essential that America and Afghanistan come to know one another better, and it is especially important that Americans try to understand the complexities of the position of Afghanistan in Asia. Let us not be misled by oversimplification of a situation as complicated as this one. It is not enough to remember one catchy and spectacular adjective, from superficial press treatment which is too often inclined to treat as all black or all white situations which cannot, even remotely, be described accurately by such clichés. Let us

rather see the present-day Afghanistan in the light of the challenge faced by the Afghans themselves—and by us, as we try to assist in insuring that that country can in fact succeed in its development effort, which seems such an absolute necessity, and at the same time retain its neutrality and its proud independence.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Caribbean Organization

Agreement for the establishment of the Caribbean Organization and annexed statute. Signed at Washington June 21, 1960.¹

Approval deposited: France, December 27, 1960.

Law of the Sea

Convention on the territorial sea and contiguous zone. Done at Geneva April 28, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, November 22, 1960.²

Convention on the continental shelf. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, November 22, 1960.

Convention on the high seas. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, November 22, 1960.³

Postal Services

Universal postal convention with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding air-mail, with final protocol. Done at Ottawa October 3, 1957. Entered into force April 1, 1959. TIAS 4202.

Application to: Land Berlin, August 30, 1960.

Ratification deposited: Somalia, November 16, 1960.

Publications

Convention concerning the exchange of official publications and government documents between states. Adopted at Paris December 3, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: Guatemala, November 23, 1960.

Convention concerning the international exchange of publications. Adopted at Paris December 3, 1958.

Ratification deposited: Guatemala, November 23, 1960.
Enters into force: November 23, 1961.⁴

Telecommunications

International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.

Accessions deposited: Chad, November 25, 1960; Central African Republic, December 2, 1960; Congo (Brazzaville), December 13, 1960.

International telecommunication convention with six annexes and final protocol. Done at Geneva December 21, 1959. Entered into force January 1, 1961.⁵

Ratification deposited: United Kingdom, December 1, 1960.⁶

Accession deposited: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, December 14, 1960.

Radio regulations, with appendixes, annexed to the international telecommunication convention, 1959. Done at Geneva December 21, 1959.¹

Notification of approval: Federal Republic of Germany, November 21, 1960.⁷

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Cameroun, December 17, 1960.

Weights and Measures

Convention for the creation of an international office of weights and measures. Signed at Paris May 20, 1875. Entered into force January 1, 1875. 20 Stat. 709.

Accession deposited: Venezuela, November 18, 1960.

Convention amending the convention relating to weights and measures of May 20, 1875, *supra*. Done at Sèvres October 6, 1921. Entered into force February 10, 1923. 42 Stat. 1686.

Accession deposited: Venezuela, November 18, 1960.

BILATERAL

Brazil

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of December 31, 1956, as corrected and amended (TIAS 3725, 3864, 4074, 4144, 4183, 4239, and 4311). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 29, 1960. Entered into force December 29, 1960.

France

Convention of establishment, protocol, and declaration. Signed at Paris November 25, 1959. Entered into force December 21, 1960. TIAS 4625.

Proclaimed by the President: December 8, 1960.

Togo

Agreement providing for economic and technical assistance to Togo. Effected by exchange of notes at Lomé December 22, 1960. Entered into force December 22, 1960.

¹ Not in force.

² Reservations made at time of signing confirmed in ratification.

³ With reservation and declaration.

⁴ Will not enter into force for United States.

⁵ Not in force for the United States.

⁶ Includes the Channel Islands and Isle of Man.

⁷ With a statement.

Afghanistan. The Changing Position of Afghanistan in Asia (Byroade) 125

Cuba

United Nations Security Council Hears Cuban Complaint Against United States, Adjourns Without a Vote (Bareo, Wadsworth) 104

U.S. Breaks Ties With Government of Cuba, Maintains Its Treaty Rights in Guantanamo Base (Eisenhower, Hagerty, U.S. and Cuban notes) 103

Ecuador. Letters of Credence (Ponce Luque) 114

Laos

SEATO Council Representatives Consider Situation in Laos (text of communique) 117

U.S. Cites Evidence of Soviet and North Vietnamese Aid to Lao Rebels 114

Mutual Security. The Changing Position of Afghanistan in Asia (Byroade) 125

Nigeria. Letters of Credence (Udochi) 114

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. SEATO Council Representatives Consider Situation in Laos (text of communique) 117

Treaty Information. Current Actions 134

U.S.S.R.

U.S. Cites Evidence of Soviet and North Vietnamese Aid to Lao Rebels 114

United States Proposes Abolition or Reduction of U.S. and Soviet Travel Restrictions (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) 118

U.S. Rejects Charges of Harassment of Soviet Ship "Faleshty" (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) 117

United Nations

Current U.N. Documents 124

United Nations Security Council Hears Cuban Complaint Against United States, Adjourns Without a Vote (Bareo, Wadsworth) 104

Viet-Nam, North. U.S. Cites Evidence of Soviet and North Vietnamese Aid to Lao Rebels 114

Name Index

Bareo, James W 112

Byroade, Henry A 125

Eisenhower, President 103

Hagerty, James C 104

Herter, Secretary 103

Olivares, Carlos 104

Ponce Luque, Alejandro Teodoro 114

Udochi, Julius Momo 114

Wadsworth, James J 104

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 2-8

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
1	1/3	Ecuador credentials (rewrite).
2	1/3	Statement on situation in Laos.
*3	1/4	Dedication of new State Department building.
*4	1/5	Herter: dedication of new building.
5	1/5	Note rejecting alleged harassment of Soviet ship <i>Faleshty</i> .
6	1/6	Nigeria credentials (rewrite).
*7	1/6	Cultural exchange (Guatemala).
8	1/6	U.S. and Soviet travel restrictions.
9	1/7	Statement on Laos.

*Not printed.

SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPT
PUBLIC LIBRARY
COPLEY SQUARE
BOSTON 17, MASS
DSB DEC -G-

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



the
Department
of
State

DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT

November 15, 1945, through December 29, 1959

This two-volume publication contains important postwar documents regarding negotiations on the international control of atomic energy, the reduction of armaments and armed forces, safeguards against surprise attack, the problem of nuclear weapons tests, various problems of outer space, and related questions.

All the papers in the collection have previously been released, but this is the first time that some of them have been made widely available. Volume I covers the years 1945-56 and Volume II the period 1957-59. The number of papers selected for the 5 years from 1955 through 1959 is much larger than for the preceding 10 years. This is because the developments of recent years bear more directly upon the current negotiations in this general field and because recent years have witnessed intensified discussion of nuclear testing, safeguards against surprise attack, and outer space.

Publication 7008

Price: \$4.50

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Please send me _____ copies of *Documents on Disarmament*.

Name: _____

Street Address: _____

City, Zone, and State: _____

Enclosed find:

\$ _____
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

Handwritten initials

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1127

January 30, 1961

THE STATE OF THE UNION • *Message of President Eisenhower to the Congress (Excerpts)* 139

SECRETARY HERTER SUMMARIZES U.S. FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION, 1953-61 143

CLARENCE RANDALL SUBMITS REPORT ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY 157

THIS WE BELIEVE • *by Assistant Secretary Berding* 151

UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL SIGN EXTRADITION TREATY • *Department Announcement and Text of Treaty* . 164

ICIAL
EELY RECORD
TED STATES
EIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1127 • PUBLICATION 7131

January 30, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

The State of the Union

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO THE CONGRESS (EXCERPTS)¹

To the Congress of the United States:

Once again it is my constitutional duty to assess the state of the Union.

On each such previous occasion during these past 8 years I have outlined a forward course designed to achieve our mutual objective—a better America in a world of peace. This time my function is different.

The American people, in free election, have selected new leadership which soon will be entrusted with the management of our Government. A new President shortly will lay before you his proposals to shape the future of our great land. To him, every citizen, whatever his political beliefs, prayerfully extends best wishes for good health and for wisdom and success in coping with the problems that confront our Nation.

For my part, I should like, first, to express to you of the Congress, my appreciation of your devotion to the common good and your friendship over these difficult years. I will carry with me pleasant memories of this association in endeavors profoundly significant to all our people.

We have been through a lengthy period in which the control over the executive and legislative branches of Government has been divided between our two great political parties. Differences, of course, we have had, particularly in domestic affairs. But in a united determination to keep this Nation strong and free and to utilize our vast resources for the advancement of all mankind, we have carried America to unprecedented heights.

For this cooperative achievement I thank the American people and those in the Congress of both parties who have supported programs in the interest of our country.

I should also like to give special thanks for the devoted service of my associates in the executive branch and the hundreds of thousands of career employees who have implemented our diverse Government programs.

My second purpose is to review briefly the record of these past 8 years in the hope that, out of the sum of these experiences, lessons will emerge that are useful to our Nation. Supporting this review are detailed reports from the several agencies and departments, all of which are now or will shortly be available to the Congress.

Throughout the world the years since 1953 have been a period of profound change. The human problems in the world grow more acute hour by hour; yet new gains in science and technology continually extend the promise of a better life. People yearn to be free, to govern themselves; yet a third of the people of the world have no freedom, do not govern themselves. The world recognizes the catastrophic nature of nuclear war; yet it sees the wondrous potential of nuclear peace.

During the period, the United States has forged ahead under a constructive foreign policy. The continuing goal is peace, liberty, and well-being—for others as well as ourselves. The aspirations of all peoples are one—peace with justice in freedom. Peace can only be attained collectively as peoples everywhere unite in their determination that liberty and well-being come to all mankind.

Yet while we have worked to advance national aspirations for freedom, a divisive force has been at work to divert that aspiration into dangerous channels. The Communist movement throughout the world exploits the natural striving of all to be free and attempts to subjugate men rather than free them. These activities have caused and are

¹ H. Doc. 1, 87th Cong., 1st sess.; read by a reading clerk in the House of Representatives on Jan. 12 and communicated to the Senate on Jan. 13.

continuing to cause grave troubles in the world.

Here at home these have been times for careful adjustment of our economy from the artificial impetus of a hot war to constructive growth in a precarious peace. While building a new economic vitality without inflation, we have also increased public expenditures to keep abreast of the needs of a growing population and its attendant new problems, as well as our added international responsibilities. We have worked toward these ends in a context of shared responsibility—conscious of the need for maximum scope to private effort and for State and local, as well as Federal, governmental action.

Success in designing and executing national purposes, domestically and abroad, can only come from a steadfast resolution that integrity in the operation of Government and in our relations with each other be fully maintained. Only in this way could our spiritual goals be fully advanced.

Foreign Policy

On January 20, 1953, when I took office, the United States was at war. Since the signing of the Korean armistice in 1953, Americans have lived in peace in highly troubled times.

During the 1956 Suez crisis, the U.S. Government strongly supported United Nations action—resulting in the ending of the hostilities in Egypt.

Again in 1958, peace was preserved in the Middle East despite new discord. Our Government responded to the request of the friendly Lebanese Government for military help, and promptly withdrew American forces as soon as the situation was stabilized.

In 1958 our support of the Republic of China during the all-out bombardment of Quemoy restrained the Communist Chinese from attempting to invade the offshore islands.

Although, unhappily, Communist penetration of Cuba is real and poses a serious threat, Communist-dominated regimes have been deposed in Guatemala and Iran. The occupation of Austria has ended and the Trieste question has been settled.

Despite constant threats to its integrity, West Berlin has remained free.

Important advances have been made in building mutual security arrangements—which lie at the heart of our hopes for future peace and security in the world. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organi-

zation has been established; the NATO alliance has been militarily strengthened; the Organization of American States has been further developed as an instrument of inter-American cooperation; the Anzus treaty has strengthened ties with Australia and New Zealand, and a mutual security treaty with Japan has been signed. In addition, the CENTO Pact has been concluded, and while we are not officially a member of this alliance we have participated closely in its deliberations.

The atoms-for-peace proposal to the United Nations led to the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our policy has been to push for enforceable programs of inspection against surprise attack, suspension of nuclear testing, arms reduction, and peaceful use of outer space.

The United Nations has been vigorously supported in all of its actions, including the condemnations of the wholesale murder of the people of Tibet by the Chinese Communists and the brutal Soviet repression of the people of Hungary, as well as the more recent U.N. actions in the Congo.

The United States took the initiative in negotiating the significant treaty to guarantee the peaceful use of vast Antarctica.

The U.S. Information Agency has been transformed into a greatly improved medium for explaining our policies and actions to audiences overseas, answering the lies of Communist propaganda, and projecting a clearer image of American life and culture.

Cultural, technological, and educational exchanges with the Soviet Union have been encouraged, and a comprehensive agreement was made which authorized, among other things, the distribution of our Russian language magazine *Amerika* and the highly successful American exhibition in Moscow.

This country has continued to withhold recognition of Communist China and to oppose vigorously the admission of this belligerent and unrepentant nation into the United Nations. Red China has yet to demonstrate that it deserves to be considered a peace-loving nation.

With Communist imperialism held in check, constructive actions were undertaken to strengthen the economies of free world nations. The U.S. Government has given sturdy support to the economic and technical assistance activities of

the U.N. This country stimulated a doubling of the capital of the World Bank and a 50-percent capital increase in the International Monetary Fund. The Development Loan Fund and the International Development Association were established. The United States also took the lead in creating the Inter-American Development Bank.

Vice President Nixon, Secretaries of State Dulles and Herter, and I traveled extensively through the world for the purpose of strengthening the cause of peace, freedom, and international understanding. So rewarding were these visits that their very success became a significant factor in causing the Soviet Union to wreck the planned summit conference of 1960.

These vital programs must go on. New tactics will have to be developed, of course, to meet new situations, but the underlying principles should be constant. Our great moral and material commitments to collective security, deterrence of force, international law, negotiations that lead to self-enforcing agreements, and the economic interdependence of free nations should remain the cornerstone of a foreign policy that will ultimately bring permanent peace with justice in freedom to all mankind. The continuing need of all free nations today is for each to recognize clearly the essentiality of an unbreakable bond among themselves based upon a complete dedication to the principles of collective security, effective cooperation, and peace with justice.

National Defense

For the first time in our Nation's history we have consistently maintained in peacetime, military forces of a magnitude sufficient to deter and if need be to destroy predatory forces in the world.

Tremendous advances in strategic weapons systems have been made in the past 8 years. Not until 1953 were expenditures on long-range ballistic missile programs even as much as a million dollars a year; today we spend 10 times as much each day on these programs as was spent in all of 1952.

No guided ballistic missiles were operational at the beginning of 1953. Today many types give our Armed Forces unprecedented effectiveness. The explosive power of our weapons systems for all purposes is almost inconceivable.

Today the United States has operational Atlas

missiles which can strike a target 5,000 miles away in a half hour. The Polaris weapons system became operational last fall and the Titan is scheduled to become so this year. Next year, more than a year ahead of schedule, a vastly improved ICBM, the solid-propellant Minuteman, is expected to be ready.

Squadrons of accurate intermediate range ballistic missiles are now operational. The Thor and Jupiter IRBM's based in forward areas can hit targets 1,500 miles away in 18 minutes.

Aircraft which fly at speeds faster than sound were still in a developmental stage 8 years ago. Today American fighting planes go twice the speed of sound. And either our B-58 medium-range jet bomber or our B-52 long-range jet bomber can carry more explosive power than was used by all combatants in World War II—Allies and Axis combined.

Eight years ago we had no nuclear-powered ships. Today 49 nuclear warships have been authorized. Of these, 14 have been commissioned, including 3 of the revolutionary Polaris submarines. Our nuclear submarines have cruised under the North Pole and circumnavigated the earth while submerged. Sea warfare has been revolutionized, and the United States is far and away the leader.

Our tactical air units overseas and our aircraft carriers are alert; Army units, guarding the frontiers of freedom in Europe and the Far East, are in the highest state of readiness in peacetime history; our Marines, a third of whom are deployed in the Far East, are constantly prepared for action; our Reserve Establishment has maintained high standards of proficiency, and the Ready Reserve now numbers over 2½ million citizen-soldiers.

The Department of Defense, a young and still evolving organization, has twice been improved and the line of command has been shortened in order to meet the demands of modern warfare. These major reorganizations have provided a more effective structure for unified planning and direction of the vast Defense Establishment. Gradual improvements in its structure and procedures are to be expected.

U.S. civil defense and nonmilitary defense capacity has been greatly strengthened and these activities have been consolidated in one Federal agency.

The defense forces of our allies now number 5 million men, several thousand combatant ships, and over 25,000 aircraft. Programs to strengthen these allies have been consistently supported by the administration. U.S. military assistance goes almost exclusively to friendly nations on the rim of the Communist world. This American contribution to nations who have the will to defend their freedom, but insufficient means, should be vigorously continued. Combined with our allies, the free world now has a far stronger shield than we could provide alone.

Since 1953, our defense policy has been based on the assumption that the international situation would require heavy defense expenditures for an indefinite period to come, probably for years. In this protracted struggle, good management dictates that we resist overspending as resolutely as we oppose underspending. Every dollar uselessly spent on military mechanisms decreases our total strength and, therefore, our security. We must not return to the crash-program psychology of the past when each new feint by the Communists was responded to in panic. The "bomber gap" of several years ago was always a fiction, and the "missile gap" shows every sign of being the same.

The Nation can ill afford to abandon a national policy which provides for a fully adequate and steady level of effort, designed for the long pull; a fast adjustment to new scientific and technological advances; a balanced force of such strength as to deter general war, to effectively meet local situations and to retaliate to attack and destroy the attacker; and a strengthened system of free world collective security.

Immigration

Over 32,000 victims of Communist tyranny in Hungary were brought to our shores, and at this time our country is working to assist refugees from tyranny in Cuba.

Since 1953, the waiting period for naturalization applicants has been reduced from 18 months to 45 days.

The administration also has made legislative recommendations to liberalize existing restrictions upon immigration while still safeguarding the national interest. It is imperative that our immigration policy be in the finest American tradition

of providing a haven for oppressed peoples and fully in accord with our obligation as a leader of the free world.

Conclusion

In concluding my final message to the Congress, it is fitting to look back to my first—to the aims and ideals I set forth on February 2, 1953:² To use America's influence in world affairs to advance the cause of peace and justice, to conduct the affairs of the executive branch with integrity and efficiency, to encourage creative initiative in our economy, and to work toward the attainment of the well-being and equality of opportunity of all citizens.

Equally, we have honored our commitment to pursue and attain specific objectives. Among them, as stated 8 years ago: strengthening of the mutual security program; development of world trade and commerce; ending of hostilities in Korea; creation of a powerful deterrent force; practicing fiscal responsibility; checking the menace of inflation; reducing the tax burden; providing an effective internal security program; developing and conserving our natural resources; reducing governmental interference in the affairs of the farmer; strengthening and improving services by the Department of Labor, and the vigilant guarding of civil and social rights.

I do not close this message implying that all is well—that all problems are solved. For progress implies both new and continuing problems and, unlike Presidential administrations, problems rarely have terminal dates.

Abroad, there is the continuing Communist threat to the freedom of Berlin, an explosive situation in Laos, the problems caused by Communist penetration of Cuba, as well as the many problems connected with the development of the new nations in Africa. These areas, in particular, call for delicate handling and constant review.

At home, several conspicuous problems remain: promoting higher levels of employment, with special emphasis on areas in which heavy unemployment has persisted; continuing to provide for steady economic growth and preserving a sound currency; bringing our balance of payments into more reasonable equilibrium and continuing a high level of confidence in our national

² BULLETIN of Feb. 9, 1953, p. 207.

and international financial systems; eliminating heavily excessive surpluses of a few farm commodities; and overcoming deficiencies in our health and educational programs.

Our goal always has been to add to the spiritual, moral, and material strength of our Nation. I believe we have done this. But it is a process that must never end. Let us pray that leaders of both the near and distant future will be able to

keep the Nation strong and at peace, that they will advance the well-being of all our people, that they will lead us on to still higher moral standards, and that, in achieving these goals, they will maintain a reasonable balance between private and governmental responsibility.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 12, 1961.*

Secretary Herter Summarizes U.S. Foreign Policy Under the Eisenhower Administration, 1953-61

On January 6 Secretary Herter submitted his resignation as Secretary of State to President Eisenhower. Following is an exchange of letters between the President and Secretary Herter, together with a summary of U.S. foreign policy for the years 1953-61 which was enclosed in the Secretary's letter.

White House press release dated January 12

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

President Eisenhower to Secretary Herter

JANUARY 11, 1961

DEAR CHRIS: As Secretary of State for nearly two years, and for the two years just preceding as Under Secretary, you have made a distinguished contribution, for which the people of our country have cause for deep gratitude. As I accept your resignation, concluding your official service in this vital and important field as of January twentieth, I pay tribute to both your ability and devotion.

Never have you lost sight of our main goals. First, of course, we have sought to stay at peace, and this we have done. I know you find deep satisfaction in this, just as I do.

Notwithstanding the periods of crisis and peril the years have brought—and will continue to bring—we have demonstrated our will for peace, while safeguarding security and furthering justice and freedom. Collective security arrangements have been maintained and strengthened, preserving free peoples against Communist encroachment

and oppression. We have worked hard and long to bring under control the threat of nuclear war, through proposals for safeguarded international control measures, and patient and persistent negotiation to this end. We have sought to advance the use of the atom for peace. We have ranged our influence on the side of human dignity, and national and individual freedom and sought to achieve greater mutual understanding between the United States and other nations. We have helped other countries in the course of self-development through our mutual security programs and efforts. Despite all provocation and hostility, we have avoided being drawn away from our constructive efforts into a mere sterile struggle with the Communist bloc.

For the years that lie ahead, bound to be marked by grave and complex problems but bearing bright promise of progress, I know we both believe that the nation's best hope lies in continued pursuit of these objectives, and we both pray that our country may continue to march successfully toward them.

For your steady hand and wise counsel throughout our service together, and for the privilege I have had of working with you in close association, I am deeply grateful.

You have my best wishes for happy years ahead for yourself and your family.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

JANUARY 6, 1961

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I hereby submit my resignation as Secretary of State, effective on January 20, 1961.

It has been an inspiring privilege to have had the opportunity of serving under your leadership. During the past eight years much has been accomplished under your command of United States foreign policy. I am enclosing a brief summary which tells the story only in part. During most of those years John Foster Dulles, a truly great American, was Secretary of State and the greater part of the accomplishments referred to in this summary were effected, or at least begun, during his incumbency.

With warmest personal regards and renewed expression of gratitude for the many kindnesses you have accorded me, I remain

Faithfully yours,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

SUMMARY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION, 1953-1961

Introduction

During the past eight years while the United States has experienced stability and growth at home, abroad there have been widespread and profound changes.

Great historical forces have been at work which our country has some capability to influence but certainly not to control.

Man's developing control over disease is unbalancing nature's past ratios of deaths and births. Since President Eisenhower's first inaugural, the human race has been growing at a rate of about 40 million additional persons per year. Our world has about 300 million more people as President Eisenhower leaves office than in 1953. Since 1953 the number of independent nations in the world has increased by almost 30 percent.

There are two outstanding elements in the deep unrest and change we are witnessing around the world. Peoples are realizing that scientific and technological gains give promise for them and their children of a better life—if only the needed

skills and capital plant can be accumulated. There is a new and urgent awareness that although the misery of man exists as a fact it need not continue to exist.

Just as strong is the yearning of peoples to govern themselves. Under bursting pressures for political independence, dependent territories are being transformed almost overnight into nations—some with little benefit of the nation-building process which is indispensable if they are to become fully responsible members of a world community.

The masses of people of the Soviet and Chinese empires, harnessed to do the work and the will of their master Communist parties, have sharply increased the power of the USSR and Red China. Although Communist imperialism has not captured any more governments since 1954, Communist hostility toward free nations has continued.

While gradually becoming aware of the catastrophic nature of nuclear war—the recognition of which had led the US in 1946 to propose internationalization of atomic energy—the Communists have yet to show serious interest in a responsible approach to disarmament. And so the world is in a highly disturbed and dangerous situation.

In these years of ever-present danger what has been the US effort to preserve security and freedom and to channel into constructive directions, as best we can, these surging forces which are rolling over our world?

I.

The United States has sought to strengthen collective security, deter the use of force, create international status in new areas of activity, progress toward safeguarded arms control, promote negotiation of outstanding international disputes, increase the role of the United Nations and make of the interdependence of a shrunken world a force for peace rather than a breeding ground for war. Each of these efforts is discussed in turn below.

A. Collective Security

Forty some countries have associated with the United States in regional or bilateral security pacts. These mutual security arrangements no longer are simply military alliances. They are the framework of consultative processes that day by

day are steadily improving the collaboration of free nations.

During these years NATO has evolved into an effective military and political instrument enabling the Atlantic Community to thwart Soviet efforts to dominate Western Europe.¹

In 1954, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization was created to strengthen the determination and capability of the nations of that area to resist the expansionist thrusts of Communist China. In recent years, certain additional nations of the area which are not members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization have also come to understand and appreciate its importance for the preservation of freedom.

The Anzus treaty which has strengthened the close ties between Australia, New Zealand and the US is another illustration of how our security alliances contribute to the development of common purposes in other fields than military.

In 1954 at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, there was promulgated the "Declaration of Solidarity" of the American States. It declared that the domination or control by the International Communist Movement of the political institutions of any American state would threaten us all and endanger the peace of the Americas. During recent years, the Organization of American States has further developed as an instrument of hemispheric cooperation. The August 1959 Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics in Santiago clearly demonstrated the determination of these Republics to maintain peace in the hemisphere through common action on problems creating international tensions. An outstanding example of this common action came in early 1959 when Panama was threatened by revolution fomented outside her borders. Prompt action by the Inter-American Peace Commission was an important factor in ending this threat. We are working continuously with the other American Republics in the Organization of American States and in the Inter-American Peace Commission to reduce international tensions in this Hemisphere, particularly in the Caribbean area where they are now most acute.

¹ Witnessing the importance attached to NATO by the United States for several years the US representative to the North Atlantic Council has participated in meetings of the Cabinet and NSC [National Security Council] when in Washington. [Footnote in original.]

In the Middle East, the United States, although not a member, has strongly supported the Baghdad Pact organization which was established in 1955. Although the Government of Iraq has withdrawn, this organization—now known as the Central Treaty Organization—remains a solid instrument of collective security for the Northern Tier of States in the Middle East.

The situation in the Middle East today is clearly improved as compared with 1958 as a result of actions by the States in the area, the United Nations, and the United States.

President Eisenhower's reception during his "good will" trips in the free world has shown how significant these travels have been in the battle for the minds of men. His world-wide reputation as a man of peace has served strikingly to strengthen the cause of peace wherever he has gone.

Most of the countries he visited had never before welcomed an American President.

The purpose of such trips by the leader of the strongest free-world country was to demonstrate tangibly and at firsthand to the people of other lands that we value their friendship, and that we share their hopes and aspirations. The purpose was not to "negotiate" or to arrange treaties or take other detailed steps appropriate to diplomatic channels, but to strengthen and solidify friendship for the United States.

By the Declaration of Common Purpose of 1957² the United States and the United Kingdom demonstrated the extremely close relations which bind our two nations.

With American support, Germany has made a rapid economic recovery and is now among our strongest allies. In France, we are witnessing an inspiring example of national renewal. Free China's extraordinary economic development is a symbol to the entire Far East of how much more freedom can do to improve the lot of people than can slavery.

B. Deterrence of Force

The United States has sought to establish the principle of renunciation of aggressive force and has shown its ability and will to deter use of force.

At the time of the Suez episode in 1956 and the Israeli-Egyptian hostilities, the United Kingdom

² For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 11, 1957, p. 739.

and France, and then Israel, responding to the overwhelming opinion of the United Nations, withdrew their armed forces and accepted a United Nations solution.

When Lebanon considered itself threatened from without and appealed to the United States for emergency aid, we responded with promptness and efficiency. When the emergency was relieved by United Nations action, we promptly withdrew our forces.

In the Far East, the Chinese Communists, with Soviet backing, initiated military action in 1958 designed, as they put it, to "expel the United States" from the Western Pacific. We stood beside the Republic of China in its successful resistance to that attack.

In October 1958, the Dulles-Chiang Declaration³ memorialized the undertaking by the Republic of China that it would rely primarily upon peaceful principles and not upon force to secure the freeing of the mainland.

The United States and Japan signed in 1960 a new Security Treaty⁴ providing more equitable and workable relationships with this important Far Eastern ally.

C. International Status

We have sought acceptance for a new principle of international law—where national control has not been established, the nations should seek a maximum scope for international status.

Three United States proposals exemplify this approach.

1. Polar Areas

In April 1958, the United States proposed in the United Nations Security Council a system of international inspection of the Arctic area to reduce the danger of surprise attack over the north polar region and to reduce the danger of miscalculation. This proposal was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

In May 1958, the United States proposed that the countries which heretofore have shown particular interest in Antarctica, including the Soviet Union, join in negotiating a treaty to guarantee the peaceful use of Antarctica and continue international scientific cooperation there. The treaty

has been ratified by ten signatories including the United States.⁵

2. Atoms for Peace

In his famous address at the United Nations on December 8, 1953,⁶ President Eisenhower proposed a method to "find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life."

Under the "Atoms for Peace" program, we have negotiated bilateral agreements with thirty-nine nations. Research reactor grants have been approved for seventeen nations. Negotiations are under way with others. We have developed close and constructive relations with EURATOM [European Atomic Energy Community], the Atomic Energy Community of France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, proposed by President Eisenhower, designed to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy around the world, was finally established in 1957. It gives promise of the beginnings of an international approach to the problems of atomic energy.

3. Outer Space

In January 1957, the United States proposed to the United Nations that steps be taken to ensure peaceful use of outer space. In January 1958, President Eisenhower proposed to the Soviet Union "that we agree that outer space should be used only for peaceful purposes."

We subsequently proposed in the United Nations a program of peaceful cooperation in outer space and the creation of an *ad hoc* committee on peaceful uses of outer space. The Soviet Union refused to participate in the initial committee that was created. It eventually joined, in December 1959, in establishing a United Nations 24-member committee on the peaceful uses of outer space. This committee is responsible for studying means for giving effect to programs in peaceful uses of outer space and is to make preparations for an international conference in 1961.

4. Arms Control

In 1957, the US, UK, France, and Canada put forward a program for reducing conventional

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1958, p. 721.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1960, p. 184.

⁵ For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 911.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1953, p. 847.

and nuclear armaments, which the Soviet Union rejected out of hand. The basic principles underlying this program were approved by the United Nations General Assembly by an overwhelming vote later that year. In 1958, President Eisenhower proposed to the Soviet Union that the US, USSR, and several other nations meet to consider technical problems connected with the prevention of surprise attack; the Soviet Union accepted this proposal, but its insistence on using the discussions to air political—rather than technical—proposals made the meetings fruitless. In 1960, the US submitted a comprehensive program for reduction of armaments, looking to the eventual goal of general and complete disarmament, to the Ten Nation Disarmament Commission. The Soviet Union did not even deign to reply; it walked out of the negotiations just before the US proposal was submitted.

The nuclear test suspension negotiations which at one time gave promise of success, after many months have yet to reach any conclusion.

D. International Negotiation

India-Pakistan Dispute over the Indus Waters

The United States has encouraged and assisted the World Bank in connection with the successful settlement of the serious dispute between India and Pakistan over the Indus Waters.

Negotiations with the Communists

1. We made the Korean armistice which ended the hostilities in Korea.

2. We participated in the Geneva Conference of 1954 which ended the hostilities in Indochina.

3. We continue to seek in the Warsaw talks with the Chinese Communists to assure that in the Taiwan area force should not be relied upon by either side.

4. We joined with the Soviet Union in concluding the Austrian Peace Treaty which liberated Austria.

5. In 1955, President Eisenhower met with the Soviet leaders at the Summit in Geneva. At that time, he presented his famous "Open Skies" proposal.

6. In 1958, we made a comprehensive agreement with the Soviet Union for exchanges in the fields of culture, technology and education. This agree-

ment operated successfully for two years and has been extended for two more.⁷

We have endeavored to bring home to the peoples of the USSR a true picture of the United States. Vice President Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union in 1959 served to emphasize directly to the Soviet people the desire of the United States for peace and friendship.

7. In November 1958, the Soviet Union threatened to take unilateral action against Western rights in Berlin by May 1959 unless the three Western powers accepted the Soviet proposal for a so-called free city. The United States, United Kingdom and France refused, with full NATO support, to compromise their rights or to negotiate under duress. When the Soviet Union then indicated that its deadline was of no particular significance, the three Western powers agreed to negotiate concerning the question of Germany, including Berlin and a peace treaty, at a Foreign Ministers Conference. I spent ten weeks in Geneva in 1959 seeking a settlement of the German problem and, failing that, of a fair agreement on Berlin. This conference clarified and narrowed our differences with the Soviet Union but did not produce agreement. Nevertheless, West Berlin remains free.

At the invitation of President Eisenhower the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR visited the United States in 1959 and saw at first hand the power and the peacefulness of the American people.

In the spring of 1960 President Eisenhower stood ready to meet the Soviet leader at the planned Summit meeting in Paris. Soviet policy torpedoed the meeting.

E. United Nations

In the last eight years, the United States has repeatedly taken the lead in trying to strengthen the United Nations and the processes of international cooperation which the United Nations represents. A few examples follow.

1. The "Atoms for Peace" program was proposed by President Eisenhower to the United Nations in December 1953.

2. In the economic field, we played a leading role in bringing about a new specialized agency

⁷ For text of an agreement of Nov. 21, 1959, see *ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1959, p. 951.

of the United Nations: the Special Fund. This Fund, which was set up by the United Nations General Assembly, provides resources for broad regional and basic technical assistance and for survey projects more extensive than those financed by the United Nations Technical Assistance Program.

3. As previously mentioned, the United States also took the lead at the General Assembly in creating a committee on outer space.

4. We have continued to try to strengthen the United Nations procedures. Thus in January 1958 the United States renewed its proposal to restrict use of the veto in the Security Council. This offer was refused by the Soviet Union.

5. When the 1958 crisis arose in the Middle East, we promptly notified the United Nations of the action that we were taking in Lebanon to meet that crisis and called for an emergency session of the General Assembly to deal with the crisis. President Eisenhower proposed measures to counter the immediate threat in Lebanon and Jordan, and also proposed long-range measures to improve basic conditions in the Middle East namely an Arab Development Institution, a standby United Nations force, and possibly a United Nations study of Middle Eastern arms control.

6. We cooperated vigorously with other nations in the General Assembly to resist Soviet attempts to weaken or destroy the Organization during the Congo crisis. We have wholeheartedly supported the United Nations in its complex task of keeping the peace in chaotic Congo.

7. We have strongly supported the General Assembly in the adoption of resolutions condemning offenses against mankind, such as the wholesale murder of the people of Tibet by the Chinese Communists and the brutal Soviet military repression of the Hungarian people within the borders of their homeland.

From the outset of this Administration the United States Ambassador to the United Nations has sat as a member of the President's Cabinet, an arrangement which was inaugurated to strengthen the Ambassador's hand in carrying out his responsibilities.

In recent years, there has been a growing clarification of understanding around the world of the real purpose of the Communist leaders—to subject all the world to the dominant influence and control of international Communism. In the Middle East, the designs of Communism are now far

more clearly realized than a few years ago. Brutal Chinese Communist repression in Tibet and border incursions and demands against India have brought home aggressive Communist designs more clearly to the peoples of South Asia. In Southeast Asia, liberty-loving peoples are struggling successfully to remain masters in their newly built national homes. In Europe, there are a number of inspiring examples of national renewal and recession of Communist influence.

F. Growth and Interdependence

President Eisenhower's policies have been based on a belief that economic growth and interdependence are necessary conditions for stable and free nations. Here are a number of things that the Eisenhower Administration has done in the last eight years to promote that growth and interdependence:

1. It has strongly supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program. At President Eisenhower's request the Congress in 1958 strengthened and extended this program for a period of four years, the longest single extension during the 25-year history of the program. The value of American foreign trade (excluding military exports) in 1953 was \$23.2 billion and in 1959 was \$31.5 billion. In 1960 our foreign trade will be over \$34 billion.

2. In 1957 the Congress, at the request of President Eisenhower, established the United States Development Loan Fund. The Congress provided an initial appropriation of \$300 million. This was a major step to meet the needs of less developed countries for loans on terms less rigorous than those offered from existing sources. In 1958, 1959 and 1960 the Congress appropriated a total of \$1.65 billion more for the Development Loan Fund. It was the first United States financial institution set up specifically to help less developed countries. In its short life the Fund has made a significant contribution to economic growth. Qualifying projects awaiting its review are far more numerous than the Fund can handle.

3. The United States has also moved vigorously to encourage the flow of private investment to less developed and other free nations. Under the Eisenhower Investment Guarantee Program which provides insurance against noncommercial risks nearly 40 nations have signed agreements and considerably over \$200 million in insurance contracts

have been issued. The United States has negotiated and sought to negotiate treaties designed to create more favorable conditions for private investment abroad. We have encouraged and assisted the creation in foreign countries of development banks to make loans to private enterprise and of local productivity centers to render that enterprise more productive. We encouraged the creation in 1956 of the International Finance Corporation, as an affiliate of the World Bank, to make investments in private enterprise abroad.

4. In February 1959, at Presidential request, the Congress authorized \$3.175 and \$1.375 billion increases in the United States subscriptions to the World Bank and International Fund.

5. The President also authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to discuss with other governments the possible establishment of an International Development Association, as an affiliate of the World Bank. These discussions were fruitful, the agency has been created, and we may expect to see it in operation in the near future, helping to mobilize free world resources to meet the less developed countries' need for financing on flexible terms. The Congress has authorized \$320 million and appropriated \$74 million as US contribution to this agency.

6. At United States initiative, eighteen European nations have joined Canada and the United States in reconstituting the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. This organization will permit more effective cooperation in promoting sound economic growth in the free world and in mobilizing the resources of its industrialized members to help the newly-developing lands.⁸

7. The United States took the lead in establishment of an institution to promote economic development in Latin America. On April 9, 1959, the charter of a \$1 billion Inter-American Bank was initialed in Washington. The ratification of this agreement by the United States and by all the other American states—except Cuba—has brought into being a sizeable new source of funds for economic development loans to our good neighbors. The Bank's charter also provides for assisting in the development of managerial and technical skills, and the Bank will assist in social development projects where necessary.

In the Act of Bogotá (1960)⁹ we joined with

⁸ For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1961, p. 8.

⁹ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1960, p. 537.

Latin American states to assist in large-scale attack on the problem of improving living standards. The Congress has authorized \$500 million for financing social development activities in this area.

8. In August 1958, President Eisenhower offered the cooperation of the United States in the establishment of an Arab regional development financing program if the Middle Eastern states concerned were prepared to support such a venture. Exchanges of views among these states have taken place and the initiative now lies with them.

9. A Common Market for Europe has long been officially supported by President Eisenhower and in January 1958 the six-nation Common Market of Western Europe became a reality. Measures have also been taken to create an area of freer trade among seven other nations of Western Europe. In addition, Western European currencies have become more freely exchangeable and there is a strong movement for broader economic cooperation in Western Europe. The support of the United States played no small part in these accomplishments.

10. The United States has also moved to encourage and participate in the study of key raw material problems of particular concern to less developed countries. Through our good offices and on our initiative, the International Coffee Study Group was established in June 1958 to consider possible means of dealing with problems arising in international trade of coffee. Through this study group the Mexico City Emergency Coffee Agreement was continued and expanded to consider the present imbalance in world coffee supply and demand. The United States encouraged the establishment of the new International Coffee Agreement in 1959. It also participated in the organization of the International Lead and Zinc Study Group in 1959; it is a member of this study group, as well as all of the other international commodity study groups which deal with rubber, cotton, wool, rice, grains, citrus fruits, cocoa, olive oil, and coconuts and coconut products. The United States at the ECOSOC meeting in July 1958 agreed also to become a member of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, which considers general problems relating to international trade in basic commodities, and has continued its active participation in this Commission.

11. On the initiative of President Eisenhower

an International Food for Peace Conference was held in May 1959 to discuss ways and means of utilizing wheat to relieve hunger and to promote economic development among the less developed countries of the free world. This Conference established a Food for Peace Wheat Utilization Committee to consider specific problems, such as how to make more effective use of wheat in improving living standards. This committee has since held several meetings, and other wheat exporting countries have expressed their willingness to cooperate to the fullest possible extent in carrying out the objectives of the Food for Peace program. The President proposed further action to fulfill this program in his September 1960 appearance before the United Nations General Assembly.

12. The President's address at the United Nations also contained a five-point program designed to promote the security and the economic well-being of the new African nations.

13. Parallel with these new initiatives, the Eisenhower Administration has continued vigorously to support and strengthen the Mutual Security Program, which provides economic and military aid to free countries around the world.

14. The Administration has moved energetically to deal with our unfavorable balance of payments with other nations. We have constantly and forcefully urged the removal of trade restrictions on American goods. By the end of 1960 most of our trading partners had removed discrimination and had taken significant steps to reduce quantitative restrictions against our exports.

In conclusion, President Eisenhower's foreign policy has rested on two simple propositions: Peace, liberty, and well-being for the United States. This depends in good part on the peace, liberty, and well-being of other nations.

I submit this brief summary to highlight the

specific efforts made during the last eight years to achieve our foreign policy objectives.

The condition of the world, as outlined in the opening paragraphs, still leaves much to be done if these objectives are to be achieved.

Serious tensions must still be relieved, and legitimate human needs still remain to be met. The courses charted in the past eight years should provide the basis for continuing progress to this end.

United States and Bulgaria Open Claims Negotiations

Press release 14 dated January 11

Representatives of the United States will begin negotiations with representatives of the Bulgarian Government at Washington on January 12 on certain outstanding financial issues between the United States and Bulgaria.

The United States will seek in the forthcoming negotiations to arrive at a final settlement of outstanding claims of U.S. nationals against Bulgaria.

In August 1955 the Government of the United States, acting under the terms of the treaty of peace signed at Paris on February 10, 1947, and under international law, vested certain Bulgarian assets which had remained blocked in the United States since World War II. This action, authorized under Public Law 285, 84th Congress, provided for the distribution of the proceeds of the vested assets to American nationals having claims against Bulgaria.

The adjudication of American claims against Bulgaria in accordance with Public Law 285 was completed on August 9, 1959, and awards (exclusive of interest) were made totaling \$4.6 million. The available funds for compensation to recipients of awards total about \$2.7 million.

This We Believe

by Andrew H. Berding

*Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs*¹

My dear friends on both sides of the Atlantic: I am grateful to you for the opportunity to participate in this unique international program which links the Rotary Clubs of Scranton and West Berlin by transoceanic telephone. I am particularly happy to be able in this way to convey to Mayor [Franz] Amrehn and the free people of West Berlin the best wishes of all Americans for a happy and prosperous New Year. I express to them our sincere hope that the year 1961 will bring closer the restoration of all Berlin as the capital of a Germany reunified in peace and freedom.

My pleasure in appearing on this program is multiplied by the fact that twice in the last 3 years I have been privileged to be in West Berlin, once with Secretary Dulles and once with Secretary Herter. I was inspired by the picture I saw there of a stalwart, energetic, resourceful people, determined to protect their freedoms and to strive for national independence. They were confident, industrious, prosperous. The shops were bright and full of new products. Despite the political clouds that hung over it, this was essentially a happy city.

Just across the border, the East Berlin I could see was in dismal contrast. The devastation of the last war was only too evident. There was an absence of life, of brightness, of real progress.

If all the peoples of the world could only queue up to visit the two parts of Berlin and see for themselves the vivid contrast between life under

democracy and life under communism, the Communist threat would soon disappear.

As we stand in the first days of the New Year and look back over the past decade and a half, we find that a unique relationship has developed between the people of the United States and the beleaguered citizens of Free Berlin. During this critical period Berlin has been a focal point in the global struggle between Soviet imperialism and the free world. In a true sense it may be said that Berlin has borne the brunt of the postwar Soviet drive to divide Germany and absorb it into the Soviet empire.

When it was evident that the United States and its Western allies had no intention of permitting the Soviets to achieve their objectives in Germany, Berlin became subjected to a constant and relentless Soviet campaign of threats and pressure.

The pressures have been as subtle as the unpredictable stoppages of truck traffic on the 110 miles of autobahn linking Berlin with West Germany and the rest of the free world. They have been as harsh as the abortive blockade of 1948-1949 imposed by the Soviets in an effort to starve the city into submission.

The campaign of threats has also varied in nature and intensity, but it, too, has been constant. It was climaxed by the Khrushchev ultimatum of November 1958 calling for the withdrawal of Western forces from Berlin and the abandonment of West Berlin to inevitable Communist absorption. This Soviet demand has been accompanied by the specter of a separate Soviet-East German peace treaty, with its implied threat to Allied and West German access to Berlin.

But the effect of these Soviet tactics has been

¹ Address made at Scranton, Pa., on Jan. 9 before the Rotary Club of Scranton and the Rotary Club of West Berlin, Germany, by transoceanic telephone (press release 12).

quite the opposite than that intended. Instead of fear, discouragement, and resignation, which the Kremlin had hoped to create, we have seen a stiffening of resolve, a stubborn refusal to lose heart, and a firm determination to remain free. This has become a source of pride to free men everywhere.

West Berlin's Position

For those unfamiliar with the Berlin problem, the situation there is understandably paradoxical. Viewed from a traditional military point of view, West Berlin would be extremely difficult to defend against an attack launched by the nearly half million Soviet and East German forces which surround it. Yet the United States, Great Britain, and France are solemnly pledged to maintain their garrisons there "as long as their responsibilities require it" and to defend the city against an attack from any quarter.

From an economic point of view, too, West Berlin's position is unique. While it can boast a remarkable economic recovery which has seen it rise from the rubble to become free Germany's largest industrial city, West Berlin is nevertheless unlikely to achieve economic self-sufficiency under present circumstances.

All this can become understandable only when the true significance of Berlin is clearly comprehended. For Berlin is no ordinary city, and its role in contemporary history is no ordinary role. Berlin means many things to many people.

To the Soviets West Berlin has long been a bitter irritant or, in Mr. Khrushchev's words, a "cancer." Its climate of freedom and impressive prosperity stands in sharp contrast to the denial of personal freedom and the drab economic situation in the surrounding Communist-controlled area. It gives the lie to Communist dogma and propaganda and makes more difficult the bolshevization of East Germany.

For the free people of the Federal Republic and the 16 million East Germans living under Communist domination, cruelly and arbitrarily separated from their relatives and compatriots, West Berlin has become a rallying point and a symbol of their hope for the eventual reunification of their country.

For the East Germans, West Berlin not only provides an avenue of contact with the free world

to which they yearn to belong but also a refuge to which they can flee when life under communism has become unbearable to them.

The continued maintenance of freedom in West Berlin is also of great significance to the millions in Eastern Europe to whom the city is a beacon of hope and a symbol of the struggle of free men everywhere to preserve their freedom.

It seems hardly necessary to remind either an American or a West Berlin audience of the stake which the United States and the rest of the free world have in the preservation of West Berlin's freedom. The loss of that freedom would set in motion a chain of events which would have most serious political consequences.

But the loss of West Berlin must also be viewed in human terms. We are dealing here not with an abstract political problem but with the fate of two and a quarter million people who have courageously stood their ground in the shadow of massive Soviet-bloc power. Their loss of freedom would have a disastrous effect on the morale of free people everywhere.

The men in Moscow are well aware of why Berlin is so important to the free world. That is why the Communist rulers have chosen Berlin as one of their priority targets in the cold war.

Berlin, therefore, is a key test of Western determination and good faith in upholding the rights of free men against the encroachments of Communist power.

Reunification of Germany the Only Solution

The United States and its Western allies believe that the Berlin problem can be solved only within the context of the reunification of Germany. The efforts of the Western Powers and the Federal Republic to bring about the reunification of Germany have been numerous—but fruitless. The three Western Powers, and in recent years the Federal Republic, have proposed that reunification be carried out through the formation of a truly representative all-German government. Such a government, we have insisted, can come into being only as a result of free all-German elections. We have also maintained that a reunited Germany should be free to decide for itself its internal political, social, and economic structure and what international commitments of a political or military nature it desires to undertake.

For the Soviets free elections are anathema, since they would inevitably result in the rejection of the Communist system in East Germany and the return of that area to the free world. A clear demonstration of this is the West Berlin elections of December 1958, held at the height of the crisis created by the Soviet threat against the city. Despite the fact that they were subjected to all kinds of Communist pressure, the free people of West Berlin went to the polls in unprecedented numbers and administered a resounding defeat to the Communists by giving them less than 2 percent of their votes.

One of the Soviet stipulations in connection with a reunification plan is that the so-called "social gains" in the Soviet Zone—that is, the Communist system—must be preserved. It is worth noting that since 1949 over two and a half million East Germans have found these "social gains" so unattractive that they have rejected them by fleeing to the free society of West Berlin and the German Federal Republic. This movement, whereby men vote in essence with the soles of their shoes, steadily continues. In this last year 200,000 refugees from East Germany have come to the Federal Republic, the majority of them through West Berlin.

In response to our call for free elections the Soviets have invariably made counterproposals which omit free elections. They have proposed a loose confederation based on parity between 52 million West Germans and 16 million East Germans. Each group would have an independent government. This proposal, if accepted, would serve the Soviet purpose of perpetuating the division of Germany. It would isolate the Federal Republic and open it up to Communist infiltration from the east.

We have sought in vain to make clear to the Soviets that, while a divided Germany involves a constant threat to peace in Europe, a reunified Germany would not constitute a threat to the security of the Soviet Union. We have offered

to join in international guarantees to this end.

As we look to the future it is probable that the West will again engage in talks with the Soviets on the problem of Germany and Berlin. On the basis of past experience it would be unrealistic for us to expect an easy or speedy solution. Certainly there is nothing in Mr. Khrushchev's recent public statements to indicate that Soviet objectives with respect to Germany and Berlin have changed one iota, although there has been some apparent change in Soviet tone and tactics.

While it would be inappropriate for me to speak for the new American administration, I feel safe in predicting that in any future negotiations on the problem of Germany, including Berlin, we will continue to be guided by the following principles:

1. We believe in unity for the German people in one nation under a government of their own choice.
2. We believe in freedom of choice for a reunified Germany to determine its internal political, economic, and social structure and its international relationships.
3. We will take no action which will expose the two and a quarter million free people of West Berlin to Communist control or threaten their essential ties with the Federal Republic.

As Americans we take pride in the record of the United States in honoring both its legal and moral obligations. In relation to our commitments in Berlin this record will remain inviolate.

In conclusion, permit me to say a few words in German. *Zum Schluss erlauben Sie mir ein paar Worte auf deutsch. Ich möchte Ihnen, Herrn Bürgermeister, und den tapferen Bürgern Berlins meine besten Wünsche und die des amerikanischen Volkes für ein glückliches und freies Neues Jahr aussprechen.* In English this is: I should like to express to you, Mayor Amrehn, and to the courageous citizens of Berlin my best wishes and those of the American people for a happy New Year in freedom.

New State Department Building Dedicated



NEW STATE EXTENSION, dedicated on January 5 at a ceremony held in the south lobby just inside the diplomatic entrance at 22d and C Streets, NW. Secretary Herter spoke briefly to an audience that included Secretary-designate Dean Rusk, members of the diplomatic corps, Members of Congress, and administration officials. In his remarks Mr. Herter made special mention of the Foreign Service roll of honor, a marble plaque which lists Foreign Service personnel who have lost their lives in the performance of their duties. Formerly located in the lobby of the older part of the building, it has been moved to the lobby of the diplomatic entrance. A color guard of United States Marines flanked the plaque during the ceremony, and the Marine Corps Band played before Deputy Under Secretary Henderson introduced Mr. Herter.

The newly extended building covers an area of four square blocks between Virginia Avenue and C Street and 21st and 23d Streets and brings under one roof approximately 7,500 employees and almost all of the Department's Washington operations, including the International Cooperation Administration. It contains an 800-seat auditorium near the 23d Street entrance and an international conference room, with a seating capacity of approximately 425, which can accommodate delegates from 103 nations. Both the auditorium and the international conference room are equipped with facilities for simultaneous interpretation and radio and television coverage. Additional rooms for conferences and committee meetings and a delegates' lounge adjoin the international conference room, and there are two or three general conference rooms on each floor.

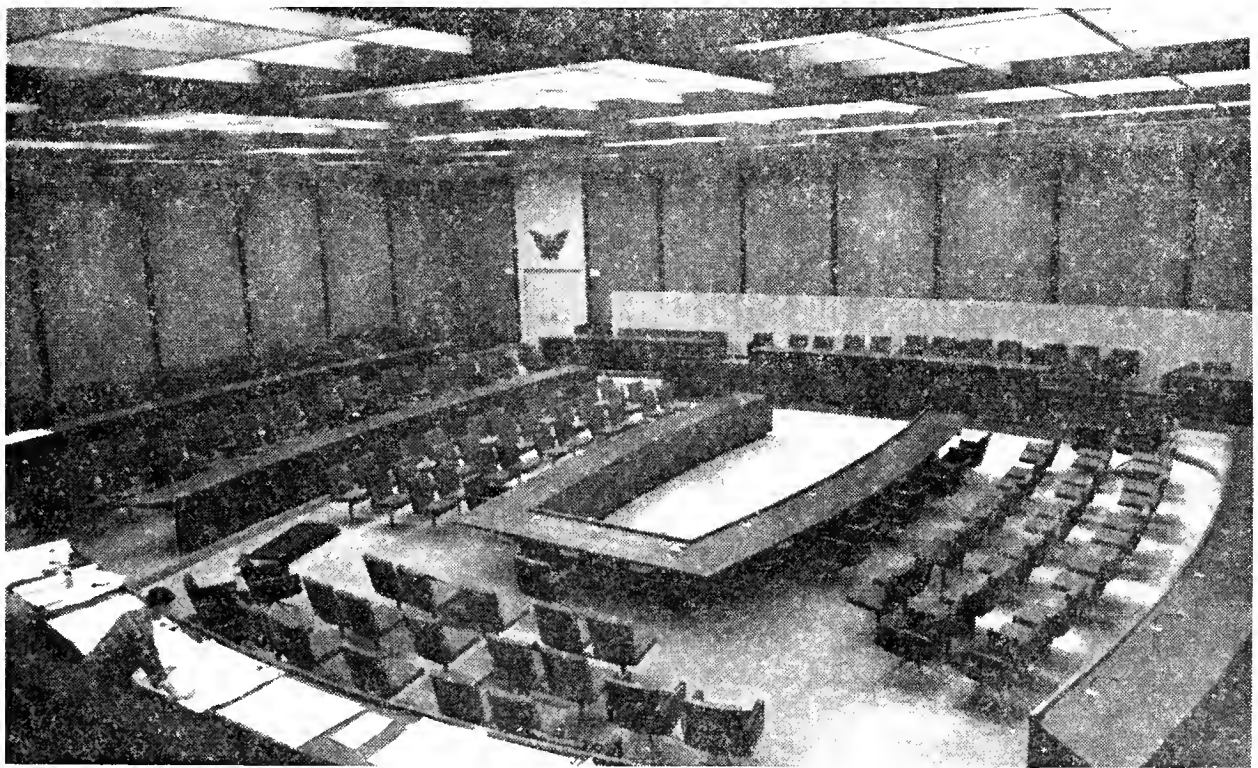
On the seven floors of office space the geographic and functional bureaus and the major organizational units are arranged in vertical patterns with most of the assistant secretaries' offices located on the sixth floor. The Secretary's office is on the seventh floor and overlooks the Lincoln Memorial and the Potomac. Adjoining it is a small private dining room with kitchen facilities and a lounge. On the eighth floor there is a dining room furnished with a horseshoe table that will accommodate 124 guests at state dinners. Reception rooms and a special kitchen for catering service adjoin the dining room.

The Department's new library is located in the south and central part of the new extension, covering a total area of 58,000 square feet on the second, third, and fourth floors. The book stacks are on four levels, served by an elevator and a book lift, and will house the present Departmental collection of 500,000 volumes, with room for expansion.



Above, THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE

Below, THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ROOM



U.S. Voluntary Relief Agencies Expand Congo Feeding Programs

Press release 20 dated January 13

The Department of State announced on January 13 that a second U.S. voluntary relief agency will undertake an emergency feeding program to help avert famine in the Congo. The Seventh-day Adventists Welfare Services, which has maintained medical dispensaries in the Congo for a number of years, has been given 80,000 pounds each of surplus U.S. nonfat dry milk, corn meal, and rice to assist in launching a pilot feeding project in Kasai and Katanga Provinces in the Congo.

Meantime, in view of the serious food situation which has developed in the Congo, a food distribution program which Church World Service (CWS), a voluntary relief organization sponsored by U.S. Protestant churches, has been operating there is being stepped up considerably with expanded donations of surplus foods by the U.S. Government.

In addition to approximately 855,000 pounds of dry milk and 200,000 pounds of flour originally allocated to CWS for its 1961 feeding program in the Congo, the United States recently donated approximately 1,600,000 pounds of rice to CWS for emergency distribution in Kasai Province. Approximately one-third of these commodities has already been shipped. CWS has also sent drugs valued at more than \$500,000 donated by U.S. pharmaceutical houses to the Congo.

The grants of food to U.S. voluntary relief agencies for emergency distribution in the Congo are supplementary to substantial quantities of food which the U.S. Government is providing through the United Nations to help ease the food crisis in the Congo. The United States has also made known its readiness to supply additional quantities of surplus agricultural commodities for this purpose.

These food shipments through the United Nations include 2,200,000 pounds of dry milk, authorized last September, and 13,200,000 pounds of corn meal which is now being shipped to the Congo at a scheduled rate of 3,300,000 pounds a month, with the first shipment due to arrive in Matadi, Congo, February 7 or 8. Most of the dry milk has already been shipped to the Congo in vessels which sailed from U.S. ports the latter part of 1960. The first shipment left Charleston, S.C., in

August, another in October from Duluth, Minn., one in November from Green Bay, Wis., and two in December from Norfolk, Va.

U.S. emergency shipments of food to the Congo originally started when the crisis developed there last summer. Initial supplies were airlifted in order to reach their destination at the earliest possible time. Airlifts included approximately 220,000 pounds of flour from U.S. stocks which were available at Lomé, Togo, and approximately 600,000 pounds of flour from U.S. Army stocks in Frankfurt, Germany.

The United States also airlifted at least 200,000 individual Army "C" rations to the Congo during the early part of the food crisis. In addition 100,000 pork-free rations were shipped in by sea.

Total cost to the U.S. Government of foods made available to the Congo so far, including transportation costs, is estimated in excess of \$2 million. The foods came primarily from surplus stocks of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

U.S. Expresses Regret for Incident Involving Nigerian Diplomat

Following is the text of a note on behalf of the U.S. Government delivered on January 12 to Julius M. Udochi, Ambassador of Nigeria at Washington, concerning refusal of service at Charlottesville, Va., on January 5 to C. C. Uchuno, Second Secretary of the Nigerian Embassy.

Press release 17 dated January 12

JANUARY 12, 1961

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to reports appearing in the local press since January 6 indicating that Mr. C. C. Uchuno, Second Secretary of the Nigerian Embassy, was refused service at a restaurant located in the railway station in the city of Charlottesville, Virginia, on January 5, 1961.

I am requesting the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has jurisdiction in the matter, to make a full investigation and the Department of State will communicate further with you once his report is received. In the meantime, I wish to express my profound regret for any discriminatory treatment shown to Mr. Uchuno, with the hope that you will understand that this discourteous act is in no way indicative

of the feeling of the Government or the people of the United States toward the Government and people of the Federation of Nigeria.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

His Excellency

JULIUS M. UDOCHI,

Nigerian Ambassador.

Clarence Randall Submits Report on Foreign Economic Policy

On January 3 Clarence B. Randall submitted to President Eisenhower his resignation as Special Assistant to the President in the Field of Foreign Economic Policy and as Chairman of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy, to be effective January 20.¹ Appended to his letter of resignation was the following résumé covering the period of his White House service.

JANUARY 3, 1961

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It has been my privilege to serve you during virtually your entire Administration, first as your Chairman of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy,² then as your Special Consultant on Trade, and since July 10, 1956 as your Special Assistant in the area of foreign economic policy. On that date you also directed that I assume the chairmanship of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy.³

During this period I have in addition carried out four special assignments of varying character in the foreign field. In the summer of 1953 I undertook a special mission to Turkey, the purpose of which was to make recommendations as to what most urgently needed to be done by an underdeveloped country with a view to attracting foreign private investment capital. In January 1956 I carried out a second mission to Turkey at the request of the Secretary of State, and the

¹ For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. Randall, see White House press release dated January 10.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Aug. 31, 1953, p. 279.

³ For a letter from the President to Mr. Randall, see *ibid.*, July 23, 1956, p. 143.

Secretary of the Treasury, in connection with matters which they then had under negotiation. In May of 1960 I went to Spain as the United States representative at the opening of the new training institute for the career service staffs of the Spanish Government, which had received American support. Then in September of 1960 I was the United States representative in Geneva at the opening of the new negotiations on trade barriers held under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.⁴

My principal responsibility in the field of foreign economic policy has been the coordination of policy among the various Departments and Agencies. Whenever a problem in this field has crossed departmental lines, it has been my endeavor, acting solely by personal initiative, to bring about mutual understanding and unity of purpose before new policy was put into effect. Assisted by my small but able staff, I did this informally from day to day. Then as major issues began to shape up, I saw to it that they were laid before the Council on Foreign Economic Policy where consensus could be arrived at more formally by personal discussion among top-level officials.

You directed that the Council on Foreign Economic Policy have the following membership: the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Agriculture, or their principal deputies, your Special Assistant for Economic Affairs, your Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, and a member of the Council of Economic Advisers. Your Special Assistant for Security Operations Coordination was added as a member in later instructions. I was directed to invite heads of other departments and agencies to participate in meetings when matters of direct concern to them came under consideration. Pursuant thereto, I regularly invited the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, or their principal deputies.

In order that I might be fully advised on the foreign activities and problems of the Government, you invited me to attend meetings of the Cabinet and the National Security Council, and

⁴ For a statement by Mr. Randall, see *ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1960, p. 453.

asked me to establish appropriate working relations with the National Security Council, the National Advisory Council on International Financial and Monetary Problems, and such other groups within Government as might be necessary.

Foremost among the matters to which I may have made some contribution has been the advancement of a liberal trade policy in world affairs, for which you have provided constant inspiration and leadership. It has not been easy at all times to withstand the importunities of those who, for their own short term advantage, would retard the long term national benefit. But the leadership of the Administration in this field has gone steadily forward. Trade barriers the world around have been steadily reduced, and the unquestioned leadership of the United States in this movement has not only been of great advantage to our own economy, but has strengthened immeasurably the economy of the entire free world.

It would be of little value to attempt to list in detail all the various subjects as to which my office played some part in arriving at common ground where foreign economic policy questions were involved, but a few might be noted that would illustrate the scope of our endeavors.

We dealt with such matters as the extent of controls on trade with the Sino-Soviet Bloc, the effect of surplus agricultural commodity disposal on the markets of friendly nations, and the entire range of international commodity problems. We assisted in arriving at common positions with respect to the economic aspects of many international conferences. Often we were asked to develop agreement with respect to proposed pieces of legislation, such as P.L. 480 and the extension of the Sugar Act.

Frequently the National Security Council requested the Council on Foreign Economic Policy to develop proposals in such areas as the effect of the antitrust laws on U.S. trade and investment policy, economic defense matters, and special questions having to do with unusual trade competition from various particular countries. Tax questions affecting foreign economic policy were referred to us by the National Advisory Council.

Often the Council on Foreign Economic Policy acted on its own motion to initiate policy as, for example, with respect to the extent of differentials

under the Buy American executive order, the effect on the United States of the formation of the European Common Market and the Free Trade Area, acquisitions for, and disposals from, the supplemental stockpile, agricultural assistance to developing countries where crops produced were in surplus in the United States, antitrust questions in connection with the European Coal and Steel Community, the stimulation of private foreign investment, the economic aspects of the development of Africa South of the Sahara, the encouragement of private home ownership in the developing countries, Asian regional economic cooperation, and a great number of special problems in the field of international travel.

Further to equip myself for my responsibility, I made it a practice from time to time to visit our embassies in various parts of the world. In the course of each such visit, I held a conference participated in by all of the senior members of the embassy staff. I first reviewed for them pending questions in the field of foreign economic policy, and then in turn sought their advice and counsel. I particularly sought to be alerted as to new questions that might be shaping up. I did this in South Asia, Africa, the Middle East, the Far East, and in Europe. Invariably I was able to bring home to the Council new insight into old problems, or to suggest to them the imminence of new problems.

From time to time I received direct assignments from you that were special in their nature. For example, pursuant to your instructions I prepared a report on International Travel which the Congress had requested by the Mutual Security Act, and I coordinated the views of the various Departments with respect to the Fairless Report on the Mutual Security Program.

Often the Council on Foreign Economic Policy was convened for the dissemination of information, as distinguished from discussion looking toward formal action. These conferences covered a wide range of problems, such as those relating to the International Labor Organization, the Economic Commission for Europe, the pros and cons of specific import control actions such as in the fields of lead, zinc, and oil, balance of payments problems, and the economic aspects of the Cuban situation. On these occasions some well-informed

officer was asked to give all of the Departments the benefit of his thinking on the problem at hand.

Soviet economic penetration activities were discussed regularly on the basis of reports and briefings by appropriate officials.

One of the most significant recent discussions within the Council has had to do with the broad subject of how the Government might establish new guidelines for United States policy with respect to organizations of workers in underdeveloped countries, to the end that democratic elements within those organizations might be strengthened.

One further function which was specially assigned to me was that of simplifying and strengthening the structure of interagency committees. In carrying this forward, several ad hoc committees were terminated, the Economic Defense Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee for Export Control relationship was simplified, and a reporting system was established within the Cabinet Secretariat to give continuous supervision with respect to the establishment and continuing need for such interagency committees.

Ad hoc committees when established were given precise terms of reference with provision for dissolution upon completion of their tasks. Where necessary, new permanent committees were established as follows: the Trade Policy Committee, the Interdepartmental Travel Policy Committee, and the Supplemental Stockpile Advisory Committee on Barter.

As one of its functions, the Council on Foreign Economic Policy maintained a Handbook on Foreign Economic Policy which was kept current by periodic loose-leaf insertions. This Handbook was used extensively throughout Government as a ready reference to current foreign economic policy.

At no time has administrative responsibility been vested in my office, and I am fully convinced that this was sound. My function has been solely one of proposing and coordinating ideas and policies. My entire purpose has been to carry out as faithfully as possible those policies which you had initiated, and as to which I knew that you held strong convictions.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE B. RANDALL

President Delegates Authority for Administration of P.L. 480

AN EXECUTIVE ORDER¹

ADMINISTRATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1954, AS AMENDED

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Department of Agriculture. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this order, the functions conferred upon the President by Titles I and IV of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1691-1694; 1731-1736) are hereby delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture.

(b) The administration on behalf of the United States of the credit provisions of agreements entered into pursuant to Title IV of the Act (including the receiving of payments under agreements) shall be performed by such Federal agency or agencies as shall hereafter be designated therefor by the President.

(c) The Department of Agriculture shall transmit to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States and to the Committees on Agriculture and Appropriations thereof the reports required by the provisions of paragraph (5) of the act of August 13, 1957, 71 Stat. 345 (7 U.S.C. 1704a).

SEC. 2. Department of State—administration of Title II. The functions conferred upon the President by Title II of the Act (7 U.S.C. 1701-1709) are hereby delegated to the Secretary of State.

SEC. 3. Department of State—other functions. (a) The functions of negotiating and entering into agreements with friendly nations or organizations of friendly nations conferred upon the President by the Act are hereby delegated to the Secretary of State.

(b) All functions under the Act, however vested, delegated or assigned, shall be subject to the responsibilities of the Secretary of State with respect to the foreign policy of the United States as such policy relates to such functions.

(c) The provisions of Part II of Executive Order No. 10893 of November 8, 1960,² are hereby extended and made applicable to the functions provided for in the Act and to United States agencies and personnel concerned with the administration abroad of such functions.

SEC. 4. Foreign currencies. (a) (1) The amounts of foreign currencies which accrue under Title I of the Act to be used for the loans described in section 104(g) of the Act, and the amounts of such currencies to be used for loans by the Export-Import Bank pursuant to section 4(d)(5) of this order, shall be the amounts thereof specified, or shall be the amounts thereof corresponding to the dollar amounts specified, for such loans in sales

¹ No. 10900; 26 *Fed. Reg.* 143.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 869.

agreements entered into pursuant to section 3(a) of this order. The Department of State may allocate or transfer to the Development Loan Fund foreign currencies to be used for loans made by the latter under section 104(g) of the Act in pursuance of section 4(d)(7)(i) hereof.

(2) Except as otherwise provided in section 4(a)(1) hereof and except as otherwise required by law (74 Stat. 233; 238; section 104(h) of the Act), and, if applicable, within the amounts purchasable with the several appropriations, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall from time to time fix amounts of foreign currencies which accrue under Title I of the Act to be used for the purposes described in the respective lettered paragraphs of section 104 of the Act. To the extent necessary, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall allocate among the Government agencies concerned the amounts of foreign currencies so fixed.

(3) The function conferred upon the President by the penultimate proviso of section 104 of the Act of waiving the applicability of section 1415 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1953 (31 U.S.C. 724), is hereby delegated to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to prescribe regulations governing the purchase, custody, deposit, transfer, and sale of foreign currencies received under the Act.

(c) The foregoing provisions of this section shall not be deemed to limit section 3 of this order, and the provisions of subsection (b) of this section shall not be deemed to limit subsection (a) thereof.

(d) The purposes described in the lettered paragraphs of section 104 of the Act (7 U.S.C. 1704) shall be carried out, with foreign currencies made available in consonance with law and the provisions of this order, as follows:

(1) Those under section 104(a) of the Act by the Department of Agriculture.

(2) Those under section 104(b) of the Act by the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization. The function conferred upon the President by that section of determining, from time to time, materials to be contracted for or to be purchased for a supplemental stockpile is hereby delegated to the Director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization.

(3) Those under section 104(c) of the Act by the Department of Defense or the Department of State, as those agencies shall agree, or in the absence of agreement, as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine.

(4) Those under sections 104(d) and 104(e) of the Act by the Department of State, except to the extent that section 104(e) pertains to the loans referred to in subsection (d)(5) of this section.

(5) Those under section 104(e) of the Act by the Export-Import Bank of Washington to the extent that section 104(e) pertains to loans governed by that portion of such section added by the act of August 13, 1957, 71 Stat. 345.

(6) Those under section 104(f) of the Act by the respective agencies of the Government having authority to pay United States obligations abroad.

(7) (i) Those under section 104(g) of the Act by the Department of State and by the Development Loan Fund, as they shall agree. (ii) The function conferred upon the President by section 104(g) of the Act of determining the manner in which the loans provided for in section 104(g) shall be made is hereby delegated to the Secretary of State with respect to loans made by the Department of State pursuant to the assignment of purposes effected under item (i) of this paragraph, and to the Development Loan Fund with respect to loans made by the Development Loan Fund pursuant to such assignment of purposes. (iii) As used herein, the term "the Development Loan Fund" means the Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, acting subject to the immediate supervision and direction of the board of directors of the Development Loan Fund; but, notwithstanding the foregoing, the Development Loan Fund, with respect to this order, shall be subject to the supervision and direction of the Secretary of State.

(8) Those under sections 104(h), 104(o), 104(p), and 104(q) of the Act by the Department of State.

(9) Those under sections 104(i) and 104(m) of the Act by the United States Information Agency.

(10) Those under section 104(j) of the Act by the Department of State and by the United States Information Agency in accordance with the division of responsibilities for the administration of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (62 Stat. 6) provided by Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953³ (67 Stat. 642) and Executive Order No. 10477 of August 1, 1953,⁴ and by subsequent agreement between the Department of State and the United States Information Agency.

(11) Those under section 104(k) of the Act as follows:

(i) Those with respect to collecting, collating, translating, abstracting, and disseminating scientific and technological information by the Director of the National Science Foundation and such other agency or agencies as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, after appropriate consultation, may designate. (ii) Those with respect to programs of cultural and educational development, health, nutrition, and sanitation by the Department of State. (iii) All others by such agency or agencies as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, after appropriate consultation, may designate. As used in this paragraph the term "appropriate consultation" shall include consultation with the Secretary of State, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and any other appropriate Federal agency.

(12) Those under section 104(l) of the Act by the Department of State and by any other agency or agencies designated therefor by the Secretary of State.

(13) Those under section 104(n) of the Act by the Librarian of Congress.

(14) Those under section 104(r) of the Act by the Department of State and by the United States Information Agency, as they shall agree.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1953, p. 854.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1953, p. 238.

(e) In negotiation [sic] International agreements in pursuance of the Act, the Secretary of State shall endeavor to avoid restrictions which would limit the application of normal budgetary and appropriation controls to the use of those foreign currencies accruing under Title I of the Act which are to be available for operations of United States Government agencies.

SEC. 5. *Reservation of functions to the President.* There are hereby reserved to the President the functions conferred upon him by section 108 of the Act (including that section as affected by section 406 of the Act), with respect to making reports to Congress.

SEC. 6. *Definition; references.* (a) As used in this order, the term "Act" and the term "Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954" mean the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (68 Stat. 454) as amended from time to time, and include, except as may be inappropriate, provisions thereof amending other laws.

(b) References in any prior order not superseded by this order to any provisions of any Executive order superseded by this order shall hereafter be deemed to be references to the corresponding provisions, if any, of this order.

(c) References in this order or in any other Executive order to this order or any provision of this order shall be deemed to include references thereto, respectively, as amended from time to time.

SEC. 7. *Superseding and saving provisions.* (a) To the extent not heretofore superseded, the following-described orders and parts of orders are hereby superseded:

- (1) Executive Order No. 10560 of September 9, 1954.⁵
- (2) Executive Order No. 10685 of October 27, 1956.⁶
- (3) Executive Order No. 10708 of May 6, 1957.⁷
- (4) Executive Order No. 10746 of December 12, 1957.⁸
- (5) Sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order No. 10799 of January 15, 1959.
- (6) Executive Order No. 10827 of June 25, 1959.⁹
- (7) Executive Order No. 10884 of August 17, 1960.¹⁰
- (8) Without prejudice to section 3(c) of this order, the text enclosed in parentheses in section 304(a) (2) of Executive Order No. 10893 of November 8, 1960.

(b) Except to the extent that they may be inconsistent with this order, all determinations, authorizations, regulations, rulings, certificates, orders, directives, contracts, agreements, and other actions made, issued, or entered into with respect to any function affected by this order and not revoked, superseded, or otherwise made in-

⁵ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1954, p. 501.

⁶ For text, see *ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1956, p. 780.

⁷ For text, see *ibid.*, June 3, 1957, p. 905.

⁸ For text, see *ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1957, p. 1044.

⁹ For text, see *ibid.*, July 13, 1959, p. 55.

¹⁰ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1960, p. 366.

applicable before the date of this order, shall continue in full force and effect until amended, modified, or terminated by appropriate authority.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 5, 1961.

TAC Corrects Supplemental List of Imports for GATT Negotiations

TRADE-AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS UNDER GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE¹

Correction to Supplemental List of Articles Imported Into the United States

In the *Federal Register* of November 23, 1960 there was published by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements supplementary notice with regard to proposed trade-agreement negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with various foreign governments,² together with a list, supplementary to the original list, of additional articles imported into the United States to be considered in the proposed trade-agreement negotiations for possible modifications of duties and other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or specific continuance of existing customs or excise treatment (25 F.R. 11119-22).

Certain handkerchiefs were erroneously described under paragraph 1529(b) of the supplemental list as handkerchiefs "wholly or in chief value of rayon or other synthetic textile, made with handmade or hand-rolled hems, and valued not over 70 cents per dozen." This classification of articles is corrected to read—

Wholly or in chief value of rayon or other synthetic textile, made with handmade or hand-rolled hems, or valued over 70 cents per dozen.

Persons interested in the above-described handkerchiefs desiring to appear and be heard at the public hearings of the Committee for Reciprocity Information and the United States Tariff Commission scheduled in connection with the supplemental list of articles (25 F.R. 11119 and 25 F.R. 11122) should notify the Secretary for the Committee for Reciprocity Information or the Secretary of the Tariff Commission not later than 10 days after the date of publication of this notice in the *Federal Register*. Written statements of persons not desiring to be heard orally should be submitted not later than 20 days after the

¹ 26 *Fed. Reg.* 15.

² For text of the TAC announcement and notice of intention to negotiate, together with the Committee for Reciprocity Information's notice of public hearings, see BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1960, p. 897.

date on which this notice is published in the *Federal Register*.

By direction of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements this 3d day of January 1961.

JOHN A. BIRCH,
*Chairman, Interdepartmental
Committee on Trade Agreements.*

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 3d day of January 1961.

EDWARD YARDLEY,
*Secretary, Committee for
Reciprocity Information.*

By direction of the United States Tariff Commission this 3d day of January 1961.

[SEAL]

DONN N. BENT,
Secretary.

Designation of Restricted Waters Under Great Lakes Pilotage Act

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS, pursuant to section 3(a) of the Great Lakes Pilotage Act of 1960 (Public Law 86-555; 74 Stat. 259),² the President is directed to designate and by proclamation announce those United States waters of the Great Lakes in which registered vessels of the United States and foreign vessels shall be required to have in their service a United States registered pilot or a Canadian registered pilot for the waters concerned; and

WHEREAS the aforesaid section 3(a) provides that these designations 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;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 3(a) of the Great Lakes Pilotage Act of 1960, do hereby designate and proclaim the following areas in which registered vessels of the United States and foreign vessels shall be required to have in their service a United States registered pilot or a Canadian registered pilot for the waters concerned, on and after the effective date of regulations issued by the Secretary of Commerce pursuant to the Act:

(1) *District 1.* All United States waters of the St. Lawrence River between the international boundary at St. Regis and a line at the head of the river running (at approximately 127° true) between Carruthers Point Light and South Side Light extended to the New York shore.

(2) *District 2.* All United States waters of Lake Erie westward of a line running (at approximately 026° true) from Sandusky Pierhead Light at Cedar Point to Southeast Shoal Light; all waters contained within the arc of a circle of one mile radius eastward of Sandusky Pierhead Light; the Detroit River; Lake St. Clair; the St. Clair River, and northern approaches thereto south of latitude 43°05'30" N.

(3) *District 3.* All United States waters of the St. Marys River, Sault Sainte Marie Locks and approaches thereto between latitude 45°57' N. at the southern approach and a line (at approximately 020° true) from Point Iroquois Light to the westward tangent of Jackson Island at the northern approach.

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 twenty-second day of December in the year of our Lord nine-
[SEAL] teen hundred and sixty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.

By the President:
CHRISTIAN A. HEMTER,
Secretary of State.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

Merchant Marine Legislation. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. February 3-June 22, 1960. 190 pp.

The Communist Threat in Latin America. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. June 17-24, 1960. 81 pp.

Communist Penetration of Radio Facilities: Conelrad—Communications. Hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Part I. August 23-24, 1960. 46 pp.

Communist Anti-American Riots: Mob Violence as an Instrument of Red Diplomacy—Bogotá, Caracas, La Paz, Tokyo. Staff study of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws to the Senate Judiciary Committee. August 26, 1960. 66 pp. [Committee print]

Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests: Analysis of Progress and Positions of the Participating Parties, October 1958-August 1960. Prepared by the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. October 1960. 110 pp. [Committee print]

Report on the Far East: Part I—Japan and United States Policies. Report of Senator Mike Mansfield to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. October 21, 1960. 7 pp. [Committee print]

¹ No. 3385; 25 *Fed. Reg.* 13681.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1960, p. 417.

U.S. Participates in Fifth Meeting of ECAFE Highway Subcommittee

*Report by Alfred Van Dyke
U.S. Delegate*

The fifth meeting of the Highway Subcommittee of the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East met in Katmandu, Nepal, November 30 to December 7, 1960.

For the first time in its history Nepal was host to an international conference. In attendance were delegates from 16 nations: Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Republic of China, France, India, Japan, Malaya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, and United States. France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States are considered outside members. The International Road Federation and the permanent International Association of Road Congresses were among the organizations represented.

Of principal interest on the agenda was the subject of ways and means of obtaining aid for highway development in the ECAFE region. Also included in the agenda were these subjects:

1. The proposed Trans-Asia Highway (from Turkey to Ceylon and Malaya, with a possible extension to Indonesia);
2. Traffic engineering and traffic safety;
3. Terminology used in bituminous construction;
4. Current methods of highway training and administration;
5. Highway transport;
6. Regional research institutes; and
7. Training facilities for highway officials.

The conference agreed that all efforts should be made to develop the Trans-Asia Highway scheme but that national highways in the respective countries should not be neglected. The United States delegate indicated general U.S. sup-

port and interest in the conception and execution of the project. Other items on the agenda were of less importance. However, the conference indicated its support for advancement of each of the items.

The U.S. delegate was Alfred Van Dyke, Chief of Transportation, U.S. Operations Mission, Ceylon. The U.S. advisers were Ernest H. Fisk, Counselor, American Embassy, Katmandu, Nepal, and Paul C. Thompson, U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, USOM, Nepal.

It was proposed that the next meeting of the Subcommittee be held at Colombo, Ceylon, in 1963.

SEATO Fellowship Program for 1961-62 Announced

Press release 18 dated January 13

For the fifth 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 social, economic, political, cultural, scientific, and educational problems which 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, and published material are taken into account.

The competition for the awards for the 1961-62 academic year is now open. American citizens may apply to the Executive 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 nominated by the

Department of State, with SEATO selecting the final award winners.

A total of 44 awards were made during the first 4 years of the SEATO fellowship program. The member states of SEATO are Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S., Pakistan Exchange Ratifications of Treaty of Friendship and Commerce

Press release 16 dated January 12

The instruments of ratification of the treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and Pakistan¹ were exchanged at Karachi on January 12. The exchange was made by Ambassador William M. Rountree and M. Hafizur Rahman, Minister for Commerce of Pakistan. This action completes the formal procedures connected with bringing the treaty into force. By its terms it will become effective on February 12, 1961, one month after the exchange of ratifications.

The treaty was signed at Washington on November 12, 1959.² The United States Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification on August 17, and it was ratified by President Eisenhower on August 29, 1960.

The treaty is similar to the treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation that the United States has concluded with a number of countries in recent years, as concerns provisions dealing with the carrying on of business activities and related matters, and with trade. Unlike most of these treaties, however, it does not contain provisions on the subject of navigation.

It is the first treaty of its type that has been concluded between the United States and Pakistan. Its 24 articles and the protocol include provisions on basic personal freedoms, the status and treatment of persons and corporations, the protection of persons and property, treatment of

imports and exports, exchange regulations, and other matters affecting the status and activities of the citizens and enterprises of either country when within the territories of the other. It clearly endorses the principle of nondiscriminatory treatment of business enterprises and provides specifically that such enterprises established by nationals and companies of either party within the territories of the other shall be assured treatment therein as favorable as that accorded like enterprises of whatever nationality.

The new treaty is regarded as a significant testament to the very close friendship of the two countries and as an effective means for promoting mutually beneficial economic relations between them.

United States and Brazil Sign Extradition Treaty

Press release 19 dated January 13

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

An extradition treaty was concluded on January 13 at Rio de Janeiro between the United States and Brazil. The treaty was signed for the United States by Ambassador John Moors Cabot and for Brazil by Foreign Minister Horacio Lafer.

The treaty, which contains 22 articles, generally follows the pattern of other extradition treaties to which the United States is a party. Article II contains a list of common crimes generally subject to extradition. Other articles specify the conditions which must be satisfied and the procedure which must be followed in order to obtain the extradition of a fugitive from justice.

The treaty will come into force 1 month after exchange of ratifications by the two Governments.

TEXT OF TREATY

TREATY OF EXTRADITION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL

The United States of America and the United States of Brazil, desiring to make more effective the cooperation of their respective countries in the repression of crime, have resolved to conclude a treaty of extradition and for this purpose have appointed the following plenipotentiaries:

¹ S. Ex. F, 86th Cong., 2d sess.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 30, 1959, p. 811.

The President of the United States of America :

His Excellency, John Moors Cabot, Ambassador of the United States of America to Brazil, and

The President of the United States of Brazil :

His Excellency Horacio Lafer, Minister of State for External Relations,

who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, agree as follows :

ARTICLE I

Each Contracting State agrees, under the conditions established by the present Treaty and each in accordance with the legal formalities in force in its own country, to deliver up, reciprocally, persons found in its territory who have been charged with or convicted of any of the crimes or offenses specified in Article II of the present Treaty and committed within the territorial jurisdiction of the other, or outside thereof under the conditions specified in Article IV of the present Treaty; provided that such surrender shall take place only upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his commitment for trial if the crime or offense had been there committed.

ARTICLE II

Persons shall be delivered up according to the provisions of the present Treaty for prosecution when they have been charged with, or to undergo sentence when they have been convicted of, any of the following crimes or offenses :

1. Murder (including crimes designated as parricide, poisoning, and infanticide, when provided for as separate crimes); manslaughter when voluntary.
2. Rape; abortion; carnal knowledge of (or violation of) a girl under the age specified by law in such cases in both the requesting and requested States.
3. Malicious wounding; willful assault resulting in grievous bodily harm.
4. Abduction, detention, deprivation of liberty, or enslavement of women or girls for immoral purposes.
5. Kidnapping or abduction of minors or adults for the purpose of extorting money from them or their families or any other person or persons, or for any other unlawful end.
6. Bigamy.
7. Arson.
8. The malicious and unlawful damaging of railways, trains, vessels, aircraft, bridges, vehicles, and other means of travel or of public or private buildings, or other structures, when the act committed shall endanger human life.
9. Piracy, by the law of nations; mutiny on board a vessel or an aircraft for the purpose of rebelling against the authority of the Captain or Commander of such vessel or aircraft.
10. Burglary, defined to be the breaking into or entering either in day or night time, a house, office, or other building of a Government, corporation, or private person, with intent to commit a felony therein; housebreaking.
11. Robbery.

12. Forgery or the utterance of forged papers.

13. The forgery, falsification, theft or destruction of the official acts or public records of the government or public authority, including Courts of Justice, or the uttering or fraudulent use of the same.

14. The fabrication or the utterance, circulation or fraudulent use of any of the following objects: counterfeit money, whether coin or paper; counterfeit titles or coupons of public debt, created by national, state, provincial, territorial, local, or municipal governments; counterfeit bank notes or other instruments of public credit; and counterfeit seals, stamps, dies, and marks of State or public administration.

15. The introduction of instruments for the fabrication of counterfeit coins or bank notes or other paper currency as money.

16. Embezzlement by any person or persons hired, salaried or employed, to the detriment of their employers or principals.

17. Larceny.

18. Obtaining money, valuable securities or other property by false pretenses, or by threats of injury.

19. Receiving any money, valuable securities or other property knowing the same to have been unlawfully obtained.

20. Fraud or breach of trust by a bailee, banker, factor, trustee, executor, administrator, guardian, director or officer of any company or corporation or by anyone in any fiduciary capacity.

21. Willful non-support or willful abandonment of a minor or other dependent person when death or serious bodily injury results therefrom.

22. Perjury (including willfully false expert testimony); subornation of perjury.

23. Soliciting, receiving, or offering bribes.

24. The following offenses when committed by public officials: extortion; embezzlement.

25. Crimes or offenses against the bankruptcy laws.

26. Crimes or offenses against the laws of both countries for the suppression of slavery and slave trading.

27. Crimes or offenses against the laws relating to the traffic in, use of, or production or manufacture of, narcotic drugs or cannabis.

28. Crimes or offenses against the laws relating to the illicit manufacture of or traffic in substances injurious to health, or poisonous chemicals.

29. Smuggling, defined to be the act of willfully and knowingly violating the customs laws with intent to defraud the revenue by international traffic in merchandise subject to duty.

30. Aiding the escape of a prisoner by force of arms.

31. Use of explosives so as to endanger human life or property.

32. Procuration, defined as the procuring or transporting of a woman or girl under age, even with her consent, for immoral purposes, or of a woman or girl over age, by fraud, threats, or compulsion, for such purposes with a view in either case to gratifying the passions of another person; profiting from the prostitution of another.

33. The attempt to commit any of the above crimes

or offenses, when such attempt is made a separate offense by the laws of the Contracting States.

34. Participation in any of the above crimes or offenses.

ARTICLE III

Except as otherwise provided in the present Treaty, the requested State shall extradite a person accused or convicted of any crime or offense enumerated in Article II only when both of the following conditions exist:

1. The law of the requesting State, in force when the crime or offense was committed, provides a possible penalty of deprivation of liberty for a period of more than one year; and

2. The law in force in the requested State generally provides a possible penalty of deprivation of liberty for a period of more than one year which would be applicable if the crime or offense were committed in the territory of the requested State.

ARTICLE IV

When the crime or offense has been committed outside the territorial jurisdiction of the requesting State, the request for extradition need not be honored unless the laws of the requesting State and those of the requested State authorize punishment of such crime or offense in this circumstance.

The words "territorial jurisdiction" as used in this Article and in Article I of the present Treaty mean: territory, including territorial waters, and the airspace thereover, belonging to or under the control of one of the Contracting States; and vessels and aircraft belonging to one of the Contracting States or to a citizen or corporation thereof when such vessel is on the high seas or such aircraft is over the high seas.

ARTICLE V

Extradition shall not be granted in any of the following circumstances:

1. When the requested State is competent, according to its laws, to prosecute the person whose surrender is sought for the crime or offense for which that person's extradition is requested and the requested State intends to exercise its jurisdiction.

2. When the person whose surrender is sought has already been or is at the time of the request being prosecuted in the requested State for the crime or offense for which his extradition is requested.

3. When the legal proceedings or the enforcement of the penalty for the crime or offense committed has become barred by limitation according to the laws of either the requesting State or the requested State.

4. When the person sought would have to appear, in the requesting State, before an extraordinary tribunal or court.

5. When the crime or offense for which the person's extradition is requested is purely military.

6. When the crime or offense for which the person's extradition is requested is of a political character. Nevertheless

a. The allegation by the person sought of political pur-

pose or motive for the request for his extradition will not preclude that person's surrender if the crime or offense for which his extradition is requested is primarily an infraction of the ordinary penal law. In such case the delivery of the person being extradited will be dependent on an undertaking on the part of the requesting State that the political purpose or motive will not contribute toward making the penalty more severe.

b. Criminal acts which constitute clear manifestations of anarchism or envisage the overthrow of the bases of all political organizations will not be classed as political crimes or offenses.

c. The determination of the character of the crime or offense will fall exclusively to the authorities of the requested State.

ARTICLE VI

When the commission of the crime or offense for which the extradition of the person is sought is punishable by death under the laws of the requesting State and the laws of the requested State do not permit this punishment, the requested State shall not be obligated to grant the extradition unless the requesting State provides assurances satisfactory to the requested State that the death penalty will not be imposed on such person.

ARTICLE VII

There is no obligation upon the requested State to grant the extradition of a person who is a national of the requested State, but the executive authority of the requested State shall, subject to the appropriate laws of that State, have the power to surrender a national of that State if, in its discretion, it be deemed proper to do so.

ARTICLE VIII

The Contracting States may request, one from the other, through the channel of their respective diplomatic or consular agents, the provisional arrest of a fugitive as well as the seizure of articles relating to the crime or offense.

The request for provisional arrest shall be granted provided that the crime or offense for which the extradition of the fugitive is sought is one for which extradition shall be granted under the present Treaty and provided that the request contains:

1. A statement of the crime or offense of which the fugitive is accused or convicted;

2. A description of the person sought for the purpose of identification;

3. A statement of the probable whereabouts of the fugitive, if known; and

4. A declaration that there exist and will be forthcoming the relevant documents required by Article IX of the present Treaty.

If, within a maximum period of 60 days from the date of the provisional arrest of the fugitive in accordance with this Article, the requesting State does not present the formal request for his extradition, duly supported, the person detained will be set at liberty and a new request for his extradition will be accepted only when accompanied by the relevant documents required by Article IX of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE IX

The request for extradition shall be made through diplomatic channels or, exceptionally, in the absence of diplomatic agents, it may be made by a consular officer, and shall be supported by the following documents:

1. In the case of a person who has been convicted of the crime or offense for which his extradition is sought: a duly certified or authenticated copy of the final sentence of the competent court.

2. In the case of a person who is merely charged with the crime or offense for which his extradition is sought: a duly certified or authenticated copy of the warrant of arrest or other order of detention issued by the competent authorities of the requesting State, together with the depositions upon which such warrant or order may have been issued and such other evidence or proof as may be deemed competent in the case.

The documents specified in this Article must contain a precise statement of the criminal act of which the person sought is charged or convicted, the place and date of the commission of the criminal act, and they must be accompanied by an authenticated copy of the texts of the applicable laws of the requesting State including the laws relating to the limitation of the legal proceedings or the enforcement of the penalty for the crime or offense for which the extradition of the person is sought, and data or records which will prove the identity of the person sought.

The documents in support of the request for extradition shall be accompanied by a duly certified translation thereof into the language of the requested State.

ARTICLE X

When the extradition of a person has been requested by more than one State, action thereon will be taken as follows:

1. If the requests deal with the same criminal act, preference will be given to the request of the State in whose territory the act was performed.

2. If the requests deal with different criminal acts, preference will be given to the request of the State in whose territory the most serious crime or offense, in the opinion of the requested State, has been committed.

3. If the requests deal with different criminal acts, but which the requested State regards as of equal gravity, the preference will be determined by the priority of the requests.

ARTICLE XI

The determination that extradition based upon the request therefor should or should not be granted shall be made in accordance with the domestic law of the requested State, and the person whose extradition is desired shall have the right to use such remedies and recourses as are authorized by such law.

ARTICLE XII

If at the time the appropriate authorities of the requested State shall consider the documents submitted by the requesting State, as required in Article IX of the present Treaty, in support of its request for the extradition of the person sought, it shall appear that such

documents do not constitute evidence sufficient to warrant extradition under the provisions of the present Treaty of the person sought, such person shall be set at liberty unless the requested State or the proper tribunal thereof shall, in conformity with its own laws, order an extension of time for the submission by the requesting State of additional evidence.

ARTICLE XIII

Extradition having been granted, the surrendering State shall communicate promptly to the requesting State that the person to be extradited is held at its disposition.

If, within 60 days counting from such communication—except when rendered impossible by *force majeure* or by some act of the person being extradited or the surrender of the person is deferred pursuant to Articles XIV or XV of the present Treaty—such person has not been delivered up and conveyed out of the jurisdiction of the requested State, the person shall be set at liberty.

ARTICLE XIV

When the person whose extradition is requested is being prosecuted or is serving a sentence in the requested State, the surrender of that person under the provisions of the present Treaty shall be deferred until the person is entitled to be set at liberty, on account of the crime or offense for which he is being prosecuted or is serving a sentence, for any of the following reasons: dismissal of the prosecution, acquittal, expiration of the term of the sentence or the term to which such sentence may have been commuted, pardon, parole, or amnesty.

ARTICLE XV

When, in the opinion of competent medical authority, duly sworn to, the person whose extradition is requested cannot be transported from the requested State to the requesting State without serious danger to his life due to his grave illness, the surrender of the person under the provisions of the present Treaty shall be deferred until such time as the danger, in the opinion of the competent medical authority, has been sufficiently mitigated.

ARTICLE XVI

The requesting State may send to the requested State one or more duly authorized agents, either to aid in the identification of the person sought or to receive his surrender and to convey him out of the territory of the requested State.

Such agents, when in the territory of the requested State, shall be subject to the applicable laws of the requested State, but the expenses which they incur shall be for the account of the State which has sent them.

ARTICLE XVII

Expenses related to the transportation of the person extradited shall be paid by the requesting State. The appropriate legal officers of the country in which the extradition proceedings take place shall, by all legal means within their power, assist the officers of the requesting State before the respective judges and magistrates. No pecuniary claim, arising out of the arrest, detention, examination and surrender of fugitives under the terms

of the present Treaty, shall be made by the requested State against the requesting State other than as specified in the second paragraph of this Article and other than for the lodging, maintenance, and board of the person being extradited prior to his surrender.

The legal officers, other officers of the requested State, and court stenographers in the requested State who shall, in the usual course of their duty, give assistance and who receive no salary or compensation other than specific fees for services performed, shall be entitled to receive from the requesting State the usual payment for such acts or services performed by them in the same manner and to the same amount as though such acts or services had been performed in ordinary criminal proceedings under the laws of the country of which they are officers.

ARTICLE XVIII

A person who, after surrender by either of the Contracting States to the other under the terms of the present Treaty, succeeds in escaping from the requesting State and takes refuge in the territory of the State which has surrendered him, or passes through it in transit, will be detained, upon simple diplomatic request, and surrendered anew, without other formalities, to the State to which his extradition was granted.

ARTICLE XIX

Transit through the territory of one of the Contracting States of a person in the custody of an agent of the other Contracting State, and surrendered to the latter by a third State, and who is not of the nationality of the country of transit, shall, subject to the provisions of the second paragraph of this Article, be permitted, independently of any judicial formalities, when requested through diplomatic channels and accompanied by the presentation in original or in authenticated copy of the document by which the State of refuge has granted the extradition. In the United States of America, the authority of the Secretary of State of the United States of America shall be first obtained.

The permission provided for in this Article may nevertheless be refused if the criminal act which has given rise to the extradition does not constitute a crime or offense enumerated in Article II of the present Treaty, or when grave reasons of public order are opposed to the transit.

ARTICLE XX

Subject to the rights of third parties, which shall be duly respected:

1. All articles, valuables, or documents which relate to the crime or offense and, at the time of arrest, have been found in the possession of the person sought or otherwise found in the requested State shall be surrendered, with him, to the requesting State.

2. The articles and valuables which may be found in the possession of third parties and which likewise are related to the crime or offense shall also be seized, but may be surrendered only after the rights with regard thereto asserted by such third parties have been determined.

ARTICLE XXI

A person extradited by virtue of the present Treaty may not be tried or punished by the requesting State for any crime or offense committed prior to the request for his extradition, other than that which gave rise to the request, nor may he be re-extradited by the requesting State to a third country which claims him, unless the surrendering State so agrees or unless the person extradited, having been set at liberty within the requesting State, remains voluntarily in the requesting State for more than 30 days from the date on which he was released. Upon such release, he shall be informed of the consequences to which his stay in the territory of the requesting State would subject him.

ARTICLE XXII

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

The present Treaty shall enter into force one month after the date of exchange of ratifications. It may be terminated at any time by either Contracting State giving notice of termination to the other Contracting State, and the termination shall be effective six months after the date of such notice.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed hereunto their seals.

DONE in duplicate, in the English and Portuguese languages, both equally authentic, at Rio de Janeiro this 13th day of January, 1961.

For the United States of America:

JOHN M. CABOT

For the United States of Brazil:

HORACIO LAFER

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention concerning customs facilities for touring.

Done at New York June 4, 1954. Entered into force September 11, 1957. TIAS 3879.

Extension to: Hong Kong, November 11, 1960.

Displaced Persons and Refugees

Agreement extending and supplementing the agreement of June 6, 1955 (TIAS 3471), relating to the continuation of the operations of the International Tracing Service. Effected by exchange of notes at Bonn April 28 and May 5, 1960. Entered into force May 5, 1960.

Protocol renewing and amending the agreement of June 6, 1955 (TIAS 3471), constituting an International Commission for the International Tracing Service. Done at Bonn August 23, 1960. Entered into force May 5, 1960.

Signatures: Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and United States, August 23, 1960.

Protocol renewing and amending the agreement of June

6, 1955 (TIAS 3471), on the relations between the International Commission for the International Tracing Service and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Signed at Bonn and at Geneva September 30 and October 7, 1960, by the Chairman of the International Commission for the International Tracing Service and a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Entered into force May 5, 1960.

Finance

Articles of agreement of the International Development Association. Done at Washington January 26, 1960. Entered into force September 24, 1960. TIAS 4607.

Signatures and acceptances: Japan, December 27, 1960; Finland, Ghana, and Morocco, December 29, 1960; Chile, France, Nicaragua, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia, December 30, 1960.

Signatures: Austria and Mexico, December 31, 1960.

Acceptances deposited: Philippines, October 28, 1960; Honduras, December 23, 1960; Iraq, December 29, 1960.

Health

Constitution of the World Health Organization. Opened for signature at New York July 22, 1946. Entered into force April 7, 1948. TIAS 1808.

Acceptances deposited: Ivory Coast, October 28, 1960; Gabon, November 21, 1960.

Sugar

International sugar agreement, 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1959. TIAS 4389.

Accession deposited: New Zealand, November 28, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

Ninth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva August 17, 1959.¹

Signatures: Luxembourg, November 8, 1960; Chile, November 21, 1960; Pakistan, December 8, 1960.

Declaration on relations between contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Government of the Polish People's Republic. Done at Tokyo November 9, 1959. Entered into force November 16, 1960.

Signatures: Burma, November 3, 1960; Switzerland, November 15, 1960; Ceylon, November 16, 1960; New Zealand, December 7, 1960; Pakistan, December 8, 1960.

Declaration confirming signature: Ghana, November 16, 1960.

BILATERAL

Argentina

Agreement for the loan of additional United States naval vessels to Argentina. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 27 and 29, 1960. Entered into force December 29, 1960.

Iceland

Agreement providing for an assistance grant in support of Iceland's economic stabilization program. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 30, 1960. Entered into force December 30, 1960.

New Zealand

Agreement supplementing the civil air transport agreement of December 3, 1946 (TIAS 1573). Effected by

¹ Not in force.

exchange of notes at Washington December 30, 1960. Entered into force December 30, 1960.

Pakistan

Treaty of friendship and commerce and protocol. Signed at Washington November 12, 1959.

Ratifications exchanged: January 12, 1961.

Enters into force: February 12, 1961.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Defense and State Departments Begin Exchange Program for Key Personnel

The Department of State and the Department of Defense announced on January 9 (Department of State press release 13) that the Secretaries of State and Defense have approved plans to exchange outstanding civilian and military key personnel for training assignments in selected positions of each Department.

Secretary of State Christian A. Herter and Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., participated in a ceremony held at the Department of State on January 9 to set the exchange program in motion. John N. Irwin II, Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), and Raymond A. Hare, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, who arranged the program for their respective Departments, also took part in the ceremony.

The exchange program is designed to promote mutually a better understanding of foreign affairs and military problems and a continuing development of personnel in both Departments who share understanding and perspective in the area where foreign policy and military policy coincide. The personnel, nominated for their qualifications in high-level policy and command and staff duties, will be full-fledged members of the staffs to which assigned and will function as an integral part of the host agency. In the selections particular emphasis will be placed on educational background, future potential, skill, past training, experience, and ability to meet the requirements of the position to which assigned. Assignments will be for a period of approximately 2 years.

The proposal for this exchange program was

made by Secretary Herter on June 10, 1960, before the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery of the Senate Committee on Government Operations.¹

A total of 11 people from each Department will be nominated to participate in the first group of exchanges. The Department of Defense will exchange four from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, two each from the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and one from the Joint Staff. Personnel will generally be of colonel or lieutenant colonel rank or equivalent.

The following nominees have been selected for the first exchange, and it is expected that the remainder of the group will be nominated within the next few weeks.

Department of Defense

Raymond J. Albright, Office of the Secretary of Defense
Col. Cullen A. Brammon, Jr., USAF, Joint Staff
Lt. Col. Marvin C. Kettelhut, USA, Department of the Army
Capt. Ross E. Freeman, USN, Department of the Navy
Col. Harry J. Halbrestadt, USAF, Department of the Air Force

Department of State

Frederic H. Behr, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Robert W. Dean, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
John Y. Millar, Bureau of European Affairs
Peter Rutter, Office of the Special Assistant for Atomic Energy Affairs
Donald L. Woolf, Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Va.

Designations

Earl O. Finnie as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Haiti, effective December 8. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 15 dated January 11.)

William P. Hughes as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Bolivia, effective January 9.

Sidney B. Jacques as Director, Office of International Resources, effective January 4.

James R. Johnstone as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Foreign Buildings, effective January 9.

Resignations

Vance Brand as Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. Brand, see White House press release dated January 3.)

Douglas Dillon as Under Secretary of State, effective January 4. (For an exchange of letters between Presi-

dent Eisenhower and Mr. Dillon, see White House press release dated January 4.)

Eric H. Hager as Legal Adviser of the Department of State, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. Hager, see White House press release dated January 9.)

Christian A. Herter as Secretary of State, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Secretary Herter, see p. 143.)

Ogden R. Reid as Ambassador to Israel, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Ambassador Reid, see White House press release dated January 13.)

Gerard C. Smith as Assistant Secretary for Policy Planning, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. Smith, see White House press release dated January 9.)

John Hay Whitney as Ambassador to Great Britain, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Ambassador Whitney, see White House press release dated December 31.)

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 4544. 9 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iran. Signed at Tehran July 26, 1960. Entered into force July 26, 1960. With exchanges of notes—Signed at Tehran July 26 and 28, 1960.

Settlement of Claims of United States Nationals. TIAS 4545. 11 pp. 10¢.

Agreement, with annex, between the United States of America and Poland. Signed at Washington July 16, 1960. Entered into force July 16, 1960. With exchange of notes.

Army Mission to Argentina. TIAS 4546. 13 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Argentina. Signed at Buenos Aires August 2, 1960. Entered into force August 2, 1960.

Grant for Procurement of Nuclear Research and Training Equipment and Materials. TIAS 4547. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil. Exchange of notes—Dated at Rio de Janeiro October 20, 1959, and February 27, 1960. Entered into force February 27, 1960.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4557. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Indonesia. Signed at Washington June 8, 1960. Entered into force September 21, 1960.

¹ BULLETIN of July 4, 1960, p. 3.

Agriculture. President Delegates Authority for Administration of P.L. 480 (text of Executive order) 159

Asia. U.S. Participates in Fifth Meeting of ECAFE Highway Subcommittee (Van Dyke) . . . 163

Bolivia. Hughes designated USOM director . . . 170

Brazil. United States and Brazil Sign Extradition Treaty (text of treaty) 164

Bulgaria. United States and Bulgaria Open Claims Negotiations 150

Canada. Designation of Restricted Waters Under Great Lakes Pilotage Act (text of proclamation) . . 162

Claims and Property. United States and Bulgaria Open Claims Negotiations 150

Congo, Republic of the. U.S. Voluntary Relief Agencies Expand Congo Feeding Programs . . . 156

Congress, The
 Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy 162
 The State of the Union (Eisenhower) 139

Department and Foreign Service
 Defense and State Departments Begin Exchange Program for Key Personnel 169
 Designations (Finnie, Hughes, Jacques, Johnstone) 170
 New State Department Building Dedicated . . . 154
 Resignations (Brand, Dillon, Hager, Herter, Reid, Smith, Whitney) 170

Economic Affairs
 Clarence Randall Submits Report on Foreign Economic Policy 157
 Jacques designated director, Office of International Resources 170
 TAC Corrects Supplemental List of Imports for GATT Negotiations (text of notice) 161
 U.S., Pakistan Exchange Ratifications of Treaty of Friendship and Commerce 164
 U.S. Participates in Fifth Meeting of ECAFE Highway Subcommittee (Van Dyke) 163

Educational and Cultural Affairs. SEATO Fellowship Program for 1961-62 Announced 163

Germany. This We Believe (Berding) 151

Haiti. Finnie designated USOM director 170

International Information. Designation of Restricted Waters Under Great Lakes Pilotage Act (text of proclamation) 162

International Organizations and Conferences
 TAC Corrects Supplemental List of Imports for GATT Negotiations (text of notice) 161
 U.S. Participates in Fifth Meeting of ECAFE Highway Subcommittee (Van Dyke) 163

Israel. Reid resigns as Ambassador 170

Mutual Security
 Brand resigns as Managing Director, Development Loan Fund 170
 Finnie designated USOM director, Haiti 170
 Hughes designated USOM director, Bolivia 170

Nigeria. U.S. Expresses Regret for Incident Involving Nigerian Diplomat (text of note) 156

Pakistan. U.S., Pakistan Exchange Ratifications of Treaty of Friendship and Commerce 164

Presidential Documents
 Designation of Restricted Waters Under Great Lakes Pilotage Act 162
 President Delegates Authority for Administration of P.L. 480 159
 Secretary Herter Summarizes U.S. Foreign Policy Under the Eisenhower Administration, 1953-61 . . 143
 The State of the Union 139

Publications. Recent Releases 170

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. SEATO Fellowship Program for 1961-62 Announced 163

Treaty Information
 Current Actions 168
 U.S., Pakistan Exchange Ratifications of Treaty of Friendship and Commerce 164
 United States and Brazil Sign Extradition Treaty (text of treaty) 164
 United Kingdom. Whitney resigns as Ambassador 170

Name Index

Berding, Andrew H 151
 Brand, Vance 170
 Dillon, Douglas 170
 Eisenhower, President 139, 143, 159, 162
 Finnie, Earl O 170
 Hager, Eric H 170
 Herter, Secretary 144, 156, 170
 Hughes, William P 170
 Jacques, Sidney B 170
 Johnstone, James R 170
 Randall, Clarence B 157
 Reid, Ogden R 170
 Smith, Gerard C 170
 Van Dyke, Alfred 163
 Whitney, John Hay 170

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 9-15

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
*10	1/9	Mazzocco designated ICA representative in Ivory Coast (biographic details).
*11	1/11	Herter: Foreign Service Association.
12	1/9	Berding: "This We Believe."
13	1/9	State-Defense training program for key personnel (rewrite).
14	1/11	U.S.-Bulgaria claims negotiations.
*15	1/11	Finnie designated USOM Director, Haiti (biographic details).
16	1/12	U.S.-Pakistan treaty of friendship and commerce.
17	1/12	Herter: note on incident involving Second Secretary, Nigerian Embassy.
18	1/13	SEATO research fellowships for 1961-62.
19	1/13	U.S.-Brazil extradition treaty.
20	1/13	Congo feeding programs.

* Not printed.

SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPT
PUBLIC LIBRARY
COPLEY SQUARE
BOSTON 17, MASS
DSB DEC-G-

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



A Survey of the STRATEGIC TRADE CONTROL PROGRAM 1957-1960

the
Department
of
State

This 50-page pamphlet covers the Fourteenth Report to Congress on operations under the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (Battle Act). The report summarizes the developments of the program for the years 1957 through 1960, among which are included sections on the 1958 List Revision, the 1959 Battle Act Changes, the 1959 List Review, Battle Act Revisions in 1960, and Preparations for the 1960 International List Review.

The appendixes contain the text of the Act, the Trade Controls of Free-World Countries, as well as other data and statistical tables.

Publication 7088

25 cents

Order Form

Please send me.....copies of *A Survey of the Strategic Trade Control Program, 1957-1960.*

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Name:

Enclosed find:

Street Address:

\$.....
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

City, Zone, and State:

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1128

February 6, 1961

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT
KENNEDY 175

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FAREWELL TO THE
NATION 179

SPRAGUE COMMITTEE REPORTS TO PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER ON U.S. INFORMATION ACTIVI-
TIES ABROAD 182

SOVIET COMPLAINT ON BELGIAN ACTIVITY IN
CONGO REJECTED BY SECURITY COUNCIL ●
Statement by James W. Barco 199

For index see inside back cover

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1128 • PUBLICATION 7134

February 6, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 Issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

The Inaugural Address of President Kennedy¹

VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON, MR. SPEAKER, MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, VICE PRESIDENT NIXON, PRESIDENT TRUMAN, REVEREND CLERGY, FELLOW CITIZENS:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end as well as a beginning—signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

¹ Delivered on Jan. 20 (White House press release; as-delivered text).

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the in-

struments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens . . . [and] let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

President and President-Elect Discuss Current World Situation

Following is a statement released at the White House on January 19 by James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to President Eisenhower, and Pierre Salinger, Press Secretary to President-elect John F. Kennedy.

White House press release dated January 19

The President and the President-elect met today for the second time since the election for a full discussion of the current world situation.¹ During these discussions the President-elect and the incoming Cabinet members who attended these meetings were brought up to date on a number of matters affecting the security of the United States.

World areas under discussion included the Far East, Africa, Western Europe and the Caribbean.

The President and the President-elect met alone in the President's office and then met in the Cabinet Room with the current and incoming Secretaries of State, Treasury and Defense for a continuation of the discussions.

Letters of Credence

Cameroun

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Republic of Cameroun, Aimé-Raymond N'Thepe, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on January 16. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 22 dated January 16.

Ivory Coast

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, Konan Bédié, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on January 17. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 25 dated January 17.

Venezuela

The newly appointed Ambassador of Venezuela,

¹ For a statement concerning the first meeting, see BULLETIN of Dec. 26, 1960, p. 968.

José Antonio Mayobre Cova, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on January 16. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 21 dated January 16.

U.S. Rejects Soviet Allegations on "Sverdlovsk" Incident

Following is an exchange of notes between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning a Soviet allegation that the Sverdlovsk, a Soviet merchant ship, had been stopped by U.S. naval vessels in the Caribbean Sea on January 13.

UNITED STATES NOTE¹

Press release 31 dated January 19

The Department of State refers the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Note No. 10/OSA dated January 14, 1961 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Embassy of the United States of America in Moscow which alleges that an American "patrol craft" and two other United States "military vessels" attempted to halt the Soviet ship *Sverdlovsk* while the Soviet ship was sailing in the Caribbean Sea.

An investigation of the allegations contained in the Ministry's note has established that the Soviet ship *Sverdlovsk* was not stopped in the Caribbean Sea by American ships. The American ships which encountered the *Sverdlovsk* in the Caribbean Sea on the night of January 13 exchanged routine identification signals in accordance with normal maritime practice. No signals of any other kind were given. Moreover, at no time did the American ships come nearer to the *Sverdlovsk* than 3.5 miles.

In view of these facts, the United States Government sees no basis for protest on the part of the Soviet Government.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 19, 1961.

¹ Delivered to the Soviet Embassy at Washington on Jan. 19.

SOVIET NOTE ²

Unofficial translation

No. 10/OSA

The Foreign Ministry of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics deems it necessary to state the following on behalf of the Soviet Government:

According to a report just received from the captain of the Soviet tanker *Sverdlovsk*, now in neutral waters of the Caribbean Sea, the tanker was met by an American patrol craft which, without any basis, ordered it to come to an immediate halt. Two more U.S.A. military vessels quickly approached the tanker, also ordering the captain of the *Sverdlovsk* to stop.

The activities of the American naval vessels with respect to the Soviet tanker *Sverdlovsk* cannot be appraised other than as a crude violation of the principles of freedom of navigation on the open seas and tramping underfoot the norms of international law.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. protests to the Government of the U.S.A. in connection with the provocative acts of the American naval vessels, demands their immediate cessation and punishment of the guilty persons.

Department Limits Travel to Cuba by Americans

Press release 24 dated January 16

The Department of State announced on January 16 that in view of the U.S. Government's inability, following the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba,¹ to extend normal protective services to Americans visiting Cuba, U.S. citizens desiring to go to Cuba must until further notice obtain passports specifically endorsed by the Department of State for such travel. All outstanding passports, except those of U.S. citizens remaining in Cuba, are being declared invalid for travel to Cuba unless specifically endorsed for such travel.

The Department contemplates that exceptions to these regulations will be granted to persons whose travel may be regarded as being in the best interests of the United States, such as newsmen or businessmen with previously established business interests.

Permanent resident aliens cannot travel to Cuba unless special permission is obtained for this purpose through the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

² Handed to American Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson at Moscow on Jan. 14 by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasilij V. Kuznetsov.

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 23, 1961, p. 103.

Federal regulations are being amended to put these requirements into effect.²

These actions have been taken in conformity with the Department's normal practice of limiting travel to those countries with which the United States does not maintain diplomatic relations.

U.S.-Honduran Trade Agreement Terminated in Part

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 29 dated January 19

The Governments of the United States and Honduras have mutually agreed to terminate parts of the United States-Honduran Trade Agreement of 1935.

The parts of the trade agreement which are to be terminated are the schedules of tariff concessions and the provisions directly related to these schedules. The general provisions of the agreement are to remain in effect. This arrangement maintains certain mutually beneficial trade advantages, such as most-favored-nation treatment and assurances that both countries will administer their import policies on an equitable basis.

The request for this termination was made by the Government of Honduras. The Government of Honduras has stated that termination will facilitate measures designed to develop and stabilize the Honduran economy, as well as aid in the creation of a Central American customs union.

The exchange of notes³ terminating parts of the United States-Honduran Trade Agreement of December 18, 1935, took place on January 18, 1961, at Tegucigalpa, and the partial termination will become effective February 28, 1961.

PROCLAMATION 3390 ⁴

TERMINATING THE HONDURAN TRADE AGREEMENT IN PART

WHEREAS, under the authority vested in him by section 350 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, amended by the act of June 12, 1934, entitled "An Act To Amend the Tariff Act

² For text of Public Notice 179 of Jan. 16, see 26 *Fed. Reg.* 492.

³ Not printed.

⁴ 26 *Fed. Reg.* 507.

of 1930", 48 Stat. 943, the President entered into a trade agreement with the President of the Republic of Honduras on December 18, 1935, 49 Stat. 3851, and proclaimed such trade agreement by proclamation dated February 1, 1936, 49 Stat. 3851; and

WHEREAS the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Honduras have agreed to terminate the schedules of concessions of such trade agreement and the provisions related thereto as of the beginning of February 28, 1961; and

WHEREAS paragraph (6) of section 350(a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, authorizes the President to terminate, in whole or in part, any proclamation carrying out a trade agreement entered into under such section:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, including section 350(a) (6) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, do hereby proclaim that the

aforsaid proclamation dated February 1, 1936 shall terminate insofar as it relates to the schedules of concessions in the trade agreement and the provisions related thereto, as of the beginning of February 28, 1961.

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 18th day of January in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.



By the President:
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

President Eisenhower's Farewell to the Nation

*Address by President Eisenhower*¹

My fellow Americans: Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the Presidency is vested in my successor.

This evening I come to you with a message of leavetaking and farewell and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen.

Like every other citizen, I wish the new President and all who will labor with him Godspeed. I pray that the coming years will be blessed with peace and prosperity for all.

Our people expect their President and the Congress to find essential agreement on issues of great moment, the wise resolution of which will better shape the future of the Nation.

My own relations with the Congress, which began on a remote and tenuous basis, when long

¹Delivered to the Nation by television and radio on Jan. 17 (White House press release).

ago a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have since ranged to the intimate during the war and immediate postwar period and, finally, to the mutually interdependent during these past 8 years.

In this final relationship the Congress and the administration have, on most vital issues, cooperated well to serve the national good rather than mere partisanship and so have assured that the business of the Nation should go forward. So my official relationship with the Congress ends in a feeling on my part of gratitude that we have been able to do so much together.

II

We now stand 10 years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts, America is today the strongest, the most influential, and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this preeminence, we

yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches, and military strength but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

III

Throughout America's adventure in free government our basic purposes have been to keep the peace, to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity, and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully there is called for not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense, development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture, a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs—balance between the private and the public economy, balance between cost and hoped-for advantage, balance between the clearly necessary and the

comfortably desirable, balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the Nation upon the individual, balance between actions of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

The record of many decades stands as proof that our people and their Government have, in the main, understood these truths and have responded to them well in the face of stress and threat. But threats, new in kind or degree, constantly arise. I mention two only.

IV

A vital element in keeping the peace is our Military Establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, 31½ million men and women are directly engaged in the Defense Establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense Military Establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the Federal Government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources, and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture has been the technological revolution during recent decades. In this revolution research has become central: it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of the Federal Government.

Today the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a Government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

The prospect of domination of the Nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

V

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we—you and I, and our Government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering for our own ease and convenience the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual

heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

VI

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written, America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war, as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years, I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But so much remains to be done. As a private citizen I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.

VII

So, in this my last good night to you as your President, I thank you for the many opportunities you have given me for public service in war and peace. I trust that in that service you find some things worthy; as for the rest of it, I know you will find ways to improve performance in the future.

You and I, my fellow citizens, need to be strong in our faith that all nations, under God, will reach the goal of peace with justice. May we be ever unswerving in devotion to principle, confident but humble with power, diligent in pursuit of the Nation's great goals.

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing aspiration:

We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that

those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth; and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

Sprague Committee Reports to President Eisenhower on U.S. Information Activities Abroad

On December 23 Mansfield Sprague, Chairman of the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad, submitted to President Eisenhower the Committee's conclusions and recommendations.¹ On January 11 the White House released the following exchange of letters between the President and Mr. Sprague, with highlights of the Committee's recommendations and extracts from the Committee's report.

White House press release dated January 11

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

President Eisenhower to Mr. Sprague

JANUARY 9, 1961

DEAR MR. SPRAGUE: I have read with deep interest the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on Information Activities Abroad which were submitted to me with your letter of December twenty-third.

I am impressed by the comprehensive nature of the study conducted by your committee and the breadth and vision which characterize it. As you know, I am asking that study be started on it at once by the departments and agencies involved in the matters it covers. Also, I am having it placed in the permanent records of the Government readily available for future use. With much of the report, and a great many of its conclusions

¹ For announcement of appointment of the Committee, see BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1960, p. 365.

and recommendations, I am in full and instant accord. Certain other conclusions and recommendations will of course require, and receive, further consideration. Altogether, I think it is a document of exceptional value to an informed understanding of this subject, and for this reason have determined to put as much of it as possible into the public domain. Your committee was not asked to make an unclassified report and indeed you have dealt with many things which must remain classified in the interest of national security. Even with these omitted, however, it deserves—and I hope will receive—wide attention.

There are certain of your conclusions and recommendations which merit particular notice. The first of these has to do with the emphasis on the total U.S. information effort, particularly in Africa and Latin America. I share the committee's view that there should be continued expansion of these activities, carried out in an orderly way so as to permit the preparation of sound plans and the recruitment and training of qualified personnel.

Also worthy of serious attention is the stress laid by the committee upon the training process so that those members of the Government who engage in operations may fully understand the broad policy considerations which underlie our programs and be fully equipped to act in the total interest of the United States.

There would be, I hope, general acceptance of the view that in the long run the soundest program

of all might well be the one to give assistance to educational development. Such a program should of course be well defined in scope and timing before extensive commitments are made.

We have long recognized the values in the programs of exchange of persons, and serious attention should be given to your committee's recommendation that they be expanded, particularly with African countries. Also, I fully agree that improvement in planning and making arrangements for exchange personnel while they are in this country is a most desirable goal.

In our foreign programs, there will be wide agreement as to the importance of giving careful attention to the impact of program actions on foreign opinion both in the formulation of policy and in the execution of programs. It is my hope that all agencies and departments will continue to take appropriate organizational and training measures to this end. As your committee properly points out, appropriate emphasis also must be given to public opinion in the field which we have traditionally looked upon as formal diplomacy.

There is little question in my mind that the creation of the Operations Coordinating Board was a major step forward. I think it has well justified its existence and I would hope that it will be continued as an important element in the national policy machinery. In any event, I share the judgment of your committee that regardless of any changes that may be made in this machinery, the functions now performed by the Operations Coordinating Board must continue to be provided for.

Finally, I express my personal thanks to you, and through you to the members of your committee and to the committee staff, for the long and arduous work devoted to the preparation of this study. I know of the tremendous amount of time you and your colleagues have devoted to this constructive effort. The country is indeed indebted to you all.

With warm regard,
Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. Sprague to President Eisenhower

DECEMBER 23, 1960

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am pleased to submit herewith the Conclusions and Recommendations of your Committee on Information Activities

February 6, 1961

Abroad. During the past several months, in accordance with your letter of December 2, 1959,² we have carried out a comprehensive survey of what we have called "The United States Information System". We have also considered the psychological aspects of United States diplomatic, economic, military and scientific programs which have impact abroad. Likewise, we have reported on several of the activities of private groups and institutions bearing upon foreign attitudes toward this country.

This Committee effort is the second special study initiated by you to help shape the evolution of policies and programs in a new and increasingly important aspect of United States foreign policy. Like the President's Committee on International Informational Activities, chaired by Mr. William H. Jackson, we have tried to be completely objective and non-partisan.³ We have approached our task not as special pleaders for informational and related programs but have attempted to relate them to the total responsibilities of government in the international field.

We have consulted numerous persons in government, both within the departments and agencies represented on the Committee and elsewhere. We have also attempted to give weight to the views of knowledgeable persons outside government.

We have taken the view that an ad hoc effort of this kind should avoid intensive investigation of particular operating problems, but should concentrate on overall policies and programs. We have tried to provide guidance and a coherent foundation of criteria and concepts which will have continuing value to operating officials in dealing with concrete problems.

The timing of this study is highly appropriate. Developments on the international scene in the course of our work have continuously re-emphasized, even dramatized, the relevance and significance of the problems you assigned to us for study.

The Committee has brought a rich background of cumulative governmental and private experience to its work. Out of such experience, plus the deep and occasionally differing personal convictions of its members, a survey has been produced which we trust will have validity and utility in the trying years ahead.

² Not printed here.

³ For a summary of the first study, see BULLETIN of July 27, 1953, p. 124.

As you will see from our recommendations, the Committee has formed three general conclusions:

a. On the whole, the United States informational system and efforts to integrate psychological factors into policy have become increasingly effective;

b. The evolution of world affairs, the effectiveness of the Communist apparatus, and the growing role of public opinion internationally confront us with the necessity of continuing improvement in this aspect of government, on an orderly but urgent basis.

c. This will involve the allocation of substantially greater resources over the next decade, better training of personnel, further clarification of the role of information activities, increasing the understanding and competence of government officials to deal with informational and psychological matters, and improvement in the mechanisms for coordination.

While recommending greater efforts and expenditures, the Committee is mindful of the importance of balanced budgets. Informational programs must be looked upon as part of the total National Security effort. If this requires greater sacrifices by the American people, we believe that they should be enjoined to make them.

During the course of our deliberations a number of salutary actions have been taken within government in areas under discussion by the Committee which otherwise might have resulted in specific recommendations. Even with respect to some of the recommendations made by the Committee, we understand that action is already being initiated. The Committee has been encouraged in its efforts by such concrete examples of initiative and forward thinking.

The Committee has received the full cooperation of various government agencies. We have been greatly impressed by the contributions of many able people in government who on their own time and without extra compensation prepared special materials for us.

The Staff of the Committee, whose names are later appended, have rendered outstanding service. Without their able and conscientious help this study would not have been possible. Especially we should like to commend Mr. Waldemar A. Nielsen, Executive Director, who was loaned to us by the Ford Foundation. His assistance was of

the very highest order of competence and dedication.

I should like to note that in addition to the valuable contributions of the individual members of the Committee, the alternates for the representatives of the Departments of State and Defense and for the Directors of the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency have been extremely helpful throughout. They are, respectively, Raymond A. Hare, Haydn Williams, John A. Bross and Abbott Washburn.

The Committee will place in the custody of your Assistant for National Security Affairs an organized collection of staff papers which contain information and analyses which should be of reference value to the operating officials concerned with informational and psychological matters. These working papers should be treated as such and not as having been officially approved by the Committee.

Joining with me in forwarding the following chapters are the other members of the Committee: George V. Allen, Allen W. Dulles, Gordon Gray, Karl G. Harr, Jr., John N. Irwin II, C. D. Jackson, Livingston T. Merchant and Philip D. Reed.

Respectfully,

MANSFIELD D. SPRAGUE

HIGHLIGHTS OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ABROAD

The report of the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad was transmitted to the President by Mr. Mansfield D. Sprague, Chairman, on Saturday, December 24, 1960. The Committee, which began its work in mid-February 1960, has made a broad study of the U.S. information system including official mass media activities, cultural, educational and exchange programs and programs designed to expose and combat the worldwide subversive and propaganda apparatus of the Sino-Soviet Bloc. In addition, the Committee has considered means of maximizing the constructive effect on foreign opinion of all U.S. foreign policies and programs.

Seven of the major recommendations of the Committee are summarized below:

1. The scale of the total U.S. information effort will have to be progressively expanded for some time to come. There is urgent need for substantial increases in the critical areas of Africa and Latin America. The Executive Branch should seek Congressional approval for orderly growth of these activities to permit the preparation of sound plans and the recruitment and training of qualified personnel.

2. The expansion of training programs is a fundamental requirement. Long range efforts should be made on two fronts: broad training in the informational and psychological aspects of policy for officials in various government agencies whose programs strongly affect foreign opinion; and specialized training of staffs directly engaged in informational programs. In addition to in-service and specialized training programs, greater use of cross-assignment between information and non-information agencies would be helpful.

The Committee also recommends that consideration be given to the establishment of a National Security Institute under the National Security Council to provide high-level training in dealing with the interrelated aspects of the present world struggle for top officers from economic, diplomatic, information and military agencies. However, if it is judged impossible to create a separate institute, the Committee recommends that consideration be given to broadening existing training institutions.

3. The Committee recommends a new approach in developing a major program of assistance to educational development abroad. Such a program would contribute to economic, social and political objectives and would serve to identify the U.S. with one of the great universal human aspirations—education. The proposed program might include the initiation of such projects as assistance in building and equipping model schools, laboratories and libraries abroad as symbols of American help; the creation of new regional institutes and training centers in such fields as public administration, agricultural technology and the management of enterprises; the development of large mobile training centers to provide basic skills in health, agriculture and mechanical trades to thousands of trainees at a time; the contribution of funds for "opportunity scholarships" to enable young people in various countries on the basis of open competition to acquire an education; a program of training for young Americans to work abroad in performing such tasks as school teaching and assisting in village development. Two members of the Committee felt that the program suggestions needed further definition as to scope and timing.

The Committee suggested a study of the possible usefulness of creating a new quasi-independent foundation for international educational development to give voice and leadership to the broad program.

4. Exchange of persons programs should be expanded, particularly with African countries. However, it is essential that steps be taken to improve the handling of exchangees while in this country. The goal should be to give every student or leader brought here individual attention and training specially tailored to his interests and to the needs of the country from which he comes. This goal implies the expansion and financial strengthening of our specialized exchange agencies; the creation of an adequate nation-wide system for hospitality to foreign visitors based on the voluntary help of local citizens and groups; and the provision of special courses and guidance for foreign exchangees in our educational institutions.

Exchanges with the Soviet Bloc countries should be continued, with such expansion and governmental financing as may be appropriate.

5. U.S. economic assistance agencies, scientific research and development programs and the military establishment exert enormous influence on foreign opinion as a result of their activities. The Committee believes that in all these programs it is important to give careful attention to the impact on foreign opinion both in the formulation of policies and the execution of programs. While the opinion factor will not be the controlling element in most substantive decisions, in every case it deserves to be taken into consideration along with other relevant factors, economic, military and political.

Within the Government this concept needs to be more widely accepted and applied more vigorously and consistently.

6. We are now in a period when the mission and style of diplomacy is changing. These changes reflect technical developments in transport and communications, the growing role of public opinion in world affairs, and the practices of the Soviet propaganda apparatus. Our diplomacy increasingly must give greater emphasis to the factor of public opinion in the handling of major conferences and negotiations, in the selection and training of members of the Foreign Service and in our treatment of foreign visitors.

7. The Committee in commenting on the over-all structure of national policy machinery concluded that as far as information activities are concerned the creation of the Operations Coordinating Board in September 1953,⁴ represented a major step forward. In the judgment of the Committee, whatever changes may be made in national policy machinery the functions now performed by the OCB must continue to be provided for. The best means of doing this would be to continue the OCB and to more fully recognize and realize its potentialities. In accomplishing this, continuing strong Presidential interest in making the OCB effective is the crux of the matter.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ABROAD

I. Introduction

The 1960's may prove to be one of the most convulsive and revolutionary decades in several centuries.

Some of the underlying forces have been set in motion by scientific progress, and such progress can be expected to continue. Ninety per cent of the scientists who have ever lived are alive today; and the resources which will be devoted to research in the next ten years will equal the total for all past years since the beginning of history.

If progress is driving one wheel of the world transformation now underway, the consequences of backwardness are driving the other. Half the people on earth still live under conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance; but they have become conscious of the possibility of improvement and are now in active, often violent,

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1953, p. 420.

struggle to improve their condition. In this vast awakening are infinite possibilities for constructive change and equally great potentialities of danger.

The Soviet Union, having now acquired great industrial and military strength, is pressing hard its drive for expansion and ultimate world domination. The prospect is for a period of protracted non-military conflict between the Free World and the Communist system. This conflict will reach into every portion of the globe. Its background will consist of the presence within the Communist Bloc of massive conventional military forces and the availability of great nuclear striking power. Its foreground will be characterized by the continuous employment by the Communists of economic, diplomatic and informational instruments as well as of subversive and conspiratorial action.

One of our basic problems will be to help in the development of forms of government in Asia, Africa and Latin America which will promote stability, discipline and economic advancement without undue infringement of individual liberties. It will be extremely difficult to accomplish this unless we can find more effective means to deal with the world-wide Communist apparatus dedicated to the destruction of free government.

The eventual outcome of the struggle, assuming that general war can be avoided, and that Communist subversion can be countered, will depend in considerable degree on the extent we are able to influence the attitudes of people.

The steadily mounting force of public opinion in world affairs is evident in all parts of the world, the developed and less developed countries, and to a degree even in the totalitarian areas. In the Sino-Soviet Bloc, where public opinion in the democratic sense is ineffective, it nevertheless cannot be wholly ignored by the regimes. If nothing else, it determines how far the screw of oppression can be turned without the outburst of revolt. Its rising force is explained by the growth of literacy and education, the introduction of new and wider channels of communication, and the spread of the democratic idea. The trend is perhaps most vividly symbolized by the United Nations, a diplomatic arena in which the economic and military power of the participants plays an important part in the outcome of issues, but in which world opinion is almost equally influential.

The changing styles of diplomacy also reflect growing concern with groups beyond official circles. From the formalized government-to-government communications of the classical past, we have now witnessed the advent of epistolary diplomacy, electronic diplomacy, summit diplomacy and unofficial diplomacy—not to mention undiplomatic diplomacy.

The United States is concerned with its general prestige in the world and its image as a dynamic and progressive society not out of national vanity but because the effectiveness of our leadership on crucial issues is involved. Today it is recognized that unless governments effectively communicate their policies and actions to all politically influential elements of foreign populations, their programs can be impeded and their security placed in jeopardy.

This Committee has addressed itself fundamentally to

the question of improving U.S. performance in reaching and influencing opinion abroad. We have dealt with this question in two distinct but related parts: improving the effectiveness of information, cultural, exchange and educational programs as such; and improving our efforts to shape our foreign policies and programs so as to maximize understanding and support and minimize resentment, confusion and opposition.

Since World War II, the principal overseas information agency of the U.S. Government has been renamed six times and reorganized four times. It has in the past been subjected to great year-to-year variations in its appropriations, much to the disadvantage of long-term programs, effective planning, and needed personnel development.

A mere listing of some of the principal characteristics of the information system will indicate how heavy and difficult some of its problems are. It embraces a wide variety of mass media, cultural, educational and exchange programs. The scale of activity must be large enough to meet urgent requirements in every major region of the globe; no politically significant area can be ignored. Operating responsibilities must necessarily be distributed among several agencies, whose efforts in turn must be coordinated. The system must have affirmative as well as defensive capabilities—sound and vigorous programs in all media for the presentation of U.S. policies and programs, and facilities to counter the moves and expose the purposes of the Soviet apparatus. It must have strategic as well as tactical capabilities—the ability to build enduring relationships with foreign leaders and institutions and at the same time handle daily issues effectively. Yet it cannot be muscle-bound. It must accurately reflect the content of foreign policy, yet preserve the qualities of humanness, quickness, subtlety and lightness of touch.

In recent years great progress has been made in strengthening the U.S. information system. Staffs have been professionalized, effective media organizations have been built, and arrangements for coordinating information programs with foreign policy have been improved. Such progress must continue, for the demands placed upon the system will increase rapidly in the years ahead.

Although our informational and cultural activity will continue to play a valuable supporting role, it is American policies and actions, far more than official information programs, that will influence attitudes. "Actions speak louder than words" is a maxim which applies abroad as well as at home.

The Committee therefore believes that world opinion should be fully considered in the development of policies and programs—diplomatic, economic and military—which have impact abroad. There are cases in which opinion considerations are secondary; there are other cases when they are of great moment. The necessity is that they be considered along with and on the same footing as other factors in the formulation and the execution of foreign policies and programs. Within the government this concept needs to be more widely accepted and applied more vigorously and consistently. Inadequacy in dealing with the intangible elements in our foreign policies under present and prospective world conditions can be just as

fatal to their outcome as inadequacy in dealing with the more traditional and tangible aspects.

This does not mean that foreign opinion considerations should determine or control U.S. policies or objectives, nor that our actions should be ornamented with public relations gimmicks, nor that we must solicit constant foreign approval and inevitably recede in the face of criticism. It does mean that we must show a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" in what we do. Since our objectives must not be popularity but long-term and durable relationships of friendship, understanding and respect, we must stand firmly on principle regardless of temporary storms of disapproval, and in doing so make our actions comprehensible to our friends and clear in their implications to our enemies.

In the long run, a nation like an individual achieves stature and exercises leadership not by avoiding criticism and seeking to please but by its character, strength and goodness of heart.

The United States must demonstrate by actions as well as by words that we are militarily invincible yet supremely devoted to peace; that we are zealous in our support of the aspirations of other nations and respectful of their sovereignty; and that we are a progressive society actively in support of progressive change, greater material well-being and social justice everywhere.

These purposes must be translated at the highest level of government into concrete, dramatic and timely form. This labor of giving active support to the ideas which will reach the hearts and minds of people around the earth is an important part of the task associated with the term, "leadership of the Free World".

II. Strengthening the U.S. Information System

The Committee has studied both the foreign informational programs of the U.S. Government (including mass media, exchanges of various types, cultural and educational programs) and those programs designed to expose and combat Communist attempts to subvert the countries of the Free World.

This broad spectrum of activities, which we have called the U.S. information system, constitutes roughly one per cent of the approximate total of \$50 billion spent annually for national security.

In *Western Europe* the scale of U.S. information activity has been substantially reduced in recent years. This process of reduction has gone as far as it prudently should, except in the case of certain exchange programs. It is of the utmost importance that the people of this area understand American objectives, have confidence in our leadership and cooperate actively in mutual undertakings.

In the *Soviet Bloc* we must take every opportunity to provide the populations with information in hope of lessening to some degree the hostility and aggressiveness of their governments.

Communist China presents a baffling and threatening problem for official information activity. Sustained government-wide action must be developed to prepare long-range plans, to mobilize available resources and to formu-

late new approaches to communicate with the Chinese people who are being subjected to the most massive "Hate America" campaign in all history.

In the *less developed areas* of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the United States faces certain common information tasks. In the face of the sweeping social, economic and political revolution now underway, we must: identify ourselves with the forces of progress toward stable and democratic institutions; expose and counter insofar as possible the multi-faceted Sino-Soviet offensive against orderly development of these areas; provide effective close support through informational means to U.S. development programs; as well as explain U.S. policies, objectives and way of life.

In *Africa*, the pace of political developments has outstripped our informational preparations. We lack basic knowledge of the processes by which information and ideas are communicated within these societies; we lack sufficient information specialists trained in the languages and cultures; we lack sufficient physical facilities; and we lack contacts. In the judgment of the Committee, Africa presents the United States with a challenging opportunity to build friendly ties. The Committee recommends a drastic and prompt upward revision of all plans, estimates and preparations for information activities appropriate to the area.

In *Latin America* the immediate outlook is more disturbing than promising. U.S. economic policy in the hemisphere has undergone recent modification and strengthening, but informational activities have not been equally reinforced. Greater efforts are needed.

Countering Communist Subversion

In addition to mass media activities, there is need for programs of action to counter the international Communist threat. We should continue and increase our efforts to aid those who are threatened by Communist subversion.

Budget

We have reviewed the requirements for informational activities abroad based upon our appraisal of the current world situation and estimates of probable developments over the next decade. In comparing these requirements with present informational programs, we have concluded that there is a growing need for greater effort generally, and an urgent need for substantially increased efforts in the critical areas of Latin America and Africa. These increases are over and above those required to meet the rising costs of current programs and to provide adequate representation in the newly independent countries of the world.

The extent to which information budgets should be increased in future years can best be determined in light of changing circumstances. However, it is likely that the scale of the total U.S. information effort will have to be progressively expanded for some time to come. The Committee urges that, if and when such expansion is contemplated, the Executive Branch seek Congressional approval for planned and orderly growth of these activities.

Because speed and flexibility of operations are essential

to effective information programs, the Committee recommends that adequate contingency funds be appropriated. As a minimum, adequate flexibility to transfer between accounts must be provided.

American efforts to develop contact with influential elements abroad should not be diminished by niggardly allowances for official hospitality. The Committee recommends that renewed efforts be made to obtain Congressional approval for adequate representation funds.

In making recommendations for budget increases, the Committee has sought to find areas in which it might properly recommend reductions or eliminations of programs. With one exception, namely government sponsored educational exchange programs with Western Europe, there is no realistic possibility of providing for additional needs by cutting back present programs; nor is it feasible for the United States to stretch present resources by deliberately neglecting urgent needs in any major region.

Structure

Because it is outside the Committee's terms of reference, the structural relationship between the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency has not been examined. However, the Committee believes that the present allocation of responsibilities has functioned reasonably well and that practical means have been worked out to insure necessary policy coordination.

Training and Personnel

The expansion of training programs is a fundamental requirement. Long-range efforts should be made to qualify more top officers engaged in economic, military, diplomatic and scientific work in the psychological aspects of policy, and to develop more information officers with adequate background in non-information fields of foreign policy. It is important that these matters should be dealt with adequately in the war colleges and the Foreign Service Institute. Training in these fields can also be improved through graduate study in universities for government officers and through seminars and discussion groups which periodically bring together governmental and academic persons and informational specialists.

Another means of providing broader training is through the method of cross-assignment between information and non-information agencies. In the future, when officers reach high responsibility in the diplomatic, economic or military fields, they should have had in the course of their career development substantial experience in or exposure to the informational aspects of policies and programs.

Pending such time as language instruction in our schools and universities can take up the slack, the language training efforts of the Foreign Service and the other services should receive greater Congressional support. Prior to departure for new posts executive personnel should, whenever possible, be required to undergo an adequate course of language training.

If the scale of information activities is to be increased, additional staffs will have to be recruited and trained. Moreover, many of the highly qualified officers now han-

dling these programs feel the need for further training on subjects pertinent to their tasks.

The requirements of the work are formidable—a knowledge of the subtle and complex problems of gauging foreign attitudes, of various media and the processes of communication, of American life and culture, of the structure of foreign societies, of international relations and the various aspects of government policy, and not least, of the methods of managing large staffs and substantial operating programs. American private life offers no counterpart to these combined responsibilities, and fully qualified persons do not therefore come already trained to the recruiting offices of government.

The Committee recommends that more attention be given to training of informational specialists in media techniques and in the relevant behavioral sciences.

For a variety of reasons, information work in government has not always been able to attract and hold enough of the talented people required. Limitations and uncertainties of career opportunities have been important factors. The Committee therefore endorses the need for legislation which would establish a career service for USIA personnel. Such a service, in addition to raising and stabilizing the status of information specialists, should be flexible enough to insure acquisition and cultivation of creative and original talents.

Beyond these steps, there is need to provide high-level training in the interrelated economic, political, informational and military aspects of the present world struggle for more of the top officers of agencies dealing with international and security affairs. The Committee therefore recommends that consideration be given to the establishment of a National Security Institute for this purpose under the National Security Council, which among other things would provide concentrated exposure to and study of Communist ideology, techniques and operations world-wide as well as of our total governmental informational resources and how best to orchestrate and use them. If it is judged infeasible to create a separate National Security Institute, consideration should be given to broadening the character of existing training institutions and agency training programs to meet these needs.

Research

Knowledge is lacking about some of the major factors which can determine the success or failure of informational efforts. The Committee recommends that the various agencies involved in foreign informational programs re-examine the adequacy of their research programs. In such re-examination, they should draw upon the best available advice from private sources.

III. Educational, Cultural, and Exchange Activities

The Committee believes that great and as yet insufficiently realized opportunities are offered by educational, cultural, and exchange programs. Changing world conditions are generating a particularly rapid expansion of needs in these fields.

In developing these programs we have not yet ade-

quately capitalized on our cultural and intellectual resources, our educational traditions and institutions and even our language itself. There is need for new emphasis and for substantial increase in levels of effort. We can thereby serve effectively several objectives. Educational, exchange and cultural programs over the long run can strengthen our political ties abroad, re-enforce our economic assistance programs, advance social development and stability, and add to our chances for peace and security.

Ultimately, the development of the human resources of the less developed areas through education and training may be the most effective form of economic assistance which can be given. At the same time strengthened cultural, exchange and education efforts will help correct a widespread distortion of the American image. Such action will put into perspective alongside our military, political, economic and technical programs our enduring concern for the individual and for learning. We will demonstrate meaningfully our understanding of the relationship between education, democracy and social progress.

The activities which can contribute to these ends are what much of the world wants us to provide. Our techniques are respected and sought. Increasing numbers of foreign students are attending our universities. English is increasingly recognized as one of the pre-eminent languages of this era and people seek by the tens of thousands to learn it.

*Foreign Educational Development*⁵

Through various programs and agencies, the U.S. Government is already providing considerable help to education and training abroad, particularly to persons in the less developed countries. These programs, though valuable, are diffuse and frequently not readily identifiable with the United States. They are subordinate elements of agencies and activities directed principally to other things. They have no single voice or general leadership. They are not based on a coherent and avowed over-all policy or legislative enactment. They therefore fail in large part to realize their great symbolic value in identifying the United States clearly with one of the universal human ideals—education.

The Committee feels there is need to move with conviction in giving new accent to our assistance to foreign education. This should be made concrete in the form of a new declaration of policy in support of long-term assistance to foreign educational development by the President and the Congress.

The proposed program might include the continuation or initiation of such projects as the following:

1. Assistance in building and equipping model schools, laboratories and libraries as visible symbols of American help;
2. The creation of new regional institutions and training centers in public administration, agricultural technology and the management of enterprises;

⁵ Mr. Gray and Mr. Merchant have certain reservations on this section. Their comments appear on page 195. [Footnote in original.]

3. The development of large mobile training centers to provide basic skills in health, agriculture, and mechanical trades to thousands of trainees at a time;

4. The mounting of experiments in the use of television to spread literacy and teach basic skills on a large scale;

5. The contribution of funds for "opportunity scholarships" to enable talented young people from all social classes in some of the less developed countries on the basis of open competition to acquire an education in their own country;

6. A major program for the training of teachers from the less developed countries and the establishment of teacher training institutes in those countries;

7. A program of training and orientation for young Americans who would spend a period abroad performing basic tasks such as teaching in elementary schools, working in the civil service, and acting as staff assistants in village development programs.

To carry out such a program one possible approach would be the creation of a new quasi-independent Foundation for International Educational Development. Such a body could give the program visibility and leadership and help to link together government, university and private foundation efforts.

An adequate program of assistance to foreign educational development will require substantial funds over and above those currently available for such purposes.

International Meetings and Awards

Most international scholarly gatherings take place outside the United States. Few of the major international festivals in the fine arts take place here, and even fewer of the major world prizes for intellectual and creative achievements are American. Our national capital in the eyes of many is regarded, from a cultural standpoint, as a provincial town.

Our achievements in the arts and in scholarship deserve better than this. The Committee recommends:

1. The establishment of a continuing series of international festivals and exhibitions of the arts in the United States, including if necessary governmental subsidy of transportation and facilities.

2. Development in Washington of a cultural center to include operatic and ballet presentations, symphony concerts, and special competitions in the arts.

3. A permanent increase in the number of major international meetings in the United States in the humanities, social sciences, philosophy, the exact sciences and the fine arts. In some instances, this may require selective relaxation of visa requirements as well as governmental and private assistance in lessening the economic obstacles involved.

4. The establishment of a series of major American awards for outstanding achievements by men and women of all nations in science, art, education, government and human welfare.

English Language Teaching

There now exists around the world a vast and spontaneous demand for learning English. The Committee

believes that it would be both feasible and advantageous to intensify the governmental efforts now being made to teach English to people of other nations. In so doing we will facilitate the transmission of technical information and skills useful to economic development. We will widen our channels of communication with foreign leadership elements. We will expose increasing numbers of people to the social and political ideals of Western civilization. We will as a consequence of these benefits reinforce our ties throughout the world.

The Committee recommends that we explore the possibilities of more massive and short-term efforts—in parallel with long-term programs—to achieve a rapid increase in the number of foreign students and adults able to use English as a working tool. These might involve the use of new techniques of teaching by television, and the development of a large and dramatic program using gifted American college students and teachers of English to conduct “summer language camps” each year in selected foreign areas. We should also collaborate more closely with other English speaking countries in the extension and coordination of these efforts.

Exchange of Persons Programs

The U.S. Government is extensively engaged in exchange of persons programs and the training of foreign specialists and leaders in this country. These activities lack a clear framework of over-all policy and require better arrangements for the handling of exchangees once they arrive here.

The Committee recommends that official exchange of persons programs be progressively expanded (except for Western Europe); and that priority be assigned to exchanges of students, specialists and leaders from Africa.

To make possible more effective handling of exchangees, funds will be required:

1. To expand and strengthen our specialized agencies which administer foreign student and leader exchanges.
2. To create an adequate nation-wide system, based on the voluntary help of local citizens and groups, for hospitality to foreign visitors.
3. To provide special guidance and courses tailored to meet the needs (often very different from those of the American student) of students from the less developed countries.

Exchanges with the Soviet Bloc countries⁶ and the programs of reciprocal exchanges as provided under the U.S.-USSR Exchange Agreement⁷ should be continued, with such expansion and governmental financing as may be appropriate.

IV. Economic Aid, Scientific and Military Programs

U.S. economic assistance programs, scientific research and development agencies, and the military establishment

⁶ For text of an exchange agreement with Rumania, see BULLETIN of Dec. 26, 1960, p. 968.

⁷ For text of an agreement of Nov. 21, 1959, see *ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1959, p. 951.

exert enormous influence upon foreign opinion as a result of their activities. The Committee has considered means by which the constructive impact of these non-information programs on foreign opinion might be increased.

Foreign Economic Assistance

In the decade of the 1960's, the demand upon the United States for economic assistance will undoubtedly increase. The need will be concentrated in the less developed areas, not in the industrially advanced countries as in the immediate postwar years. Aid will be concerned with modernizing total societies, not with the relatively simple labor of economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. Aid programs will pursue their objectives in a seething atmosphere of tension, turmoil and misunderstanding.

In many of the countries in which our aid programs will operate, we find practically none of the elements required for the development of the conditions we seek to promote. These countries in many cases are characterized by strong feelings of nationalism, impatience with the slow processes of economic growth, and lack of skills to deal with the technical and managerial functions of a twentieth century state. Omnipresent and alert to every possibility of disrupting constructive effort is the Sino-Soviet Bloc with its growing programs for subversion, economic warfare, propaganda and intimidation.

It is therefore not only relevant but indispensable to give the most careful attention to public opinion and informational matters in the formulation and execution of aid programs. However, the purpose of such attention should be to facilitate the achievement of the goals of economic development, not to arouse extraneous sentimental manifestations. Informational targets must be set in accord with functional requirements, not out of sentiment or belief in publicity for its own sake. The attitudinal obstacles to the adoption of better methods of production and distribution should be understood. Procedures and policies which unnecessarily generate friction or misunderstanding must be modified.

In the long run, we can hope, by giving aid, to strengthen ties of mutual respect and cooperation. But it is naive to think that our aid programs—affecting as they do basic social and economic institutions in the recipient countries—will be or can be universally understood and applauded.

As a result of the establishment in the Department of State of the Office of the Coordinator of the Mutual Security Program, greater attention is now being given to public opinion and informational matters in the formulation of assistance programs. Within individual aid agencies, however, administrators must give greater attention to these factors in the presentation and execution of their programs.

The transfer of responsibility for foreign publicity about U.S. aid programs to USIA in 1953 resulted in a gain of coherence and coordination of over-all U.S. foreign information activity. But the cost has been a loss of focus and vigor in informational support of aid programs. The Committee recommends that USIA intensify markedly its efforts in this direction and give particular

attention to the recruitment and in-service training of personnel dealing with economic information.

In addition, the Committee recommends:

1. The most vigorous Presidential and other high-level effort on a continuing basis to strengthen U.S. domestic understanding and support for our economic assistance programs.

2. The steps being taken to coordinate our many and diverse foreign economic programs, including the attribution to the Under Secretary of State of special responsibilities in this regard, are proving valuable and should be continued. The multiplicity of agencies concerned with foreign assistance makes excessively difficult the task of linking U.S. aid to a common set of goals.

3. Full consideration in both the formulation and execution of foreign aid programs of their impact on opinion abroad. Opinion factors will normally be of secondary importance in the selection of aid projects and the determination of aid procedures. But in every policy decision, these factors need to be carefully weighed.

Scientific and Technological Programs

A startlingly new development in recent years has been the increasing impact of scientific and technological achievement upon world opinion. Without question the launching of the first Sputnik gave the Soviet Union a psychological triumph which has profoundly affected its image as a technically advanced nation and as a great military power. Its feat in one branch of technology has been systematically exploited—and with considerable success—as evidence of the dynamism of the entire Soviet system.

The United States has had, and continues to have, over-all superiority in science and technology. Nevertheless, since the launching of Sputnik I there has been considerable evidence of a widespread belief that Soviet capability continues to grow relative to that of the United States and that the Soviet Union leads in certain important aspects of space technology. It will not be easy, short of some revolutionary scientific breakthrough, to re-establish the degree of American technological prestige relative to that of the USSR which existed prior to October 1957.

The Committee feels that, since throughout the world the status of the nation's science is increasingly taken as a measure of its power and dynamism, two things are indispensable: (1) that the U.S. maintain its continuing stream of scientific and technological achievements; and (2) that these achievements be more effectively communicated to the world than has been the case in the past.

The Committee recommends:

1. That the scale and effectiveness of our overseas information efforts to communicate the facts of U.S. scientific achievements be increased. This will require particular attention to the recruitment and training of qualified information specialists who are at the same time competent in technical subject matter.

In stressing the need for more vigorous informational support of scientific programs, it is important also to

caution that premature publicity and "leaks" that appear to promise more or quicker technical progress than can practically be realized can prove most injurious to U.S. prestige.

2. These increased efforts should be designed to improve our communications both with scientific elites and with the general public.

3. Recent organizational measures to give new prominence to the role of science in our government have indirectly been of value to informational activities abroad. The Committee would like to cite particularly the establishment of the offices of President's Assistant for Science and Technology and of Science Adviser to the Secretary of State, and the appointment of science attachés at our principal embassies abroad. Further development of these activities can help improve understanding abroad of our progress in science and technology.

4. Where particular needs are identified, agencies of government participating in technical assistance should be asked to expand and intensify certain programs for teaching and transmitting American technical knowledge. This is already being done on a large scale in the field of agricultural technology. Other possibilities would appear to exist in the field of medicine and in new teaching techniques such as educational television.

The dramatic and highly useful curriculum developments in the various fields of science education should be exported in a planned, coordinated program involving the several agencies concerned with foreign information, education and exchange of scientific knowledge. Making available developments in science education would have the twofold value of providing genuinely useful materials to countries that need them and at the same time demonstrating American advances in technical and scientific fields.

5. Joint scientific and technological programs with other countries of the Free World should be encouraged.

The best assurance of a continued flow of major scientific discovery which will serve the broad spectrum of human needs and thereby the nation's prestige abroad is ample unprogrammed financial support for basic research. At the same time, the Committee recommends that the President bring to the attention of government scientific administrators and those responsible for budgetary allocations to scientific research, the relevance, propriety and importance of taking world opinion into account in determining the relative emphasis to be given to various activities.

Military Programs and Policies

The American military establishment is a huge and powerful system to protect the nation in the event of war. In the course of protracted conflict short of war—which is the prospect—it will also exert enormous and continuing influence in every part of the world in behalf of the objectives of U.S. foreign policy.

It will exert such influences primarily by the reality of its military power—its forces and weapons—but also through many important side-effects: the presence of hundreds of thousands of service men and their families on foreign soil, its relationships with foreign leaders and military personnel, and its expenditures abroad. The

Department of Defense and the armed services have made considerable progress in recognizing the importance of these side-effects. Measures which the Department of Defense has taken to deal with these matters should be continued and intensified, particularly among the lower echelons of command.

However, if we are to maximize the potential non-military benefits which can be obtained as a by-product of military activities, military personnel at all levels will require greater understanding of the role which the armed forces should play in this undertaking. The Committee believes that additional measures should be taken to create a greater awareness of the non-military implications of military activities, a better understanding of the importance of these implications and an increased knowledge of what can be done by the armed forces to enhance the positive and reduce the negative side-effects of their essential activities.

In the present world situation, two of the primary tasks of the armed forces must be to deter aggression and to hold the respect and confidence of our friends and allies. Achievement of these objectives depends fundamentally on the reality of our military power. However, it cannot be assumed that they will automatically be realized on the basis of purely military considerations, since deterrence and reassurance are accomplished not through the application of military force but through the image of our military power held by foreign peoples and their leaders. The Committee believes that those responsible for our military force posture and strategy must continue to be fully aware of the importance of psychological and informational considerations and give these factors due weight in their decisions.

V. New Dimensions of Diplomacy

In some historic periods deep shifts in the mission and style of diplomacy occur. We seem now to be in such a period. The changes taking place reflect technological developments in transport and communications, and the growing role of public opinion in world affairs. In addition, the persistence of the ideological, economic and strategic struggle with the Communist world imposes new challenges to our diplomacy. The whole Soviet system from the beginning has placed great stress on propaganda, both at home and abroad. In the next ten years, the conduct of our foreign relations and the organization of our diplomacy will have to cope with the various aspects of this encompassing struggle, including the propaganda and the psychological, particularly in its transference to new arenas in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In both the new countries and the older ones going through the crisis of modernization, formal and traditional diplomacy of the predominantly government-to-government type often plays a limited role. This means that our diplomacy increasingly must understand public opinion in all countries, open and closed, old and new, and must give greater emphasis to this factor in the handling of conferences and negotiations, in the selection and training of members of the foreign services, and in our treatment of foreign visitors.

American diplomatic representatives abroad should make a greater effort to develop close and friendly contacts with all key leadership groups. Dealings with all major sources of influence in foreign societies will be of increasing importance in years to come.

Visits to other countries by the President or the Secretary of State can have extraordinary value in terms of impact on foreign opinion. The greatest care should be exercised in deciding the timing and detailed arrangements of such visits.

A renewed effort should be made to reduce the size of certain of our missions abroad, particularly in countries where elements attached to the embassy are disproportionately large.

Major Negotiations

Major diplomatic conferences and negotiations now require more careful planning and preparation than ever before, in part because our adversaries commonly try to convert them into propaganda jousts. Such preparations and negotiations now must be conducted simultaneously on two levels: the laborious, intricate process of negotiations between governments, and the continuous effort to build public support for our proposals.

The United Nations

Since the inception of the United Nations, debates in that body have dramatized major international issues and given an additional dimension to diplomacy. The UN has been important not only as a means of discussing issues and, on occasion, of settling disputes, but also as a sounding board.

The United States, in continuing its support for the UN, should make the fullest use of UN meetings, including those of specialized agencies, to launch major new plans and proposals and to state its position on issues of enduring importance.

In the makeup of delegations to the United Nations and of assignment of U.S. personnel to UN affiliated organizations, careful attention should be given to the ability of the representatives to deal effectively on the informational front. Experience in international conference work and training for it should be more widespread in our services, especially the Foreign Service.

Greater emphasis should be given to UN affairs by U.S. Government information media and to dealings with the press to explain U.S. positions.

Far greater attention should also be given to the responsibilities and opportunities of the United States as "host" to the UN. As the most recent session of the General Assembly has demonstrated, the impact on the delegates from the new states of their reception, housing and general treatment is a factor of real importance.

Arms Control

Today the world is on the threshold of an important new era in arms control negotiations. The Committee recommends that the U.S. make more timely informational preparations to communicate its proposals and objectives. Heads of U.S. delegations to such negotiations should provide full and frequent background briefings for the world press. All statements by government officials bearing on the question of arms control must be effec-

tively coordinated, especially during a period of negotiation.

Visitors to the U.S.

The Committee believes that better arrangements are needed for welcoming both foreign dignitaries and ordinary visitors to the United States. In the case of the former, additional funds are required for protocol and official hospitality. Efforts must be stimulated to provide imagination and some pageantry in the reception of chiefs of state and high-level dignitaries. Consideration should be given to the utility of consultative citizens' committees for this purpose.

Measures should also be taken to improve the reception of tourists, businessmen, students and other ordinary visitors at U.S. ports of entry. Although somewhat lightened and humanized in recent years, the procedures of our various port authorities remain more rigorous than those in most other countries. We suggest that the sensitivities and reactions of the foreign visitors, whose image of America is sharply affected by their arrival experiences, be given greater weight in determining the methods, manners and procedures of our receiving officials.

VI. International Activities of Private Organizations

In total, the greater part of the influences emanating from the United States and affecting opinion abroad result from private, not governmental, activity. The free and uninhibited contact of an open society with the rest of the world contrasts sharply with that of totalitarian systems. The Committee believes that private activities abroad have importance in a generalized way to the world's image of America and that they contribute significantly to international understanding—and misunderstanding. However, private international activity is not a substitute for sustained and systematic informational activity by the government.

Business Firms Abroad

The climate of opinion for foreign investment is deteriorating in many areas where the need is greatest. To counteract this requires a determined effort by business and government. The necessary business associations exist, such as the Business Council for International Understanding and the International Chamber of Commerce, to give leadership.

Individual firms are commendably beginning to face their responsibilities for good corporate citizenship abroad. Such progress should continue at an accelerated rate. There should be more vigorous Government efforts to encourage the best practices by American firms abroad. More companies should develop community relations programs abroad as they do at home.

Labor Organizations

American labor organizations provide a uniquely acceptable channel of communication with their counterparts abroad and they have become increasingly involved in world affairs. Whether their response has been adequate to the challenge is a matter of some dispute. However, what they have done in countering the spread

of Communism in labor organizations abroad is to be commended.

Universities

As world affairs become more important to the nation and as our international involvements increase, the demands upon our universities for training, research and operational support for governmental programs likewise grow. The Committee feels that it would be highly desirable to clarify and strengthen the role of a single agency of the government to deal with our universities on the over-all and long-range policy questions presented by the requirements of the various governmental agencies working abroad. Likewise, it would seem desirable for the universities themselves to bring into existence a permanent council to deal with fundamental problems of government-university relationships.

Private Foundations

The international activities of private foundations provide an important and independent channel of American communication with influential scientific, cultural and academic leaders abroad. The Committee believes that foundations can make no more vital contribution to the national welfare than by activity abroad in their fields of special competence, and it urges the trustees of all foundations not barred by charter or other legal inhibitions to consider seriously such activity. The independence of action of foundations is to be valued and protected. However, effective communication and consultation between Government and the foundations working overseas is increasingly important.

International Sporting Competitions

The Soviet Union obviously attaches considerable propaganda importance to international sporting events. It spends large resources and marshals hundreds of thousands of its youth to dedicate themselves at governmental expense to become international sporting champions.

Some Soviet sporting victories have had certain propaganda value. But the Committee believes that the problem does not justify any fundamental departure from the established American practice of participating in the Olympic Games and other international competitions on a private and amateur basis. However, the situation does underscore the importance to our standing abroad of the work of the President's Committee on Youth Fitness and the role of the armed forces in the physical development of our youth. It would seem worthwhile if many of our institutions, including our schools, were to encourage development of greater skills in the athletic events in which the United States has a demonstrated weakness.

The News Media

The freedom and independence of U.S. news media are rooted in basic principles of our democracy. These private commercial enterprises are, however, clothed with a public interest and responsibility.

On a world-wide basis, the two main problems which the news media present are:

- a. The needs of the less developed areas in building

up the competence and objectivity of their media as literacy and political interest develop.

b. The obstacles which exist to the international flow of news, particularly between the Soviet Bloc and the Free World, but also within certain Free World areas.

The Committee recommends:

1. That, under the leadership of the Department of State, all Government agencies increase their assistance to foreign correspondents in the United States to enable them to report more fully on and to develop a better understanding of America, and that private organizations and corporations be encouraged to do likewise.

2. That the United States continue to provide to the world an example of freedom in access to and the transmission of news; and that it demonstrate vigorous interest in promoting the rights of the news media to freedom of travel for correspondents and freedom from censorship.

3. That there be parallel efforts by private media, professional journalistic bodies, foundations and government to help strengthen the news media in the less developed countries, to develop standards of journalistic objectivity and the competence of personnel.

International Television

The Committee recommends that a coordinated government-wide policy be developed to guide and extend U.S. participation in the future overseas expansion of television broadcasting.

Also, it recommends that under the leadership of the State Department steps be taken now to develop policies to clarify the roles of the U.S. Government and private broadcasters in international telecasting and to plan international proposals for frequency allocations which would prevent chaos on the airwaves once international telecasting begins.

Books and Publications

In a time of new technical marvels of communications, the importance of the printed page in the transmission of information and ideas remains fundamental.

The Committee recommends the continuation of the Informational Media Guaranty program and, where feasible, its extension to cover additional areas where the shortage of dollar exchange continues to be a serious hindrance to the distribution of American books and publications.

VII. Government Organization

Intra-Agency Organization

The Committee recommends that the President reaffirm to all departments and agencies the importance of adequately considering foreign opinion factors in the formulation of policies and the execution of programs which have impact abroad; that he request the Departments of State and Defense to continue and re-enforce the efforts already made to this end; and that he ask the heads of other departments and agencies to take whatever organizational or procedural steps may be necessary in this connection, leaving to their discretion the determination of the particular methods to be used.

The Role of the OCB

The coordination of information activities in the general structure of the U.S. Government is a formidable problem. They are conducted by a number of different departments and agencies, and they are both diverse in character and substantial in scale. Even more complex is the task of integrating psychological factors in substantive programs affecting opinion abroad.

The creation of the Operations Coordinating Board in September 1953 represented a major step forward in improving the effectiveness of U.S. psychological and informational activities. Although the activities of the Board have been the subject of continuing debate, there can be no question that it has performed and continues to perform a number of vital functions in the coordination of informational activities and the integration of psychological factors in substantive programs of the government.

The weekly executive sessions of the Board provide its members with a unique and high-level mechanism in the government for the expeditious and effective handling of a whole spectrum of inter-agency matters including those related to the climate of world opinion. Its working groups and committees carry on part of the continuing task of inter-agency coordination of information programs. Most important, the OCB is a point high in the governmental structure where security programs and policies are considered in relation to their public opinion as well as other aspects.

In the judgment of the Committee it is essential that, whatever changes may be made in national policy machinery, the functions now performed by OCB continue to be provided for.

We believe that the most effective means for insuring the continuation of these functions, particularly those related to public opinion and informational matters, is through the continued existence of the OCB.

If the OCB did not exist, it would have to be invented; its creation was the logical outgrowth of the increase in U.S. information activities up to 1953, as well as of the growing importance of public opinion and communications in foreign affairs.

Furthermore, we believe that the OCB not only should be continued but that its potentialities should be more fully recognized and realized. In accomplishing this, continuing strong Presidential interest in making the OCB effective is the crux of the matter.

The OCB should further stimulate and coordinate planning by the various elements of the U.S. information system. This requires greater attention to anticipating major opportunities and problems, identifying the requirements for trained personnel and physical facilities on the scale and at the time needed to deal with upcoming situations, and mobilizing all the informational assets of the government in support of national objectives.

In the areas of foreign educational development, exchange of persons, English language teaching, exhibits and trade fairs, and radio and television, there is need for increased integration and coordination of current efforts.

The Committee believes that it is important to achieve program evaluations of a more objective and critical

character than has been the case in the past. There is some question whether such evaluations, given the understandable concerns and perspectives of operating agency representatives, can be most effectively accomplished through the committee approach. Nevertheless this Committee firmly believes that the responsibility rests with the Board itself, and that the Board members should give greater attention to meeting it.

Supplemental Comments of Individual Members

Individual members of the Committee have expressed the following supplemental views:

1. With respect to the Committee's conclusions on page 188 concerning the structural relations between the Department of State and USIA, Mr. Reed wishes to have noted that:

As a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, he is on record as favoring a single separate agency to operate the exchange and information programs of our Government now lodged in the Department of State and USIA.

2. With respect to the Committee's proposal of an enlarged program for foreign educational development on page 189, Mr. Gray has the following comment, with which Mr. Merchant desires to be associated:

"I am in agreement with the other members of the Committee as to the importance of the activities discussed in this section. It is conceivable that an emphasis on foreign educational development as discussed in this chapter could become a matter of major importance to the interests of the United States. I agree that a new declaration of policy in support of foreign educational development by the President and the Congress would be of powerful assistance. My difficulties with the program suggestions are that they are imprecise, largely open-ended, and need further definition as to scope and timing.

"I also have some difficulty with the new quasi-independent Foundation for International Educational Development. I am not convinced that it is a practical suggestion and feel that it needs further consideration. For the programs the United States administers directly it seems important that all types of aid be closely coordinated on a country basis rather than fragmented into specialized functional agencies such as education, health, agriculture, industry, etc. Furthermore, it is very probable that the U.S. may want to continue to provide some assistance for educational programs through the United Nations, especially to the new countries in Africa."

President Recommends Extension and Amendment of Sugar Act

Statement by President Eisenhower

White House press release dated January 17

I have instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to transmit to the Congress of the United States

a recommendation for extension and amendment of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, from its present expiration date of March 31, 1961, through December 31, 1961. I have also indicated my belief that a 9 months' extension is imperative to maintain a stable sugar market in the interest of domestic producers and consumers, if the Congress is to have time enough to develop longer range legislation.

In accordance with my statement of December 16, 1960,¹ I have again asked the Congress to relieve the Executive of the obligation to purchase from the Dominican Republic a portion of the sugar needed to replace that formerly obtained from Cuba.

Americans Ordered To Dispose of Gold Holdings Abroad

White House press release dated January 14

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on January 14 signed an Executive order, further amending Executive Order No. 6260 of August 28, 1933, to prohibit the holding by U.S. citizens and enterprises, and by other persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, of gold situated abroad and of securities representing gold on deposit abroad.

It is not believed that a large amount of gold is being held abroad in this manner. However, since individuals and enterprises subject to the jurisdiction of the United States are not permitted to hold gold in the United States, it is reasonable to prohibit such holdings abroad where purchases generally represent an outflow in the U.S. balance of payments. The prohibition of such holdings also underlines the fact that gold today represents principally a means of settling international payments between individual foreign countries. The present amendment of Executive Order No. 6260 should be viewed in the light of the administration's comprehensive program to work toward a reasonable equilibrium in the U.S. balance of payments. This step is being taken in furtherance of the objectives set forth in the President's Directive of November 16, 1960,² of taking all possible

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1961, p. 18.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 860.

measures to assure the strength of the U.S. dollar as the cornerstone of the international monetary system.

It was announced that implementing amendments of the Treasury Department's Gold Regulations, to be issued shortly, would afford existing American holders of gold abroad, and of securities representing gold on deposit abroad, a reasonable period of time until June 1, 1961, to dispose of their holdings.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10905³

AMENDMENT OF EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 6260 OF AUGUST 28, 1933, AS AMENDED

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended, 12 U.S.C. § 95a, and in view of the continued existence of the national emergency proclaimed by Proclamation No. 2914 of December 16, 1950,⁴ I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby further amend Executive Order No. 6260, as amended, as follows:

1. By amending section 2 to read as follows:

"2. As used in this order, the term 'person' means an individual, partnership, association or corporation; the term 'United States' means the United States and any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof; and the term 'person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States' means: (a) any individual who is a citizen of the United States; (b) any individual, wherever located, who is a resident of, or domiciled in, the United States; (c) any partnership, association, corporation or other organization which is organized or doing business under the laws of the United States or of any state or territory thereof or the District of Columbia; and (d) any partnership, association, corporation or other organization wherever organized or doing business which is owned or controlled by persons specified in (a), (b), or (c)."

2. By adding at the end thereof a new section 12 reading as follows:

"12. Except under license issued therefor pursuant to the provisions of this order, no person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States shall, after the effective date of this section, acquire, hold in his possession, earmark, or retain any interest, legal or equitable, in any gold coin (other than gold coin having a recognized special value to collectors of rare and unusual coin), gold certificates, or gold bullion situated outside of the United States, or any securities issued by any person holding, as a substantial part of his assets, gold as a store of value or as, or in lieu of, money and not for a specific and customary industrial, professional or artistic use. The Secretary of the Treasury, subject to such other regulations as he may prescribe, is authorized to issue licenses permitting, until June 1, 1961, the holding and disposition of

any such securities or gold coin, certificates or bullion acquired by persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States prior to the effective date of this section and owned by such persons on such date. The Secretary is further authorized to issue licenses permitting the acquisition and holding by persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States of gold bullion situated outside of the United States which the Secretary or such agency as he may designate is satisfied is required for legitimate and customary use in the industry, profession or art in which such person is regularly engaged."

This amendment shall become effective upon filing for publication with the Office of the Federal Register.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 14, 1961.

Administration of Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act

White House press release dated January 18

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on January 18 signed an Executive order amending Executive Order 10716¹ relative to the administration of the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956.

The order reflects the administrative experience of the past several years, wherein it has been found on a number of occasions that more flexibility should be granted to the Director of the United States Information Agency as the coordinator of the activities under the act. No change has been made in operating responsibilities of the Secretaries of State and Commerce for participation in cultural activities and trade fairs. The order will permit the USIA, however, in unforeseen situations to respond more rapidly to meet U.S. overseas objectives, especially in fairs and expositions not suited to existing trade-fair participation arrangements.

The order parallels the President's proposal in the 1962 budget to make the appropriation for cultural presentations and trade fairs to USIA

³ 26 *Fed. Reg.* 321.

⁴ For text, see BULLETIN of Dec. 25, 1950, p. 1003.

¹ BULLETIN of July 22, 1957, p. 151.

rather than to the President and his request for a \$2 million contingency fund. By virtue of the new order this program can be administered to meet better the unforeseen needs for which it is intended.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10912²

AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10716 OF JUNE 17, 1957

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 1991-2001), by section 301 of title 3, of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is ordered that Executive Order No. 10716 of June 17, 1957 (22 F.R. 4345), headed "Administration of the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956," be, and it is hereby, amended as follows:

1. By renumbering paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of section 1(b) as paragraphs (3), (4), and (5), respectively, and by inserting after paragraph (1) thereof the following new paragraph (2):

"(2) The functions so conferred by section 3(3) of the Act (the provisions of section 3(a) of this order notwithstanding), exclusive of the functions delegated by the provisions of section 2(c) of this order."

2. By substituting "section 1(b)(4)" for "section 1(b)(3)" in section 1(d).

3. By substituting for section 1(e) the following:

"(e) The Director of the United States Information Agency shall allocate funds appropriated or otherwise made available to carry out the purposes of the Act to the United States Information Agency, the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, and any other departments or agencies of the Government as the said Director may deem appropriate to carry out the provisions of this order and the purposes of the Act."

4. By substituting for section 2(c) the following:

"(c) The functions so conferred by section 3(3) of the Act to the extent that they pertain to liquidation of affairs respecting the Universal and International Exhibition of Brussels, 1958."

5. By substituting for section 3(a) the following:

"(a) The functions so conferred by section 3(3) of the Act (the provisions of section 1(b)(2) hereof notwithstanding), exclusive of the functions delegated by the provisions of section 2(c) of this order."

6. By substituting for the text "Executive Order No. 10575 of November 6, 1954 (19 F.R. 7249)"³ in section 5

² 26 Fed. Reg. 509.

³ BULLETIN of Dec. 13, 1954, p. 914.

the following: "Executive Order No. 10893 of November 8, 1960 (25 F.R. 10731)".⁴

7. By amending the catchline of section 6 to read "Definitions", and by adding the following sentence at the end of that section: "References to this order in this order shall be deemed to include references to this order as amended."



THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 18, 1961.

Defense Support Aid to Turkey Increased to \$90 Million

Press release 23 dated January 16

The U.S. Government on January 16 announced agreement to provide Turkey an additional \$43,600,000 in Mutual Security Program defense support funds. The new grant brings to \$90,000,000 the amount which the United States through the International Cooperation Administration has made available from fiscal year 1961 defense support funds to aid Turkey in maintaining its defense establishment.

The funds provided at this time will be used to finance Turkish import licenses issued between January and June 1961 and to assist that country in carrying out its stabilization program.

Turkey is also receiving \$37,500,000 from the International Monetary Fund and \$50,000,000 from the Organization for European Economic Development. These funds will be used to assist Turkey in meeting its balance-of-payments requirements for calendar year 1961.

The Government of Turkey recently decided to undertake a series of economic measures continuing and supplementing the stabilization program launched in 1958. A major feature of the program will be measures designed to avoid further inflation. Turkey is also taking steps to develop an investment program during the coming year in order to assure that resources will be devoted to projects carrying highest priority.

The U.S. defense support assistance is in addition to a \$129,600,000 loan which the U.S. Government is making through the Development Loan Fund to assist Turkey in developing the Ereğli

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1960, p. 869.

Steel Mill project. DLF also recently granted a \$6,000,000 loan to Turkey for construction of a single-track railway line between Mus and Tatvan.

The United States is also providing technical assistance to Turkey valued at \$4,300,000 this fiscal year.

In addition, the United States and Turkey signed an agreement January 11 under which Turkey will receive 200,000 tons of American wheat under provisions of title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P.L. 480).

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings ¹

Scheduled February 1 Through April 30, 1961

CENTO Ministerial Council: 9th Meeting	Ankara	Feb. 1-
U.N. ECE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	Feb. 1-
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 3d Session	Addis Ababa	Feb. 6-
U.N. ECOSOC Population Commission: 11th Session	New York	Feb. 6-
14th World Health Assembly	New Delhi	Feb. 7-
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport and Communications Committee: 9th Session	Bangkok	Feb. 9-
Meeting of Experts on Technical Assistance	Washington	Feb. 20-
GATT Contracting Parties: Council of Representatives	Geneva	Feb. 22-
ILO Governing Body: 148th Session (and its committees)	Geneva	Feb. 23-
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission	Panamá	Feb. 23-
U.N. ECOSOC Committee on Nongovernmental Organizations	New York	Feb. 27-
U.N. Plenipotentiary Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities	Vienna	Mar. 2-
IAEA Intergovernmental Committee on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage	Vienna	Mar. 6-
FAO Committee of Government Experts on the Uses of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	Mar. 6-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Mar. 6-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 17th Session	Geneva	Mar. 6-
U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: 17th Session	New Delhi	Mar. 8-
U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 9th Session	Geneva	Mar. 13-
U.N. ECE Steel Committee: 25th Session	Geneva	Mar. 13-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on the Status of Women: 15th Session	New York	Mar. 13-
FAO European Commission for Control of Foot and Mouth Disease: 8th Session	Rome	Mar. 14-
FAO International Meeting on Fish Meal	Rome	Mar. 20-
U.N. ECE Senior Economic Advisers	Geneva	Mar. 20-
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Mar. 21-
International Lead and Zinc Study Group: 3d Session	México, D.F.	Mar. 22-*
Development Assistance Group: 4th Meeting	London	Mar. 27-
SEATO Council: 7th Meeting	Bangkok	Mar. 27-
U.N. ECE Coal Committee: 51st Session	Geneva	Mar. 27-
U.N. ECOSOC Committee on Industrial Development	New York	Mar. 27-
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: 6th Meeting of Technical Advisory Council.	Turrialba	March
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 31st Session	New York	Apr. 4-
IADB Board of Governors: 2d Meeting	Rio de Janeiro	Apr. 10-
ILO Regional Conference of American States Members: 7th Session.	Buenos Aires	Apr. 10-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Apr. 10-
GATT Panel on Subsidies and State Trading	Geneva	Apr. 10-
U.N. Economic Commission for Europe: 16th Session	Geneva	Apr. 11-
WMO Commission for Hydrological Meteorology: 1st Session	Washington	Apr. 12-
Diplomatic Conference on the Law of the Sea	Brussels	Apr. 17-
U.N. ECOSOC Social Commission: 13th Session	New York	Apr. 17-
Inter-American Commission of Women: 14th General Assembly	Lima	Apr. 17-
ICAO Panel on Origin-and-Destination Statistics: 3d Meeting	Paris	Apr. 18-
ITU Administrative Council: 16th Session	Geneva	Apr. 22-
GATT Balance-of-Payments Consultations	Geneva	Apr. 24-
ICAO Divisional Meeting on Personnel Licensing and Training	Montreal	Apr. 25-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Jan. 17, 1961. Asterisks indicate tentative dates. Following is a list of abbreviations: 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; IADB, Inter-American Development Bank; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ILO, International Labor Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; U.N., United Nations; WMO, World Meteorological Organization.

Soviet Complaint on Belgian Activity in Congo Rejected by Security Council

The Security Council met January 12-14 to consider a Soviet complaint concerning "the serious threat to peace and security created as a result of the fresh acts of Belgian aggression against the Congo and the flagrant violation of the international status of the United Nations Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi." Following is a statement made on January 13 by James W. Barco, Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

U.S./U.N. press release 3636

The Council has been called into session to deal with a charge by the Soviet Union¹ of "direct aggression" by Belgium, with the help of the Secretary-General, against the Republic of the Congo.

To meet this so-called aggression the Soviet Union proposes that the United Nations terminate the trusteeship agreement with respect to Ruanda-Urundi, disarm the national army of the Republic of the Congo, release Mr. [Patrice] Lumumba from jail, and turn all civilian and military airfields, radio stations, and other installations over to dissident and rebellious elements in the Congo.

The disparity between what actually happened, as described in the documentation made available by the Secretary-General and the Government of Belgium, and the charges leveled and the action demanded by the Soviet Union is so vast that it is difficult to treat these charges any differently than those that were before the Security Council at our last session.² In typical Soviet fashion an elephant gun has been trained on a mosquito. To accuse Belgium of "aggression" against the Republic of the Congo is, to say the least, a total distortion.

Since the December meetings of the Council concerning the Congo,³ there has regrettably been no improvement in the situation. If anything, it has deteriorated. But the situation has not deteriorated because of the isolated incident which forms the nucleus of the Soviet complaint. It has deteriorated because rebel elements in the

Congo, encouraged and actively aided from outside, continue to flout the authority of the legitimate Chief of State, President [Joseph] Kasavubu, whose position has been recognized by the vast majority of the United Nations membership.

Bukavu Incident Distorted by Soviets

We can only conclude that the incident seized upon by the Soviet Union as a pretext for requesting this meeting has been deliberately magnified and distorted for all-too-familiar purposes. As far as the incident itself is concerned the United States notes, in Ambassador Dayal's last report,⁴ that the United Nations Command received assurances from the Belgian chief of the Ruanda-Urundi Security Service that there are no more Congolese troops within the trust territory and that no more will be permitted to enter. Similar assurances have been reaffirmed in the letter from the representative of Belgium [Walter Loridan] to the Secretary-General contained in document S/4621. Moreover, the Belgian representative here yesterday reaffirmed these assurances in the most categorical manner. Thus if there ever was a justification for this meeting, it has now been obviated.

Considering its own role of unilateral intervention contrary to the spirit of the United Nations—and I am afraid the Soviet Union is not alone in this—it is no wonder that the Soviet charge deals only with the Bukavu incident and ignores the fundamental problem besetting the Congo. The fundamental problem is outside intervention in support of rebel elements in order to undermine the legitimate authority of the Chief of State.

It is ironic that in introducing this complaint the Soviet Union has based it on a resolution calling on all states not to render military assistance to the Congo. The Soviet Union vetoed a resolution containing this provision in the Security Council,⁵ while at the very time Mr. [Valerian A.] Zorin explicitly said the Soviet Union intended to do whatever it wanted to do. The fourth emergency special General Assembly later adopted just such a resolution by an overwhelming majority,⁶

¹ For background, see U.N. doc. S/4614 and S/4616.

² For U.S. statements made on Jan. 4 and 5 during consideration of a Cuban complaint, see BULLETIN of Jan. 23, 1961, p. 104.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1961, p. 51.

⁴ Rajeshwar Dayal, special representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo; for text of reports dated Jan. 1 and 5, 1961, see U.N. doc. S/4606 and Add. 1.

⁵ BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1960, p. 527.

⁶ For background, see *ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1960, p. 583.

but the Soviet Union was not to be found among its supporters. The United States remains firmly committed to the support of the United Nations program in the Congo and, as an essential element of that program, to the proposition that no military personnel, equipment, or supplies should be introduced into the Congo except under United Nations auspices. This resolution applies to all, regardless of their political persuasion. We would welcome an explicit affirmation in word and deed from the Soviet Union that it will adhere to the same United Nations policy which it now cites against Belgium.

Continuation of Soviet Irresponsibility

We would like to think that the Soviet Union might change its position and support the attainment of United Nations objectives in the Congo. We have not yet seen any evidence that this is the case. In fact the Soviet Union seeks to paralyze the United Nations by continually attacking the Secretary-General and by refusing to pay its contributions either to the United Nations forces in the Congo or to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. Payment of the expenses of the United Nations forces in the Congo would help to demonstrate concretely that the Soviet Union is prepared to support rather than to obstruct the United Nations operation in the Congo. But as long as the Soviet Union does not pay its assessed share of the cost for United Nations activities, we are justified in concluding that the Soviet complaint is not motivated by genuine concern but by a desire to promote its own objectives in the Congo. Certainly full material and political support for the Congo force would be a much better way to help the Congolese people than recourse to such distorted charges as are contained in document S/4614 and in the speech of Mr. Zorin yesterday.

Mr. President, we have heard the statement of the Soviet representative that, ostensibly on the basis of this incident, Belgium should be removed as Administering Authority in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and that territory be given immediate independence. The suggestion that Belgium should be forced to lay down its responsibilities in this way is, of course, a continuation of Soviet irresponsibility. So far as the independence of Ruanda-Urundi is concerned, as the Belgian representative pointed out yesterday,

the necessary arrangements to this end are now under way in accordance with resolutions approved overwhelmingly by the General Assembly. A United Nations commission is now en route to the territory to supervise elections. The commission will subsequently attend a roundtable conference in the territory to promote its development toward independence. This commission will report to the Trusteeship Council and to the General Assembly, which must be satisfied that the necessary steps toward the goal of independence have been taken. Thus the Soviet statement can be seen for what it is: an effort to sow seeds of uncertainty and distrust and to promote the pattern of chaos from which that area of Africa has already suffered far too much.

What the Security Council Should Do

We must, however, ask ourselves what the Security Council should do at this point. The objective of isolating the territory of Ruanda-Urundi from direct involvement in the struggles in the Congo would seem to be met in the representations of the Secretary-General and the assurances of the Belgian authorities. Meanwhile, the general principles which must be pursued in the Congo situation remain quite clear. All nations should faithfully and fully carry out the spirit and letter of the outstanding United Nations resolutions dealing with the Congo. The Congolese people should be enabled themselves to reconcile their internal differences peacefully. The United Nations Command should redouble its efforts to maintain law and order. If these principles, already repeatedly endorsed by the United Nations, are given the full support of all concerned, we will be able to look toward a significant improvement in this troublesome situation so fraught with danger for the peace of the world.

I feel compelled, Mr. President, to express one further thought on this question. As I have already said, outside intervention in the internal affairs of the Congo is the fundamental problem with which the Security Council and the General Assembly have had to deal. We have regrettably been only partially successful. The Soviet Union bears a major share of the responsibility for the present state of affairs. But it is necessary to say, if the record is to be clear, that the Soviet Union is not alone guilty of using the unfortunate Congolese people for its own purposes. Pious state-

ments against outside interference in Congolese affairs have been made in the United Nations by those whose own governmental policy, perhaps for different reasons than those of the Soviet Union, has included the same type of interference. Membership in the Security Council itself, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security, has not, I am afraid, prevented this. The record must not fail to show this fact.⁷

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹
Ratifications deposited: Ecuador and Haiti, January 4, 1961.
Signatures: Venezuela, October 31, 1960; Mexico, December 8, 1960.

Automotive Traffic

Convention on road traffic with annexes. Done at Geneva September 19, 1949. Entered into force March 26, 1952. TIAS 2487.
Accession deposited: Argentina, November 25, 1960.

Aviation

Convention on international civil aviation. Done at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force April 4, 1947. TIAS 1591.
Adherence deposited: Cyprus, January 17, 1961.

Caribbean Organization

Agreement for the establishment of the Caribbean Organization and annexed statute. Signed at Washington June 21, 1960.¹
Acceptance deposited: United Kingdom, January 12, 1961.

Finance

Indus Basin Development Fund Agreement, 1960. Done at Karachi September 19, 1960.
Entered into force: January 12, 1961.

⁷A draft resolution (S/4625) cosponsored by Ceylon, Liberia, and the U.A.R., recommending that the General Assembly "consider the action taken by Belgium as a violation of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi," was rejected by the Council on Jan. 14. The vote was 4 to 0, with 7 abstentions.

¹Not in force.

Trade and Commerce

Fifth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva December 3, 1955.¹
Signature: Brazil, November 21, 1960.
Seventh protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva November 30, 1957.¹
Signatures: Brazil and Chile, November 21, 1960.
Protocol relating to negotiations for establishment of new schedule III—Brazil—to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva December 31, 1958.¹
Signature: Greece, November 18, 1960.
Eighth protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva February 18, 1959.¹
Signature: Chile, November 21, 1960.
Procès-verbal further extending the validity of the declaration extending the standstill provisions of article XVI:4 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (TIAS 4345). Done at Tokyo November 19, 1959.¹
Signatures: United Kingdom, November 8, 1960; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, November 16, 1960; Greece, November 18, 1960.

BILATERAL

Afghanistan

Agreement extending the technical cooperation program agreement of June 30, 1953 (TIAS 2856). Effected by exchange of notes at Kabul December 22 and 28, 1960. Entered into force December 28, 1960.

Belgium

Agreement amending annex B of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950 (TIAS 2010). Effected by exchange of notes at Brussels December 1 and 23, 1960. Entered into force December 23, 1960.

Brazil

Treaty of extradition. Signed at Rio de Janeiro January 13, 1961. Enters into force 1 month after the exchange of ratifications.

Canada

Treaty relating to cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin. Signed at Washington, January 17, 1961. Enters into force upon exchange of ratifications.

Colombia

Agreement amending the agreement of January 9, 1957, for financing certain educational exchange programs. Effected by exchange of notes at Bogotá December 27, 1960. Entered into force provisionally December 27, 1960.

Israel

Agreement providing for a grant to the Government of Israel to assist in the acquisition of certain nuclear research and training equipment and materials. Effected by exchange of notes at Tel Aviv October 19 and at Jerusalem December 19, 1960. Entered into force December 19, 1960.

Italy

Agreement for cooperation on the uses of atomic energy for mutual defense purposes. Signed at Rome December 3, 1960. Enters into force on the date each Government receives from the other written notification that it has complied with all legal requirements.

Korea

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 exchange of notes. Signed at Seoul December 28, 1960. Entered into force December 28, 1960.

Libya

Memorandum of understanding relating to problems arising from United States military operations in Libya. Signed at Tripoli June 30, 1960. Entered into force June 30, 1960.

Mali

Agreement providing for the furnishing of economic, technical and related assistance. Effected by exchange of notes at Bamako January 4, 1961. Entered into force January 4, 1961.

Panama

Agreement providing for the reciprocal recognition of drivers' licenses issued in Panama and the Canal Zone. Effected by exchange of notes at Panama October 31, 1960. Enters into force on the date on which both jurisdictions shall have completed any changes necessary to conform their laws and regulations to give effect to this agreement.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on January 21 confirmed the following:

Dean Rusk to be Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 34 dated January 23.)

Adlai E. Stevenson to be the representative of the United States to the United Nations and the representative of the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Resignations

Mrs. Oswald B. Lord as U.S. Representative on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mrs. Lord, see White House press release dated January 17.)

Philip Young as Ambassador to the Netherlands, effective January 20. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Ambassador Young, see White House press release dated January 16.)

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.

Army, Naval, and Military Aviation Missions to Peru. TIAS 4548. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Peru, amending the agreements of September 6, 1956, July 31, 1940, and October 7, 1946, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Lima April 26, May 2 and 21, and July 15, 1960. Entered into force July 15, 1960. Operative retroactively April 1, 1959.

Waiver of Final Japanese Contribution for Support of United States Forces in Japan Under Administrative Agreement of 1952. TIAS 4549. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Japan. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tokyo July 15, 1960. Entered into force July 15, 1960.

Load Lines—Modification of Annex II of the Convention of July 5, 1930. TIAS 4550. 2 pp. 5¢.

Modification of annex II of the convention of July 5, 1930, between the United States of America and Other Governments. Proposed by the Government of Australia. Communicated to the Government of the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland September 19, 1949. Entered into force August 7, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4551. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic. Signed at Cairo August 9, 1960. Entered into force August 9, 1960. With exchange of notes.

Tracking Stations. TIAS 4564. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Canada. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ottawa August 24, 1960. Entered into force August 24, 1960.

Correction

BULLETIN of January 16, 1961, p. 83, 44th line in the first column: The date should be October 17, 1959.

Belgium. Soviet Complaint on Belgium Activity in Congo Rejected by Security Council (Barco) . . . 199

Cameroun. Letters of Credence (N'Thepe) . . . 177

Congo, Republic of the. Soviet Complaint on Belgian Activity in Congo Rejected by Security Council (Barco) . . . 199

Cuba. Department Limits Travel to Cuba by Americans . . . 178

Department and Foreign Service

Confirmations (Rusk, Stevenson) . . . 202

Resignations (Lord, Young) . . . 202

Economic Affairs

Americans Ordered To Dispose of Gold Holdings Abroad (text of Executive order) . . . 195

President Recommends Extension and Amendment of Sugar Act . . . 195

U.S.-Honduran Trade Agreement Terminated in Part (text of proclamation) . . . 178

Educational and Cultural Affairs. Administration of Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act (text of Executive order) . . . 196

Honduras. U.S.-Honduran Trade Agreement Terminated in Part (text of proclamation) . . . 178

International Information

Administration of Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act (text of Executive order) . . . 196

Sprague Committee Reports to President Eisenhower on U.S. Information Activities Abroad (Eisenhower, Sprague) . . . 182

International Organizations and Conferences. Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings . . . 198

Ivory Coast. Letters of Credence (Bédié) . . . 177

Mutual Security. Defense Support Aid to Turkey Increased to \$90 Million . . . 197

Netherlands. Young resigns as Ambassador . . . 202

Presidential Documents

Administration of Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act . . . 196

Americans Ordered To Dispose of Gold Holdings Abroad . . . 195

The Inaugural Address of President Kennedy . . . 175

President and President-Elect Discuss Current World Situation . . . 177

President Eisenhower's Farewell to the Nation . . . 179

President Recommends Extension and Amendment of Sugar Act . . . 195

Sprague Committee Reports to President Eisenhower on U.S. Information Activities Abroad . . . 182

U.S.-Honduran Trade Agreement Terminated in Part . . . 178

Protection of Nationals. Department Limits Travel to Cuba by Americans . . . 178

Publications. Recent Releases . . . 202

Treaty Information

Current Actions . . . 201

U.S.-Honduran Trade Agreement Terminated in Part (text of proclamation) . . . 178

Turkey. Defense Support Aid to Turkey Increased to \$90 Million . . . 197

U.S.S.R.

Soviet Complaint on Belgian Activity in Congo Rejected by Security Council (Barco) . . . 199

U.S. Rejects Soviet Allegations on "Sverdlovsk" Incident (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) . . . 177

United Nations

Mrs. Lord resigns as U.S. representative, U.N. Commission on Human Rights . . . 202

Soviet Complaint on Belgian Activity in Congo Rejected by Security Council (Barco) . . . 199

Stevenson confirmed as U.S. representative . . . 202

Venezuela. Letters of Credence (Mayobre Cova) . . . 177

Name Index

Barco, James W . . . 199

Bédié, Konan . . . 177

Eisenhower, President . . . 177, 178, 179, 182, 195, 196

Kennedy, President . . . 175, 177

Lord, Mrs. Oswald B . . . 202

Mayobre Cova, José Antonio . . . 177

N'Thepe, Aimé-Raymond . . . 177

Rusk, Secretary . . . 202

Sprague, Mansfield . . . 182

Stevenson, Adlai E . . . 202

Young, Philip . . . 202

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 16-22

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
21	1/16	Venezuela credentials (rewrite).
22	1/16	Cameroun credentials (rewrite).
23	1/16	Defense support for Turkey.
24	1/16	Travel to Cuba curtailed.
25	1/17	Ivory Coast credentials (rewrite).
†26	1/17	Herter: welcome to Diefenbaker.
*27	1/17	Hanes resignation.
*28	1/18	Williams nominated Ambassador to El Salvador (biographic details).
29	1/19	U.S.-Honduran trade agreement terminated in part.
*30	1/19	Herter: death of Dr. Tom Dooley.
31	1/19	Note to U.S.S.R. on <i>Sverdlovsk</i> incident.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPT
PUBLIC LIBRARY
COPLEY SQUARE
BOSTON 17, MASS
DSB DEC -G-

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



the
Department
of
State

A Survey of the
STRATEGIC TRADE CONTROL PROGRAM
1957-1960

This 50-page pamphlet covers the Fourteenth Report to Congress on operations under the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (Battle Act). The report summarizes the developments of the program for the years 1957 through 1960, among which are included sections on the 1958 List Revision, the 1959 Battle Act Changes, the 1959 List Review, Battle Act Revisions in 1960, and Preparations for the 1960 International List Review.

The appendixes contain the text of the Act, the Trade Controls of Free-World Countries, as well as other data and statistical tables.

Publication 7088

25 cents

Order Form

Please send me.....copies of *A Survey of the Strategic Trade Control Program, 1957-1960.*

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Name:

Enclosed find:

Street Address:

\$.....
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

City, Zone, and State:

Sec Sec

9353. 1A30

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1129

February 13, 1961

THE STATE OF THE UNION • *Address of President Kennedy to the Congress* 207

MR. VOORHEES SUBMITS FINAL REPORT ON CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM • *Statement by President Eisenhower and Text of Report* 219

WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST • *Article by Grant Bloodgood* 225

UNITED STATES AND CANADA SIGN COLUMBIA RIVER TREATY 227

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1129 • PUBLICATION 7136

February 13, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

The State of the Union

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO THE CONGRESS¹

MR. SPEAKER, MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS:

It is a pleasure to return from whence I came. You are my oldest friends in Washington—and this House is my oldest home. It was here, more than 14 years ago, that I first took the oath of Federal office. It was here, for 14 years, that I gained knowledge and inspiration from members of both parties in both Houses—from your wise and generous leaders—and from the pronouncements which I can vividly recall, sitting where you now sit—including the programs of two great Presidents, the undimmed eloquence of Churchill, the soaring idealism of Nehru, the steadfast words of General de Gaulle. To speak from this same historic rostrum is a sobering experience. To be back among so many friends is a happy one.

I am confident that that friendship will continue. Our Constitution wisely assigns both joint and separate roles to each branch of the Government; and a President and a Congress who hold each other in mutual respect will neither permit nor attempt any trespass. For my part, I shall withhold from neither the Congress nor the people any fact or report, past, present, or future, which is necessary for an informed judgment of our conduct and hazards. I shall neither shift the burden of executive decisions to the Congress, nor avoid responsibility for the outcome of those decisions.

I speak today in an hour of national peril and national opportunity. Before my term has ended, we shall have to test anew whether a nation organized and governed such as ours can endure.

¹ Delivered on Jan. 30 (White House press release; as-delivered text).

The outcome is by no means certain. The answers are by no means clear. All of us together—this administration, this Congress, this Nation—must forge those answers.

But today, were I to offer—after little more than a week in office—detailed legislation to remedy every national ill, the Congress would rightly wonder whether the desire for speed had replaced the duty of responsibility.

My remarks, therefore, will be limited. But they will also be candid. To state the facts frankly is not to despair the future nor indict the past. The prudent heir takes careful inventory of his legacies, and gives a faithful accounting to those whom he owes an obligation of trust. And, while the occasion does not call for another recital of our blessings and assets, we do have no greater asset than the willingness of a free and determined people, through its elected officials, to face all problems frankly and meet all dangers free from panic or fear.

I.

The present state of our economy is disturbing. We take office in the wake of 7 months of recession, 3½ years of slack, 7 years of diminished economic growth, and 9 years of falling farm income.

Business bankruptcies have reached their highest level since the great depression. Since 1951 farm income has been squeezed down by 25 percent. Save for a brief period in 1958, insured unemployment is at the highest peak in our history. Of some 5½ million Americans who are without jobs, more than 1 million have been searching for work for more than 4 months. And during each month some 150,000 workers are exhausting their already meager jobless benefit rights.

Nearly one-eighth of those who are without jobs live almost without hope in nearly 100 especially depressed and troubled areas. The rest include new school graduates unable to use their talents, farmers forced to give up their part-time jobs which helped balance their family budgets, skilled and unskilled workers laid off in such important industries as metals, machinery, automobiles, and apparel.

Our recovery from the 1958 recession, moreover, was anemic and incomplete. Our gross national product never regained its full potential. Unemployment never returned to normal levels. Maximum use of our national industrial capacity was never restored.

In short, the American economy is in trouble. The most resourceful industrialized country on earth ranks among the last in the rate of economic growth. Since last spring our economic growth rate has actually receded. Business investment is in a decline. Profits have fallen below predicted levels. Construction is off. A million unsold automobiles are in inventory. Fewer people are working—and the average work week has shrunk well below 40 hours. Yet prices have continued to rise—so that now too many Americans have *less* to spend for items that cost *more* to buy.

Economic prophecy is at best an uncertain art—as demonstrated by the prediction 1 year ago from this same podium that 1960 would be, and I quote, “the most prosperous year in our history.” Nevertheless, forecasts of continued slack and only slightly reduced unemployment throughout 1961 and 1962 have been made with alarming unanimity—and this administration does not intend to stand helplessly by.

We cannot afford to waste idle hours and empty plants while awaiting the end of the recession. We must show the world what a free economy can do—to reduce unemployment, to put unused capacity to work, to spur new productivity, and to foster higher economic growth within a range of sound fiscal policies and relative price stability.

I will propose to the Congress within the next 14 days measures to improve unemployment compensation through temporary increases in duration on a self-supporting basis—to provide more food for the families of the unemployed, and to aid their needy children—to redevelop our areas of chronic labor surplus—to expand the services of the U.S.

Employment Offices—to stimulate housing and construction—to secure more purchasing power for our lowest paid workers by raising and expanding the minimum wage—to offer tax incentives for sound plant investment—to increase the development of our natural resources—to encourage price stability—and to take other steps aimed at insuring a prompt recovery and paving the way for increased long-range growth. This is not a partisan program concentrating on our weaknesses—it is, I hope, a national program to realize our national strength.

II.

Efficient expansion at home, stimulating the new plant and technology that can make our goods more competitive, is also the key to the international balance-of-payments problem. Laying aside all alarmist talk and panicky solutions, let us put that knotty problem in its proper perspective.

It is true that, since 1958, the gap between the dollars we spend or invest abroad and the dollars returned to us has substantially widened. This overall deficit in our balance of payments increased by nearly \$11 billion in the 3 years—and holders of dollars abroad converted them to gold in such a quantity as to cause a total outflow of nearly \$5 billion of gold from our reserve. The 1959 deficit was caused in large part by the failure of our exports to penetrate foreign markets—the result both of restrictions on our goods and our own uncompetitive prices. The 1960 deficit, on the other hand, was more the result of an increase in private capital outflow seeking new opportunity, higher return, or speculative advantage abroad.

Meanwhile this country has continued to bear more than its share of the West's military and foreign aid obligations. Under existing policies, another deficit of \$2 billion is predicted for 1961—and individuals in those countries whose dollar position once depended on these deficits for improvement now wonder aloud whether our gold reserves will remain sufficient to meet our own obligations.

All this is cause for concern—but it is not cause for panic. For our monetary and financial position remains exceedingly strong. Including our drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund and the gold reserve held as backing for

our currency and Federal Reserve deposits, we have some \$22 billion in total gold stocks and other international monetary reserves available—and I now pledge that their full strength stands behind the value of the dollar for use if needed.

Moreover, we hold large assets abroad—the total owed this Nation far exceeds the claims upon our reserves—and our exports once again substantially exceed our imports.

In short, we need not—and we shall not—take any action to increase the dollar price of gold from \$35 an ounce—to impose exchange controls—to reduce our antirecession efforts—to fall back on restrictive trade policies—or to weaken our commitments around the world.

This administration will not distort the value of the dollar in any fashion. And this is a commitment.

Prudence and good sense do require, however, that new steps be taken to ease the payments deficit and prevent any gold crisis. Our success in world affairs has long depended in part upon foreign confidence in our ability to pay. A series of Executive orders, legislative remedies, and cooperative efforts with our allies will get underway immediately—aimed at attracting foreign investment and travel to this country—promoting American exports, at stable prices and with more liberal government guarantees and financing—curbing tax and customs loopholes that encourage undue spending of private dollars abroad—and (through OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], NATO, and otherwise) sharing with our allies all efforts to provide for the common defense of the free world and the hopes for growth of the less developed lands. While the current deficit lasts, ways will be found to ease our dollar outlays abroad without placing the full burden on the families of men whom we have asked to serve our flag overseas.²

In short, whatever is required will be done to back up all our efforts abroad, and to make certain that, in the future as in the past, the dollar is as “sound as a dollar.”

III.

But more than our exchange of international payments is out of balance. The current Federal budget for fiscal 1961 is almost certain to show a net deficit. The budget already submitted for

² For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 860.

fiscal 1962 will remain in balance only if the Congress enacts all the revenue measures requested—and only if an earlier and sharper upturn in the economy than my economic advisers now think likely produces the tax revenues estimated. Nevertheless, a new administration must of necessity build on the spending and revenue estimates already submitted. Within that framework, barring the development of urgent national defense needs or a worsening of the economy, it is my current intention to advocate a program of expenditures which, including revenues from a stimulation of the economy, will not of and by themselves unbalance the earlier budget.

However, we will do what must be done. For our national household is cluttered with unfinished and neglected tasks. Our cities are being engulfed in squalor. Twelve long years after Congress declared our goal to be “a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family,” we still have 25 million Americans living in substandard homes. A new housing program under a new Housing and Urban Affairs Department will be needed this year.

Our classrooms contain 2 million more children than they can properly have room for, taught by 90,000 teachers not properly qualified to teach. One-third of our most promising high school graduates are financially unable to continue the development of their talents. The war babies of the 1940's, who overcrowded our schools in the 1950's, are now descending in 1960 upon our colleges—with two college students for every one, 10 years from now—and our colleges are ill prepared. We lack the scientists, the engineers, and the teachers our world obligations require. We have neglected oceanography, saline water conversion, and the basic research that lies at the root of all progress. Federal grants for both higher and public school education can no longer be delayed.

Medical research has achieved new wonders—but these wonders are too often beyond the reach of too many people, owing to a lack of income (particularly among the aged), a lack of hospital beds, a lack of nursing homes, and a lack of doctors and dentists. Measures to provide health care for the aged under social security, and to increase the supply of both facilities and personnel, must be undertaken this year.

Our supply of clean water is dwindling. Organized and juvenile crimes cost the taxpayers

millions of dollars each year, making it essential that we have improved enforcement and new legislative safeguards. The denial of constitutional rights to some of our fellow Americans on account of race—at the ballot box and elsewhere—disturbs the national conscience and subjects us to the charge of world opinion that our democracy is not equal to the high promise of our heritage. Morality in private business has not been sufficiently spurred by morality in public business. A host of problems and projects in all 50 States, though not possible to include in this message, deserves—and will receive—the attention of both the Congress and the executive branch. On most of these matters, messages will be sent to the Congress within the next 2 weeks.

IV.

But all these problems pale when placed beside those which confront us around the world. No man entering upon this office, regardless of his party, regardless of his previous service in Washington, could fail to be staggered upon learning—even in this brief 10-day period—the harsh enormity of the trials through which we must pass in the next 4 years. Each day the crises multiply. Each day their solution grows more difficult. Each day we draw nearer the hour of maximum danger, as weapons spread and hostile forces grow stronger. I feel I must inform the Congress that our analyses over the last 10 days make it clear that—in each of the principal areas of crisis—the tide of events has been running out and time has not been our friend.

In Asia, the relentless pressures of the Chinese Communists menace the security of the entire area—from the borders of India and south Vietnam to the jungles of Laos, struggling to protect its newly won independence. We seek in Laos what we seek in all Asia, and, indeed, in all of the world—freedom for the people and independence for the government. And this Nation shall persevere in our pursuit of these objectives.

In Africa, the Congo has been brutally torn by civil strife, political unrest, and public disorder. We shall continue to support the heroic efforts of the United Nations to restore peace and order—efforts which are now endangered by mounting tensions, unsolved problems, and decreasing support from many member states.

In Latin America, Communist agents seeking to

exploit that region's peaceful revolution of hope have established a base on Cuba, only 90 miles from our shores. Our objection with Cuba is not over the people's drive for a better life. Our objection is to their domination by foreign and domestic tyrannies. Cuban social and economic reform should be encouraged. Questions of economic and trade policy can always be negotiated. But Communist domination in this hemisphere can never be negotiated.

We are pledged to work with our sister Republics to free the Americas of all such foreign domination and all tyranny, working toward the goal of a free hemisphere of free governments, extending from Cape Horn to the Arctic Circle.

In Europe our alliances are unfulfilled and in some disarray. The unity of NATO has been weakened by economic rivalry and partially eroded by national interest. It has not yet fully mobilized its resources nor fully achieved a common outlook. Yet no Atlantic power can meet on its own the mutual problems now facing us in defense, foreign aid, monetary reserves, and a host of other areas; and our close ties with those whose hopes and interests we share are among this Nation's most powerful assets.

Our greatest challenge is still the world that lies beyond the cold war—but the first great obstacle is still our relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China. We must never be lulled into believing that either power has yielded its ambitions for world domination—ambitions which they forcefully restated only a short time ago. On the contrary, our task is to convince them that aggression and subversion will not be profitable routes to pursue these ends. Open and peaceful competition—for prestige, for markets, for scientific achievement, even for men's minds—is something else again. For if freedom and communism were to compete for man's allegiance in a world at peace, I would look to the future with ever-increasing confidence.

To meet this array of challenges—to fulfill the role we cannot avoid on the world scene—we must reexamine and revise our whole arsenal of tools: military, economic, and political.

One must not overshadow the other. On the Presidential coat of arms, the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left he holds a bundle of arrows. We intend to give equal attention to both.

First, we must strengthen our military tools. We are moving into a period of uncertain risk and great commitment in which both the military and diplomatic possibilities require a free-world force so powerful as to make any aggression clearly futile. Yet in the past, lack of a consistent, coherent military strategy, the absence of basic assumptions about our national requirements, and the faulty estimates and duplication arising from interservice rivalries have all made it difficult to assess accurately how adequate—or inadequate—our defenses really are.

I have, therefore, instructed the Secretary of Defense to reappraise our entire defense strategy—our ability to fulfill our commitments—the effectiveness, vulnerability, and dispersal of our strategic bases, forces, and warning systems—the efficiency and economy of our operation and organization—the elimination of obsolete bases and installations—and the adequacy, modernization, and mobility of our present conventional and nuclear forces and weapons systems in the light of present and future dangers. I have asked for preliminary conclusions by the end of February—and I then shall recommend whatever legislative, budgetary, or executive action is needed in the light of these conclusions.

In the meantime, I have asked the Defense Secretary to initiate immediately three new steps most clearly needed now:

(a) First, I have directed prompt attention to increase our airlift capacity. Obtaining additional air transport mobility—and obtaining it now—will better assure the ability of our conventional forces to respond, with discrimination and speed, to any problem at any spot on the globe at any moment's notice. In particular it will enable us to meet any deliberate effort to avoid or divert our forces by starting limited wars in widely scattered parts of the world.

(b) I have directed prompt action to step up our Polaris submarine program. Using unobligated shipbuilding funds now (to let contracts originally scheduled for the next fiscal year) will build and place on station—at least 9 months earlier than planned—substantially more units of a crucial deterrent—a fleet that will never attack first, but possess sufficient powers of retaliation, concealed beneath the seas, to discourage any aggressor from launching an attack upon our security.

(c) I have directed prompt action to accelerate

our entire missile program. Until the Secretary of Defense's reappraisal is completed, the emphasis here will be largely on improved organization and decision-making—on cutting down the wasteful duplications and the time/lag that have handicapped our whole family of missiles. If we are to keep the peace, we need an invulnerable missile force powerful enough to deter any aggressor from even threatening an attack that he would know could not destroy enough of our force to prevent his own destruction. For as I said upon taking the oath of office: "Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed."³

Secondly, we must improve our economic tools. Our role is essential and unavoidable in the construction of a sound and expanding economy for the entire non-Communist world, helping other nations build the strength to meet their own problems, to satisfy their own aspirations—to surmount their own dangers. The problems in achieving this goal are towering and unprecedented—the response must be towering and unprecedented as well, much as lend-lease and the Marshall plan were in earlier years, which brought such fruitful results.

(a) I intend to ask the Congress for authority to establish a new and more effective program for assisting the economic, educational, and social development of other countries and continents. That program must stimulate and take more effectively into account the contributions of our allies, and provide central policy direction for all our own programs that now so often overlap, conflict, or diffuse our energies and resources. Such a program, compared to past programs, will require

- more flexibility for short-run emergencies
- more commitment to long-term development
- new attention to education at all levels
- greater emphasis on the recipient nation's role, their effort, their purpose, with greater social justice for their people, broader distribution and participation by their people, and more efficient public administration and more efficient tax systems of their own

—and orderly planning for national and regional development instead of a piecemeal approach.

³ For text of President Kennedy's inaugural address, see *ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

(b) I hope the Senate will take early action approving the convention establishing the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.⁴ This will be an important instrument in sharing with our allies this development effort—working toward the time when each nation will contribute in proportion to its ability to pay. For, while we are prepared to assume our full share of these huge burdens, we cannot and must not be expected to bear them alone.

(c) To our sister Republics to the south, we have pledged a new alliance for progress—*alianza para progreso*. Our goal is a free and prosperous Latin America, realizing for all its states and all its citizens a degree of economic and social progress that matches their historic contributions of culture, intellect, and liberty. To start this Nation's role at this time in that alliance of neighbors, I am recommending the following:

—That the Congress appropriate in full the \$500 million fund pledged by the Act of Bogotá,⁵ to be used not as an instrument of the cold war, but as a first step in the sound development of the Americas.

—That a new Inter-Departmental Task Force be established under the leadership of the Department of State, to coordinate at the highest level all policies and programs of concern to the Americas.

—That our delegates to the OAS [Organization of American States], working with those of other members, strengthen that body as an instrument to preserve the peace and to prevent foreign domination anywhere in the hemisphere.

—That, in cooperation with other nations, we launch a new hemispheric attack on illiteracy and inadequate educational opportunities to all levels; and, finally,

—That a food-for-peace mission be sent immediately to Latin America to explore ways in which our vast food abundance can be used to help end hunger and malnutrition in certain areas of suffering in our own hemisphere.

(d) This administration is expanding its food-for-peace program in every possible way.⁶ The product of our abundance must be used more effec-

tively to relieve hunger and help economic growth in all corners of the globe. And I have asked the director of this program to recommend additional ways in which these surpluses can advance the interests of world peace—including the establishment of world food reserves.

(e) An even more valuable national asset is our reservoir of dedicated men and women—not only on our college campuses but in every age group—who have indicated their desire to contribute their skills, their efforts, and a part of their lives to the fight for world order. We can mobilize this talent through the formation of a National Peace Corps, enlisting the services of all those with the desire and capacity to help foreign lands meet their urgent needs for trained personnel.

(f) Finally, while our attention is centered on the development of the non-Communist world, we must never forget our hopes for the ultimate freedom and welfare of the Eastern European peoples. In order to be prepared to help reestablish historic ties of friendship, I am asking the Congress for increased discretion to use economic tools in this area whenever this is found to be clearly in the national interest. This will require amendment of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act along the lines I proposed as a member of the Senate, and upon which the Senate voted last summer. Meanwhile, I hope to explore with the Polish Government the possibility of using our frozen Polish funds on projects of peace that will demonstrate our abiding friendship for and interest in the people of Poland.

Third, we must sharpen our political and diplomatic tools—the means of cooperation and agreement on which an enforceable world order must ultimately rest.

(a) I have already taken steps to coordinate and expand our disarmament effort—to increase our programs of research and study—and to make arms control a central goal of our national policy under my direction.⁷ The deadly arms race, and the huge resources it absorbs, have too long overshadowed all else we must do. We must prevent that arms race from spreading to new nations, to new nuclear powers, and to the reaches of outer space. We must make certain that our negotiators are better informed and better prepared—to formulate workable proposals of our

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1961, p. 11.

⁵ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1960, p. 537.

⁶ See pp. 216 and 217.

⁷ See p. 215.

own and to make sound judgments about the proposals of others.

I have asked the other governments concerned to agree to a reasonable delay in the talks on a nuclear test ban—and it is our intention to resume negotiations prepared to reach a final agreement with any nation that is equally willing to agree to an effective and enforceable treaty.

(b) We must increase our support of the United Nations as an instrument to end the cold war instead of an arena in which to fight it. In recognition of its increasing importance and the doubling of its membership

—we are enlarging and strengthening our own mission to the U.N.

—we shall help insure that it is properly financed.

—we shall work to see that the integrity of the office of the Secretary-General is maintained.

—And I would address a special plea to the smaller nations of the world—to join with us in strengthening this Organization, which is far more essential to their security than it is to ours—the only body in the world where no nation need be powerful to be secure, where every nation has an equal voice, and where any nation can exert influence not according to the strength of its armies but according to the strength of its ideas. It deserves the support of all.

(c) Finally, this administration intends to explore promptly all possible areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other nations “to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors.” Specifically, I now invite all nations—including the Soviet Union—to join with us in developing a weather prediction program, in a new communications satellite program, and in preparation for probing the distant planets of Mars and Venus, probes which may someday unlock the deepest secrets of the universe.

Today this country is ahead in the science and technology of space, while the Soviet Union is ahead in the capacity to lift large vehicles into orbit. Both nations would help themselves as well as other nations by removing these endeavors from the bitter and wasteful competition of the cold war. The United States would be willing to join with the Soviet Union and the scientists of all nations in a greater effort to make the fruits of this new knowledge available to all—and, beyond that, in an effort to extend farm technology to

hungry nations—to wipe out disease—to increase the exchanges of scientists and their knowledge—and to make our own laboratories available to technicians of other lands who lack the facilities to pursue their own work. Where nature makes natural allies of us all, we can demonstrate that beneficial relations are possible even with those with whom we most deeply disagree—and this must someday be the basis of world peace and law.

V.

I have commented on the state of the domestic economy, our balance of payments, our Federal and social budget, and the state of the world. I would like to conclude with a few remarks about the state of the executive branch. We have found it full of honest and useful public servants—but their capacity to act decisively at the exact time action is needed has too often been muffled in the morass of committees, timidities, and fictitious theories which have created a growing gap between decision and execution, between planning and reality. In a time of rapidly deteriorating situations at home and abroad, this is bad for the public service and particularly bad for the country; and we mean to make a change.

I have pledged myself and my colleagues in the Cabinet to a continuous encouragement of initiative, responsibility, and energy in serving the public interest. Let every public servant know, whether his post is high or low, that a man's rank and reputation in this administration will be determined by the size of the job he does, and not by the size of his staff, his office, or his budget. Let it be clear that this administration recognizes the value of dissent and daring—that we greet healthy controversy as the hallmark of healthy change. Let the public service be a proud and lively career. And let every man and woman who works in any area of our National Government, in any branch, at any level, be able to say with pride and with honor in future years: “I served the United States Government in that hour of our Nation's need.”

For only with complete dedication by us all to the national interest can we bring our country through the troubled years that lie ahead. Our problems are critical. The tide is unfavorable. The news will be worse before it is better. And while hoping and working for the best, we should prepare ourselves now for the worst.

We cannot escape our dangers—neither must we let them drive us into panic or narrow isolation. In many areas of the world where the balance of power already rests with our adversaries, the forces of freedom are sharply divided. It is one of the ironies of our time that the techniques of a harsh and repressive system should be able to instill discipline and ardor in its servants—while the blessings of liberty have too often stood for privilege, materialism, and a life of ease.

But I have a different view of liberty.

Life in 1961 will not be easy. Wishing it, predicting it, even asking for it, will not make it so. There will be further setbacks before the tide is turned. But turn it we must. The hopes of all mankind rest upon us—not simply upon those of us in this Chamber, but upon the peasant in Laos, the fisherman in Nigeria, the exile from Cuba, the spirit that moves every man and nation who shares our hopes for freedom and the future. And in the final analysis, they rest most of all upon the pride and perseverance of our fellow citizens of the great Republic.

In the words of a great President [Franklin D. Roosevelt], whose birthday we honor today, closing his final state of the Union message 16 years ago, "We pray that we may be worthy of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us."

Secretary Cites Value of Privacy in Use of Diplomatic Channel

*Statement by Secretary Rusk*¹

It is the intention of President Kennedy and myself to use freely the diplomatic channel for informal as well as formal discussions and consultations with other governments. The value of the diplomatic channel depends on its privacy. We fully recognize the right and the need of the public to be adequately informed on the conduct of foreign affairs. This right, however, cannot extend to the immediate and full disclosure of every exchange between one of our Ambassadors and a high official in the government to which he is accredited.

We are well aware of the understandable interest on the part of the press concerning Ambassador [Llewellyn E.] Thompson's talk in Moscow on

¹ Read to news correspondents on Jan. 23 by Lincoln White, Director of the Office of News.

January 21 with Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. Following that talk, Ambassador Thompson said that he had no comment beyond confirming that the interview concerned Soviet-American relations. There is nothing to be added at the present time to Ambassador Thompson's statement.

President Kennedy Replies to Message From Soviet Leaders

White House press release dated January 21

The White House on January 21 made public the following exchange of telegrams between President Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Leonid Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MESSAGE

JANUARY 21, 1961

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

LEONID BREZHNEV,
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
The Kremlin
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Please accept this expression of my appreciation for your kind message of congratulations on the occasion of my inauguration as President of the United States of America. I welcome your expression of hope for a fundamental improvement in relations between our two countries and in the world situation as a whole; it is a hope which we share. We are ready and anxious to cooperate with all who are prepared to join in genuine dedication to the assurance of a peaceful and a more fruitful life for all mankind. Speaking on behalf of the Government and people of the United States of America, as well as on my own behalf, I can assure you that the efforts of the United States Government will be directed toward this imperative goal.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Department of State Bulletin

SOVIET MESSAGE

THE PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We congratulate you on the occasion of your inauguration. Availing ourselves of this opportunity we wish to express the hope that by our own joint efforts we shall succeed in achieving a fundamental improvement in relations between our countries and a normalization of the whole international situation. We are convinced that, step by step, it will be possible to remove existing suspicion and distrust and cultivate seeds of friendship and practical cooperation between our peoples. On its side, the Soviet Government is always ready to support any good undertakings in this direction and do everything in its power in order that durable peace may be established in the world, so that all nations may live in friendship and without enmity.

N. KHRUSHCHEV,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the U.S.S.R.

L. BREZHNEV,
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the U.S.S.R.

MOSCOW, THE KREMLIN, *January 20, 1961*

Nuclear-Test Study Panel Named by Disarmament Administration

White House press release dated January 25

At the direction of the President the United States Disarmament Administration announced on January 25 the establishment of a panel of experts to study, review, and bring up to date technical considerations bearing upon the conclusion of an agreement for the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests.

Dr. James Brown Fisk, president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, has been asked and has agreed to serve as the panel chairman. Other panel members include:

Dr. Hans A. Bethe, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Gen. Austin W. Betts, Division of Military Applications,
Atomic Energy Commission
Dr. Harold Brown, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory,
Livermore, Calif.
Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., Office of the Special Assistant
to the President for Science and Technology, the White
House
Dr. Richard Latter, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica,
Calif.
Gen. Herbert B. Loper, Office of Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense

Dr. J. Carson Mark, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories,
Los Alamos, N. Mex.
Doyle Northrup, Air Force Technical Application Center,
Department of Defense
Dr. Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, High Energy Physics Lab-
oratory, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Dr. Frank Press, Seismological Laboratory, California
Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif.
Gen. Alfred D. Starbird, Division of Military Applications,
Atomic Energy Commission
Dr. Herbert F. York, Defense Research and Engineering,
Department of Defense

In addition there will be observers from inter-
ested Government departments and agencies.

President Meets With Committee on U.S. Economic Position

White House Statement

White House press release dated January 25

The President met this afternoon [January 25] with a special committee that he had selected, several weeks before his inauguration, to analyze the current economic position of the United States, with special attention to the balance of payments.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, was also present. The committee consisted of Allan Sproul, former President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Roy Blough, Professor of International Business, School of Business Administration, Columbia University; and Paul W. McCracken, Professor of Business Conditions, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan. Professor Blough served as a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers during the administration of President Truman; Professor McCracken served on the Council for a time under the administration of President Eisenhower. The committee completed its report on January 18.

The President today thanked the committee for preparing this excellent report, which he found very useful. He believes that it should contribute greatly toward better public understanding of the nature of the current recession, the gold outflow, and our international payments deficit. He is hopeful that it will stimulate wide public discussion of the more important measures for dealing with these problems. He felt that the report and its recommendations for positive action merited close attention.

President Describes Role of Food-for-Peace Director

White House press release dated January 24

MEMORANDUM OF JANUARY 24

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 24, 1961.

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

I have today issued an Executive Order relating to the duties of the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program. This Order amends Executive Orders 10893¹ and 10900,² providing for the administration of the mutual security and related functions and of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, respectively. It provides that the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program shall be responsible for the continuous supervision and coordination of the functions under section 402 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, as well as those functions under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 which are delegated by Executive Order 10900. These provisions of law deal with the use of American agricultural commodities in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States.

The purpose of this memorandum is to describe further the role of the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, who will be located in the Executive Office of the President.

American agricultural abundance offers a great opportunity for the United States to promote the interests of peace in a significant way and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples all around the world. We must make the most vigorous and constructive use possible of this opportunity. We must narrow the gap between abundance here at home and near starvation abroad. Humanity and prudence, alike, counsel a major effort on our part.

Many Government functions and activities relate to the overseas movement of agricultural commodities and products of the United States. It is important that responsibility for coordination of

all these efforts be centralized so that they can become more meaningful—a more useful instrument of our foreign policy, and more efficient.

Accordingly, I expect to look to the Food-for-Peace Director, working under my direction and with the Secretaries of State and Agriculture in particular, to exercise affirmative leadership and continuous supervision over the various activities in this field, so that they may be brought into harmonious relationship.

The most immediate task which I have asked the Director to undertake is that of conducting an intensive review of all these activities and considering possible improvements in them. He will communicate to me the results of this review and his recommendations for improvement, including recommendations for such legislative changes as may be necessary. I have asked the Food-for-Peace Director to consider very carefully the intimate relationships between our foreign agricultural activities and other aspects of our foreign assistance program and to develop the necessary programs and policies in coordination with the Mutual Security Coordinator.

I know that in all of his endeavors the Director will have your full support and cooperation.

This memorandum shall be published in the *Federal Register*.³

JOHN F. KENNEDY

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10915³

AMENDING PRIOR EXECUTIVE ORDERS TO PROVIDE FOR THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE FOOD-FOR-PEACE PROGRAM

Whereas American agricultural abundance offers a unique opportunity for the United States to promote the interests of peace in a significant way and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples around the world; and

Whereas exports of farm products are of great importance to the domestic economy, furnishing approximately 11 percent of total farm income; and

Whereas many government functions and activities relate to the movement overseas of agricultural products and commodities, and a number of government agencies have responsibilities in connection with these activities; and

Whereas it is of fundamental importance that we have

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 869.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 30, 1961, p. 159.

³ 26 *Fed. Reg.* 781.

a national food policy directed toward using our agricultural abundance as a national asset to meet foreign policy objectives.

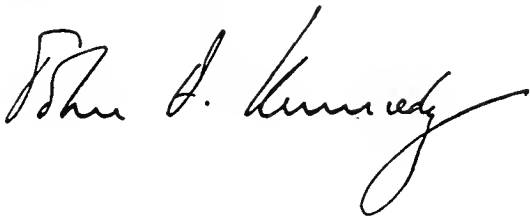
Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Executive Order No. 10900 of January 5, 1961 (26 F.R. 143), headed "Administration of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended," is hereby amended by renumbering sections 6 and 7 thereof as sections 7 and 8, respectively, and by inserting after section 5 the following new section 6:

"SEC. 6. *Director of the Food-for-Peace Program.* Subject to the direction of the President, the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program (provided for in a letter of the President bearing the same date as this order) shall be responsible for the continuous supervision and coordination of the functions hereinabove delegated or otherwise assigned to officers or agencies of the Government. The foregoing provisions of this section shall not be construed as terminating any delegation or other assignment of function made by other sections of this order."

SEC. 2. Executive Order No. 10893 of November 8, 1960 (25 F.R. 10731), headed "Administration of mutual security and related functions," is hereby amended by adding at the end of Part I thereof a new section 111, reading as follows:

"SEC. 111. *Director of the Food-for-Peace Program.* Subject to the direction of the President, the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program shall be responsible for the continuous supervision and coordination of the functions under Section 402 of the Act (22 U.S.C. 1922). The foregoing provisions of this section shall not be construed as superseding any delegation or other assignment of function made by the Act or by other sections of this order."



THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 24, 1961.

Food-for-Peace Committee Reports to President Kennedy

The White House on January 24 made public a report¹ to President Kennedy prepared by the Food-for-Peace Committee appointed by the President during the campaign and headed by Murray Lincoln, president of CARE and president of Nationwide Mutual Insurance Companies

¹ Not printed here.

of Columbus, Ohio. The report recommended fuller and more effective use of U.S. agricultural abundance to meet human needs and to serve better the foreign policy of the United States, particularly with reference to the underdeveloped nations.

Urging transformation of present surplus disposal activities under Public Law 480 [Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act] into a program for the fullest use of our agricultural capacity for human well-being at home and abroad, the Committee called for improvements in the present administration of P.L. 480, expansion of the operations of the voluntary agencies, and new legislative authority extending P.L. 480 for a 5-year period with widely expanded financial authorization. The report also commended the appointment of the Food-for-Peace Director² and called for a national advisory committee on food for peace, a world food conference, food-for-peace missions to be sent to underdeveloped areas of the world, and a positive food-distribution program under the United Nations.

The Food-for-Peace Committee submitted the report to the President in response to his instructions to prepare recommendations for implementing his six-point food-for-peace program made public on October 31. In so doing the Committee pointed out that in preparing the report it had had the assistance of numerous governmental officials and the advice of private citizens familiar with the operations of U.S. surplus food programs.

The members of the Committee submitting the report were:

Murray D. Lincoln, *chairman*, president of CARE and president of Nationwide Mutual Insurance Companies, Columbus, Ohio

Hubert H. Humphrey, U.S. Senator from Minnesota and sponsor of the International Food for Peace Act in the 86th Congress

Donald Murphy, director of editorial research, *Wallace's Farmer*, Des Moines, Iowa, and former chairman, agriculture committee, National Planning Association

George W. Forell, professor of systematic theology, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Maywood, Ill.

William Benton, Southport, Conn., former member of the U.S. Senate

Mrs. Mary Lasker, New York City, active supporter of medical and health research and nationally known leader in public health, cancer, heart, and mental health organizations.

² See p. 216.

Food Program for Congo To Be Increased

White House Statement

White House press release dated January 25

The United States Government has decided to increase substantially its contribution toward relieving the famine in the Congo. This will be done by increasing the supply of corn meal and dry milk, by adding contributions of rice, and by airlifting 1,010 tons of food supplies, seeds, and hospital supplies from a number of African countries into the Congo. In addition hospital tents from United States Army stocks will be airlifted to the Congo. The food and the hospital tents will be donated, and the United States will meet the full cost of the airlift.

The Department of State, the Food-for-Peace Director [George S. McGovern], the International Cooperation Administration, and the Department of Defense have been instructed to implement this program with greatest urgency. This decision has been made to permit the United Nations to meet the threat of starvation among displaced persons and other victims of the disturbances in the Congo.

It is the intention of the Government to meet fully the emergency requirements of the Congo for rice, corn, dry milk, and other foodstuffs in our surplus stocks. To date, 6,000 tons of corn meal, 700 tons of rice, and 1,000 tons of dry milk have been made available. A shipment of 1,678 tons of corn meal has left the United States, and the United States Navy has carried 500 tons of corn meal from Lomé in Togo to the Congo. Substantial deliveries of dry milk have already been made, and 700 tons of rice will be loaded on January 29.

The Government is now placing the following additional quantities at the disposal of the U.N.: 10,000 tons of rice, 4,000 tons of corn meal, and 1,000 tons of dry milk. The first shipment of rice, 800 tons, will also be loaded on January 29. Further shipments of rice and corn meal, at the rate of 1,500 tons of each per month, are scheduled to be made beginning in early February. Deliveries of dry milk will be made as required.

The United States Air Force has already begun to fly 1,010 tons of foodstuffs, seeds, and medical stores which the U.N. and FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] have secured in other African countries. In this way the delivery of food

into the Congo has been speeded up so that no direct airlift of food from the United States is required.

Within the Congo transportation and distribution are being organized by the United Nations. The cost of the local airlift, which is necessary in view of deficiencies in surface transportation in the Congo, is being defrayed from the U.N. fund for the Congo, to which the United States Government has contributed \$10 million. Distribution facilities are being built up very rapidly and should be adequate within a short time to reach all refugees in the Kasai area.

In the distribution of the food an increasingly important role is to be played by American voluntary agencies, in particular the Protestant and Catholic missionary organizations.

Assurances have been received from the United Nations that, with the help of this program, the flow of supplies will be adequate to relieve the distress. The United States Government will cooperate fully to help the United Nations to prevent famine in the Congo.

U.S. To Send 150 American Teachers to East Africa

Press release 38 dated January 25

A U.S. Government project to send some 150 young American teachers to four east African countries as a first step in overcoming critical teacher shortages was set in motion by the International Cooperation Administration on January 27.

The action taken was the awarding of a preliminary contract by ICA to Teachers College of Columbia University to develop a broad plan for working with Makerere College of East Africa, in Uganda, in accelerating the output of qualified local teachers for Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. The furnishing of young American teachers would help fill the gap pending the availability of local teachers.

The project looks toward supplying the 150 American teachers this summer. Since some of the young Americans would be obtained from this year's June graduating classes about the country, ICA and Teachers College officials are moving quickly to implement the proposed program.

Teachers College will send one of its faculty members to east Africa in the immediate future to make an on-the-spot study of facilities and requirements. It also is selecting several faculty members for assignment to Makerere College as advisers during the period of cooperation.

Meanwhile Teachers College is taking steps to contact young teachers and college students graduating from U.S. institutions in June. Simultaneously, procedural measures necessary to implement the plan officially are being arranged with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the four countries.

The project represents the first relatively large-scale effort to engage the services of young Americans in the organized overseas technical cooperation program. ICA education officials emphasized that the project would serve as a pilot effort and should provide answers to many questions and problems involved in using young American college graduates.

The pressing need to help east Africa move as quickly as possible toward the goal of meeting its secondary school teaching needs with its own people, adequately and suitably trained, was brought out at a 4-day conference in early December at Princeton University sponsored by the American Council on Education through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Princeton conference brought together governmental representatives, leading educators, foundation and other private organization representatives from the United States, the United Kingdom, and the four east African emerging nations. The conference proposed that as an interim measure a selected group of young American teachers might be recruited in the United States and given orientation and training at Makerere College for service in east African schools pending availability of an increased number of African teachers.

In the four countries, whose populations total 22 million, there were last year approximately 1,600 graduates of secondary schools. This shortage of secondary school graduates is a bottleneck to the acceleration of economic and social endeavor in east Africa, for from these graduates must come the teachers of future generations, a large share of the skilled workers for government, agriculture, commerce, and industry, and the students for higher education in technology and the professions.

Mr. Voorhees Submits Final Report on Cuban Refugee Problem

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

White House press release dated January 18

I am releasing herewith the final report on Cuban refugee problems by Tracy Voorhees, who has been acting as my personal representative in this matter.

In appointing Mr. Voorhees for this task last November, and in giving him funds and added powers on December 2, I sought to express by effective action the interest which, as President of the United States, I felt in these troubled people, as well as my deep sympathy for them and desire to be of help to them.

This latest exodus of persons fleeing from Communist oppression is the first time in many years in which our Nation has become the country of first asylum for any such number of refugees. To grant such asylum is in accordance with the long-standing traditions of the United States. Our people opened their homes and hearts to the Hungarian refugees 4 years ago. I am sure we will do no less for these distressed Cubans.

I would like to pay public tribute to Mr. Voorhees for his willingness once again to give of his time and energy in the public interest. Steps have been initiated to implement his additional recommendations including the assignment of State Department personnel evacuated from Cuba to the Refugee Center in Miami.

TEXT OF REPORT

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM

January 18, 1961

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Last November 10th you directed me to act as your representative to look into the Cuban refugee situation and report to you.

On December 2nd, when it had become clear that the work of obtaining firm statistical facts—which did not exist, but were requisite for a final report—would take several weeks, you authorized me to act at once to relieve immediate hardship conditions.

On December 19th my Interim Report¹ summarized the then existing situation. Herewith I submit my final report.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 9, 1961, p. 45.

This completes the assignment you gave me, and I tender my resignation effective at the convenience of the President.

It has been a privilege to have had this opportunity again to serve under your inspiring leadership.

Respectfully yours,

TRACY S. VOORHEES

THE PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington, D.C.

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM

Foreword

This report supplements my Interim Report of December 19th. In the latter I stated that the influx of Cuban refugees to the United States had approached almost 40,000 in number and was continuing at a rate of more than 1,000 a week. The principal port of entry for these refugees was—and is—Miami.

Although there has been a large spillover to the New York Metropolitan area—including Newark—and to a relatively small extent to other cities, the majority remain in the Miami area. There, an ever-mounting Cuban population quite obviously has overrun the community's capacity to cope with it.

The problem is now a national one.

A series of surveys and studies of various aspects of the refugee problem have been prepared at my request. They furnish the basis for substantial parts of my Interim Report of December 19th and of this Report. A partial list is annexed.

The Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami

The information available concerning the extent of hardship among the Cuban refugees did not rest on any firm factual basis, as I stated in my Interim Report. Therefore, in order to obtain more reliable information—and also both to provide a focal point for emergency welfare assistance, and to relieve pressures in Miami by starting to move some of the refugees elsewhere—a Cuban Refugee Emergency Center, patterned to some extent upon the successful Hungarian refugee operation at Camp Kilmer, was established on December 7th.

To finance this, I used some of the Mutual Security Contingency Funds made available to me by your action of December 2nd.

This Refugee Center has since served as the catalyst required to produce a cooperative effort, without which there could be no hope of success. Here the talents and resources of many public and private agencies have been fused into a major cooperative enterprise making possible for the first time a valid assessment of the problem and the beginning of effective action to meet it.

As a result, the situation in Miami, though still serious and potentially explosive, has already been improved. The state of mind, bordering on desperation on the part of the refugees and grave anxiety in the minds of State,

County and City officials and of responsible citizens, has in general changed to an attitude of hope and of confidence that something is being done.

No Cuban refugee in that area is now without an immediate source of assistance if he seeks it. None for the time being need go without food, clothing, housing, emergency medical care, or assistance in finding employment.

The Refugee Center has been thoroughly publicized throughout the area, through both Spanish and English media, encouraging the Cuban refugees to come in and state their needs. Some 4,000 employable persons have been registered, interviewed and assigned to welfare and resettlement agencies.

Though the process of resettlement has just begun, several hundred refugees representing over 250 family units have already been moved to new homes and jobs in other communities, and the pace of such resettlement is accelerating.

Concurrently, contributions made from private charitable sources were allocated among the voluntary welfare agencies for use at the Refugee Center and elsewhere to meet immediate and urgent welfare needs of the refugees.

Changed Circumstances

Cuba's limitation of our Embassy staff to eleven persons which precipitated our breaking off diplomatic relations,² and which was promptly followed by Cuba's announcement that it had stopped the issuance of Exit Permits, of course suddenly changed the ability of Cuban refugees to seek asylum in this country.

The period since these events occurred has been too brief to make it possible to estimate the future inflow. However, these changes have not terminated it. The principal factors affecting this are:

Many persons had U.S. visas who have not yet used them.

Cuba did not cancel existing Exit Permits, but merely stopped issuing new Permits. The number of Cubans still having Exit Permits is unknown and perhaps large.

Recent events have apparently increased the number of Cubans who want to reach the United States.

In the first half of this month 3,473 Cubans entered the Florida area on a non-immigrant status—that is, either as refugees or visitors—while only 796 returned from Florida to Havana. The rate of influx has, therefore, been greater than the average of recent months.

However, it would seem that this flow must taper off as outstanding Cuban Exit Permits are used up.

Who Are "Refugees"?

A most significant factor affecting the magnitude of this refugee problem is the very large number of visitors or tourists who are not yet technically regarded by our Immigration Service as refugees, but most of whom under present conditions are now virtually exiles.

At the end of October there were 30,000 such "visitors".

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1961, p. 103.

This increased to 33,000 by the year-end. Now there are almost 36,000. As these "visitors" need to accept employment, our Immigration Service gives permission immediately for them to do so. This changes their status technically from visitors or tourists to refugees, since tourists are not allowed to accept employment.

The total number classed by the Immigration Service as "refugees" was, therefore, on December 31st made up of about 1,900 who had been granted a parole status and 13,700 visitors who had overstayed their time or had sought the right to accept employment.

At the end of October the total number of refugees in these two groups was 7,500. It has more than doubled since.

Accordingly—apart from those on an immigrant status who have obtained a permanent right to remain in the United States—there are now almost 50,000 Cubans here—most of whom, whether they are called tourists or refugees, are in reality exiles.

Since two-thirds of these have not yet sought the right to accept employment, we must expect that, as their own funds or those of their relatives run out, a large number will want jobs and thus increase the refugee problem. So, even if the influx of new refugees from Cuba should soon dry up, a very sizeable problem will probably remain.

However, to measure the task ahead, we must now redefine the word "refugee". For our purposes, he is a Cuban who, realistically speaking, is now an exile and who needs help through a job or otherwise.

The Extent of the Cuban Refugee Problem

Under the above definition, we now have obtained through registration at the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami some firm figures.

From November 21st to January 12th, about 4,000 Cuban adults in need of help were interviewed. Each represented an average family unit of about three (2.77) persons (two adults and one child). We, therefore, have comprehensive facts concerning almost 12,000 Cubans who were living in the Miami area between mid-November and mid-January.

From their answers to our questionnaire, we now have some dependable knowledge, previously non-existent, as to the extent of their hardships and problems. Of course all of them were unemployed. Other problems included:

Housing

The average—that is the statistically typical—Cuban refugee family shares a two-room dwelling with two other resident adults.

Forty-three percent of these families are living in one-room dwellings. At times even these accommodations are shared with other friends or relatives. In at least one case nine persons were occupying a single room.

Among those with relatively better housing, eleven to thirty-room dwellings are shared by from 17 to 127 persons.

Other Welfare Needs

These run the gamut of personal and family necessities, including food, clothing, medical treatment and

education. Forty-three percent need aid in food, clothing, housing, or a combination of these. In view of the very bad housing conditions above described, it is a tribute to the courage of these distressed people that the least frequent request made upon the Center has been for housing assistance.

Education

Below College Level. Over 6,500 Cuban students are going to the Miami public and parochial schools. About 93 percent of those in the public schools have been exempted by necessity from the \$50 fee provided under Florida State law; 18 percent have even been exempted of necessity from school charges for instructional supplies; and 6 percent even from the lunch charge. Cafeteria supervisors report that many students are getting their one hot meal per day at school.

Teachers and administrators describe these young people as "generally a very high type of student from ambitious, education-minded families."

Classes range in size up to 42 in the public schools and 60 in the parochial schools. Sometimes in a class as many as two-thirds are unable to speak English. The public school system is developing special orientation sessions given by Spanish-speaking teachers, but the public schools need 25 more of these teachers plus up to 50 additional regular classroom teachers. The parochial schools also need help.

These students have seen and heard much of fear and violence. They are eager to adjust and to learn. There is a dramatic contrast between the frightened faces of little children at the registration desk each day and the purposeful student in a first grade reading group or a ninth grade civics class—which sometimes includes arrivals in Miami of only a few days before.

A detailed report on the school situation has been prepared by a member of my staff, concurred in by the Florida State Superintendent of Education and by the Superintendent of Schools of Dade County—the Miami area. At the request of the State and local offices, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare now has a team in Florida to work out a program of possible help for schools in Dade County.

One school principal summed up the challenge: "There are a lot of very fine people coming into our schools. They *can* be fine ambassadors for us, if they return sometime to Cuba; or fine potential citizens of the United States, if we handle things right here in the schools."

University Level. As to the needs of the college students our facts are as yet inadequate. A study has been prepared but further analysis is necessary as to the requirements for the second semester. One report expresses the belief that as many as 900 students are in financial difficulty and may have to leave college.

Giving these boys and girls a chance is a challenge which the people of the United States will not fail to meet.

Temporary provision from a private gift has been made for 20 of the most deserving and needy cases of students now at the University of Miami.

The Crux of the Refugee Problem

This situation has been created by evil events which at least for the present have subjugated Cuba to communism.

Although it has only been recently—and as yet inadequately—realized, the Cuban refugees present us with a national problem following from our nation's traditional humane policy of granting asylum as long as they need it to people fleeing from oppression—however they come in and whatever their status.

Yet, this national policy was not until recently balanced by any adequate measures to meet the situation created by it. Accordingly, the Miami area has been badly overtaxed. Surveys made at my request by the Immigration Service, in general corroborated by reports by the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare, show that aside from Miami the only other community which has any large number of Cuban refugees is the New York Metropolitan area. This includes Newark, New Jersey. On December 31st there were in this area over 4,000 refugees, here using the word as defined by the Immigration Service.

There are, of course, Cubans in a visitor status in considerable numbers in other cities, one of which is Tampa. But the heart of the problem remains in Miami and the crux of it is our ability to resettle refugees from Miami.

Miami

The seriousness of the situation in the Miami area is due primarily to the following circumstances:

It is the principal port of entry.

The extent of Miami's problem has been in part an unintentional side effect of the very charity which Miami has shown the refugees. In acts of unexampled kindness, the 50,000 Cubans permanently resident there have taken these people in regardless of sacrifice. Also there has been extensive welfare assistance given both by religious and non-sectarian groups. While these inspiring efforts have helped thousands of persons in trouble, they did this so successfully through temporary relief measures over many months that, until recently, the United States did not apply long-range curative measures.

We must now treat this situation as both a national responsibility and a national opportunity. The United States and its people must assimilate these refugees, while still keeping open their chance to go home if conditions in Cuba should change.

This resettlement is the challenge now before us. There are no suitable jobs for most of these people in the Miami area. Nor is there room at prices they can pay even to house them adequately. To attempt to keep all, or even most, of them there would also leave very many indefinitely on a relief status.

The Resettlement Problem

Resettlement through jobs elsewhere is, therefore, the key to this situation. Yet this cannot be accomplished

overnight. It is a difficult task. Factors making it so are:

The considerable number of Americans now unemployed.

The natural desire of these Cubans to return home if that becomes possible, and their belief that it will be possible at an early date.

Their lack of warm clothing, and their natural apprehensions about life in a cold climate to which they are not accustomed.

To a much lesser degree, the fact that some speak little English.

Also there is the problem—which in reality is a great asset—that so many of these people are in a professional or highly skilled class.

Our Refugee Center and the resettlement agencies have received many job offers in the domestic and service occupational categories. Such offers are in general not suitable for the professional and vocational education and experience of most of the refugees, but this fact itself should commend them highly to prospective American employers.

Fifty-five percent of the Cuban adults registered at the Center have completed a high school education. Twelve percent are college graduates. Seven percent have advanced or professional degrees. There are over 300 physicians alone, including doctors who are internationally known.

Two-thirds of these refugees speak and write English to a limited extent. One-third are accomplished in our language.

During the same period that 112 accountants and auditors, 125 lawyers and judges, 140 physicians and surgeons, 142 professors and teachers, 81 engineers and 166 business managers were interviewed at our Center, there were only 172 semi-skilled helpers and unskilled laborers who sought employment in all occupational categories. This breakdown corroborates my conclusion that assimilation of these refugees must be done on a national, not a local, basis unless their skills are to be wasted.

So far all of the welfare work pending resettlement has been done through charitable funds privately contributed, except that authorization has been given to the voluntary agencies assuring them that they would be reimbursed for expenses incurred in urgently needed relief for Cuban children.

At present the Refugee Center is providing facilities and necessary assistance for the following resettlement agencies, all of which are expert at, and dedicated to, the task of resettling refugees: The Catholic Relief Services—NCWC; the Church World Service—representing the Protestant groups; United HIAS—the Jewish organization; and the International Rescue Committee—a non-sectarian group. All have offices at the Refugee Center. These organizations typify the true warm heart of America. The principal function for the Government is to assist them.

Presidential funds have also been used to pay the expenses of the National Committee for Resettlement of Foreign Physicians, Inc., and the National Academy of Sciences, whose efforts have been enlisted for effective utilization of the skills of doctors and other professional groups.

The Solution of the Resettlement Problem

We were told from many sources that the refugees did not want to be resettled. However, we now have firm facts showing that 59% of those who seek employment at the Refugee Center have expressed their willingness to settle in any area where suitable job opportunities exist.

The problem does not lie therefore with the Cubans alone. It lies also with the people of the United States. Our people live up to their traditions when they realize the need. They did so four years ago with the Hungarians. They will do so with the Cubans.

To make this possible we have now made arrangements to reimburse the resettlement agencies from Presidential funds for the travel costs and other incidental expenditures of resettlement. As was the case with the Hungarians, the voluntary agencies do not have the resources to bear these costs themselves for so large a group of refugees. Their work is already underway, but to succeed they need a far greater awareness by the American public of its responsibilities. For this purpose, privately contributed funds from Foundation sources or otherwise are needed, as was done successfully for our resettlement campaign for the Hungarians.

One key to successful resettlement efforts lies in assurance to the refugees that the United States will be equally interested in giving any needed assistance to them to return to their homeland if conditions improve there in a manner to make this possible. Since so many refugees believe that this will before long be possible, this assurance from an authoritative source that they are not losing their chance to return home is needed. It will encourage them to move for the indeterminate interim period to other areas and jobs, without fear.

I have repeatedly publicly stated—speaking, of course, only for myself—that I felt assured that this will be the attitude of the United States.

Other Services Rendered by the Refugee Center, and the Future Need for its Continuance

The Refugee Center has been set up and conducted on a temporary austerity basis. However, it is now clear that the need for it will continue at least for several months. If the decision to do this is made, modest improvements should be undertaken.

To protect the health, both of the refugees and of the American people, the Refugee Center includes a medical clinic. This has been set up by the joint efforts of the Dade County Health Department and the United States Public Health Service (USPHS). A USPHS doctor directs this work, assisted by refugee Cuban physicians. Its function is necessarily primarily limited to preventive medicine. It gives chest X-rays to detect tuberculosis, all appropriate immunizations, including protection against polio for the young, and the new broad spectrum influenza vaccine for those who are to be resettled in a colder climate.

The Refugee Center includes a clothing service. Some of the clothing was provided by local gifts. Most of it comes from donations by the Catholic Relief Services—NCWC—and the Church World Service. These are sup-

plemented, as urgent necessity requires, by the purchase of new warm clothing paid for from Presidential funds.

The Red Cross supplies toilet articles and blankets—the latter an urgently needed item, and also professional assistance for the Refugee Center's clothing service.

The Refugee Center also employs and lends persons to assist the staffs of the resettlement agencies.

Through private charitable funds the Refugee Center provided checks for Christmas dinners for over 2,500 refugees.

Charitable Funds for Interim Welfare Needs

During the first half of January, welfare expenditures in Miami—derived exclusively from private voluntary contributions—have been running at the rate of approximately \$15,000 a week. Since resettlement takes time, and at best only a part of the refugees can be resettled, far more charitable funds than now available will unquestionably be needed for interim welfare purposes.

While serving as the President's Representative, it has been obviously inappropriate for me to conduct any fund-raising campaign. However, generous spontaneous gifts have been made. A large-scale new effort with inspiring sponsorship will be needed.

The Cuban Refugee Problem in Other Cities

Based on the three reports from the Government Departments and Agencies above mentioned, the Cuban refugee situation in cities other than Miami does not appear to exceed the capacity of local resources to handle, although Federal financial assistance in a limited resettlement effort may later become necessary.

With regard to the State of Florida, Tampa has few refugees as defined by the Immigration Service, but apparently has a very considerable number in the visitor class, and a locally sponsored relief center has been opened there.

Government Surplus Food

At my request, an expert in relief feeding looked into the need for use of Government-owned surplus food. His conclusion is that the volume of food being given to needy Cuban refugees by private agencies represented at the Refugee Center is presently equal to an amount required to feed approximately 500 persons a day. He advises that this volume is not large enough to warrant the expense of setting up and administering a so-called American surplus food store. However, plans to call upon these food stocks should be prepared to meet a possible longer-range problem than that covered by my very temporary responsibilities.

Utilization of Refugees in the U.S. Technical Assistance (Point IV) Program

As noted, among those who have registered at the Refugee Center are a large percentage of professional and highly skilled persons—doctors, engineers, farm managers,

economists, agronomists, auditors, secretaries, book-keepers, and many other professions and skills. Many of these could be used effectively in some of our technical assistance missions in Latin America. It would be the sheerest kind of waste not to provide the mechanism for using their valuable talents in world work that needs to be done.

The International Cooperation Administration (ICA) could convert many of these people from a dependent state into a real international asset by setting up an additional Technical Assistance Point IV Program which will utilize these professional and technically qualified Cubans in appropriate posts throughout Latin America, as mutually agreed between the countries receiving such assistance, the United States Government and the individual refugees themselves. This would not involve any great cost. It should, if possible, be paid for from the Mutual Security Contingency Fund. Here again, assurance of an opportunity to return to their homeland if conditions permit would be most important.

Recommendations

As it is now clear that the Cuban refugee problem has assumed proportions requiring serious national attention, the following recommendations are respectfully submitted:

First, the present organizational set-up should be continued, still on a temporary basis, for a reasonable further period of several months.

Second, the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center should be similarly continued as the organizational focal point for the provision of welfare assistance to Cuban refugees in the Miami area and resettlement from there.

Third, the voluntary agencies now engaged in resettlement, and others which are qualified and offer their services, should be given firm assurance of continued support through provision of adequate Federal funds for expenses incident to resettlement—the principal cost of which is transportation.

Fourth, to pave the way for successful resettlement, a nation-wide explanation of the need, and an appeal for help in settling the refugees and in employment should be undertaken.

Fifth, welfare efforts should be continued as necessary to meet the temporary needs of refugees prior to resettlement. Private charitable sources should be relied upon primarily for this. To this end a Fund with sponsorship which would command national interest needs to be established, to which tax deductible gifts can be made. The direct contribution of the Federal Government should be limited, if possible, to the expenses incident to resettlement, maintenance of the Refugee Center, and welfare needs affecting children.

Sixth, it would be helpful if authoritative assurance were given to these refugees that the United States will remain just as interested in helping them to return to their homeland—should conditions there improve and should they wish to return—as it presently is in assisting them in becoming self-supporting during their residence in this country.

Seventh, the American members of our Embassy staff in Havana who were engaged in the granting of visas should be assigned to the Refugee Center to the extent needed. Having been compelled to terminate their efforts to assist refugees in Havana, their qualifications and experience should be made available immediately to help the refugees in the United States.

Eighth, the action already taken relative to the placement of refugee physicians should be further developed at once so as to convert a very special problem into a great asset.

Ninth, plans to utilize U.S. surplus foods should be prepared and held in readiness for use in the event that the volume of food required for welfare purposes expands.

Tenth, the International Cooperation Administration should set up an additional Technical Assistance Point IV Program which can utilize professionally and technically qualified refugees in Latin American countries.

Respectfully submitted,

TRACY S. VOORHEES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 18, 1961

Partial List of Reports and Surveys Made at the Request of the President's Representative for Cuban Refugees

1. A continuing series of reports on the influx and the location of Cuban refugees in the United States, by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

2. Data processing cards from the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center's registration and interview forms, prepared by the International Business Machines Corporation.

3. Resolution by the Cuban Refugee Committee of Miami (a citizens' group).

4. A study of the public school problems created by the influx of Cuban refugee children, by Dr. Joe Hall, Superintendent of Schools, Dade County, Florida.

5. A survey of Cuban refugee children in the Dade County public and parochial schools, by David Mallery (concurrent in by the Florida State Superintendent of Education, and the Dade County Superintendent of Schools). (Further study underway.)

6. A study of the problems of Cuban students in American colleges, by the World University Service. (Further study underway.)

7. Reports as to the numbers of Cuban refugees in cities other than Miami, by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

8. A report concerning clothing distribution, by the American National Red Cross.

9. A report concerning the possible use of U.S. owned surplus foods, and the utilization of Cuban refugees in the Point IV Program, by Stanley Andrews.

10. A report on resettlement of Cuban refugee physicians, by Dr. Robert Boggs and Mrs. Laura G. Rubin of the National Committee for Resettlement of Foreign Physicians, Inc.

11. Report and recommendations concerning possible ways of resettling Cuban refugee physicians, by Dr. Michael E. DeBakey.

12. A study of the need for a medical clinic at the Refugee Center, by Major General Silas B. Hays, U.S. Medical Corps (Ret.), and Dr. Arthur P. Long.

13. A report on scientists and engineers among the Cuban refugees, by Dr. M. E. Steller of the National

Academy of Sciences, Research Council of the U.S.A.

14. A report on the work of Centro Hispano Catolico, by Monsignor John J. Fitzpatrick of the Catholic Diocese of Miami.

15. A progress report on the organization and operation of the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center, prepared December 28, 1960, by the staff of the President's Representative.

Water Resources Development in Asia and the Far East

FOURTH REGIONAL TECHNICAL CONFERENCE ON WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

by Grant Bloodgood

The importance of higher standards of engineering development through a worldwide sharing of experience and knowledge was emphasized by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the Governor-General of Ceylon, in his opening address to the Fourth Regional Technical Conference on Water Resources Development of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).

The Conference, held at Colombo, Ceylon, December 5-10, 1960, was attended by 121 delegates and observers from 18 countries.

The ECAFE region extends over a large area from Iran to Indonesia and from Japan to Ceylon. Nearly 50 percent of the world's population lives in these countries, most of which are economically underdeveloped or undeveloped.

After the opening address and remarks of welcome, the following Conference leaders were elected: A. E. C. de Silva Gunasekera, Director of Irrigation, Ceylon, *chairman*; K. N. Kathpalia, vice chancellor, University of Roorkee, India, *first vice chairman*; and M. A. Rehman, assistant adviser, Office of the Chief Engineering Adviser, Ministry of Fuel Power and National Resources, Pakistan, *second vice chairman*.

U.S. Delegates

The members of the U.S. delegation to the Conference were:

Representative

Grant Bloodgood, Assistant Commissioner and Chief Engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, Denver, Colo.

Alternate Representative

Stanley I. Phillippi, water resources adviser, U.S. Operations Mission, Ceylon

Advisers

Harold G. Josif, American Embassy, Ceylon

Maurice Lebosquet, Jr., chief sanitary engineer, Technical Cooperation Mission, India

Fred Locher, water resources engineer, U.S. Operations Mission, Ceylon

Theodore R. Thompson, water resources adviser, U.S. Operations Mission, Iran

W. R. Vawter, public works and engineering officer, U.S. Operations Mission, Thailand

Nathan E. Way, assistant to the chief engineer, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn.

Conference Agenda

The Fourth Conference planners developed an agenda which they felt would provide, particu-

- *Mr. Bloodgood is Assistant Commissioner and Chief Engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, Denver, Colo. He served as U.S. representative to the fourth U.N. ECAFE Regional Technical Conference on Water Resources Development.*

larly to the experts of Asia and the Far East, the opportunity to participate in an intraregional exchange of experience and views on aspects of water resources development not generally dealt with by other international technical organizations. They selected the following four principal topics for discussion: (1) a review of water resources development in the countries of the region 1951-60; (2) relative merits of various kinds of organizations for planning, designing, and constructing river valley projects; (3) the assessment and development of ground water in future programs; and (4) the special problems of deltaic regions, particularly flood control, siltation, the prevention of salt water intrusion, and the reclamation of unproductive salt lands. Of the 63 papers contributed for discussion of these topics at the Conference, the largest number were on organizational structures for river valley developments.

The desiderata indicated by the conferees as necessary for successful implementation of river valley projects are:

Appreciation at the highest level of government of the need for integrated river-basin development for the welfare of the people.

An organization under the minister or government imbued with vision and courage.

A highly competent technical staff with a sense of dedication.

A finance member who appreciates the problems facing the engineers in river-basin development.

The conferees were in general agreement that immediate objectives such as food production, as well as future industrial development, will be realized only by proper harnessing of the large potential of water resources which exist in the region.

The conferees noted that irrigation is not always self-supporting without consideration of indirect benefits and that some irrigation projects may need to be subsidized by government or by other phases of the project like electric power. Similarly, flood control was noted as being a subsidized benefit.

In the light of the advances and experiences of the past decade in the development of water resources in the ECAFE region, the conferees recog-

nized the importance of the following matters in the development of future projects:

There is a continuing need for technical assistance from nations advanced in water resources development work. Some countries in the region are not altogether experienced in the problems associated with constructing multiple-purpose schemes, which are generally preferred for the conservation and widest utilization of water resources of a whole basin. This may be overcome to some extent by taking advantage of the training facilities offered by agencies in various countries and may also help to alleviate shortages in technical manpower. A group study tour organized by ECAFE to North America and Europe in 1958 has provided a wealth of information for the participants.

Insufficient financial and technical resources regarding the execution of projects can be minimized by phased planning and construction. Long-range planning should envisage construction by stages so that each stage is within the financial and technical capacity of the government.

Reliable hydrological data must be collected over a sufficiently long period of years and evaluated for use in the design and operation of the overall basin development projects. Full coordination of all the various agencies concerned with aspects of river development is essential to insure effective and expeditious development.

Negotiation of treaties between neighboring countries for the beneficent uses of international rivers is an effective means of insuring optimum utilization of such rivers in the interests of the peoples of the countries concerned.

Ground water supplies will be an important element in the future. Widespread interest was shown in the investigation and development of ground water supplies, which must receive close attention. The problems confronting the region and the prerequisites for the effective development of ground water resources were outlined. The Conference recommended the establishment of a regional research and training center in the techniques of ground water investigations for drainage and utilization and drafted a program of work and priorities for further studies.

Proper agricultural planning, coordinated with a water utilization plan, is necessary from the earliest stages of project planning. Suitable cropping patterns and rotation must be evolved de-

pending on nutritional needs, agricultural practice, economy, water needs, soil suitability, and soil and water conservation.

The health aspects of projects must be fully considered to insure the avoidance of certain diseases incidental to diversion of water.

In the interest of speed and economy, the use of prefabricated components was found to be expedient.

Economic, administrative, and technical factors of flood control in deltaic regions were discussed.

Because the subject of flood control and related problems is a vast and important one, the Conference felt that it should be taken up in a special symposium to be organized in the near future, where these problems could be dealt with in greater detail.

In view of the rapid progress being made in the field of water resources development in the region, the Conference agreed that in the future it should meet once every 2 years rather than at the present 3-year intervals.

TREATY INFORMATION

United States and Canada Sign Columbia River Treaty

On January 17 the United States and Canada signed at Washington, D.C., a treaty relating to the cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River basin. Following are remarks made by Secretary Herter welcoming Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada to Washington on January 16 and remarks made by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Diefenbaker at the signing ceremony on January 17, together with the President's letter of transmittal to the Senate, Secretary Herter's letter of transmittal to the President, and the text of the treaty.

SECRETARY HERTER'S WELCOMING REMARKS

Press release 26 dated January 17

Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished guests: It is a great pleasure, on behalf of the President, to welcome you to Washington again.

Your presence today has a particular significance for you are joining us in signing the Columbia River Treaty, an act which will bring great benefits to millions of people who live on both sides of our borders in the Pacific Northwest. The patient work of many months by the negotiating delegations of Canada and the United

States has now come to fruition, and this contribution to the common good will be marked by generations to come. The works which will result from this treaty will stand as a monument to the combined efforts and friendship of our peoples.

We are indeed honored that you have found the time to come to Washington to lend your presence to these auspicious proceedings. Again may I say welcome to you upon your arrival in our Capital.

REMARKS AT SIGNING CEREMONY

White House press release dated January 17

President Eisenhower

Gentlemen, the signing of this treaty marks the culmination of a long effort—indeed 16 years long—between Canada and the United States to reach a common ground of agreement on the development of the Upper Columbia.

I personally believe that the work which will now go ahead, when these treaties are properly approved, will be one of the great developments for the benefit of both our countries.

Moreover, in more intangible benefits there is a tremendously important advance. That comes about because these two nations living so close

together have to watch each other, probably, at times. Nevertheless, we are such great friends, as Mr. Diefenbaker has also said, that we serve as a model for other countries.

This is another step in cementing that friendship and making it more lasting and useful to the whole world.

So, for me to be able to sign this treaty, in the last 2 or 3 days of this administration, is indeed a great personal gratification and satisfaction. I thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, and your associates for the work you have done to facilitate this treaty and to be a part of this great step in the future cooperation of our countries.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker

Mr. President, this, I believe, is an historic milestone in Canadian-American relations. As you have said, this project is one of the greatest projects that has ever been undertaken. Indeed, it is the first occasion in history when two nations, side by side, have agreed to the distribution of power as between their two countries and the sharing of the development of an international river to the same extent as will be the result in the years ahead.

And as you have said, this relationship between our countries is something that is a model for all mankind. Indeed, it would be difficult to understand the relationship between our two countries when placed alongside the relationships that prevail between other countries in the world today. My hope is that, in the years ahead, this day will be looked back on as one that represents the greatest advance that has ever been made in international relations between countries.

While we are joined in sentiment and in a common dedication to freedom, we are, under this project, joined as well in an economic development for the benefit of both our countries.

And I want to say this, Mr. President, as you approach the end of your term of office, and in deep sincerity, how much your friendship has meant to me. And I speak for all Canadians when I wish you good health, long years of service on behalf of peace. Indeed we think of you as the great leader of the legions of freedom in the darkest days of war. We think of you as well as the architect of international relationships. Your dedication to the achievement and the attainment of peace is something that has been an inspiration to all of us in the free world.

I think that this day is the culmination of your dedication to the assurance that each nation is indeed its brother's keeper and that only in the raising of the opportunities economically can there be a true foundation for peace.

We, in our cooperation, are building for the future. And if only the other nations could catch something of this relationship so that each of us would through economic endeavor and cooperation help others less enjoyably placed economically, a long step forward can be made.

This is a great day. I wish you well, and I know that in the days ahead your contribution everywhere in the world, with the prestige that is yours, will do much to bring about the attainment of peace in this generation.

LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

President Eisenhower to the Senate

White House press release dated January 17

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a treaty between the United States of America and Canada concerning the cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin, signed at Washington January 17, 1961, together with a report of the Secretary of State.

The treaty is an important step toward achieving optimum development of the water resources of the Columbia River basin as a whole from which the United States and Canada will each receive benefits materially larger than either could obtain independently.

The United States will secure a large block of power at low cost, substantial flood control benefits, and additional incidental benefits for irrigation, navigation, pollution abatement, and other uses resulting from controlled storage. Canada will also receive a large block of power at a low cost, as well as flood control and other benefits resulting from the control of water flow.

The treaty envisages the construction, in the Columbia River basin in Canada within a nine-year period, of reservoirs providing 15.5 million acre-feet of storage. The treaty also clears the way for construction by the United States, at its option, of the Libby project on the Kootenai River in northern Montana, which was authorized by the Congress in the Flood Control Act of 1950. The reservoir area for this project extends forty-two miles into the Canadian province of British Columbia.

The flood control and power benefits resulting from the treaty will be realized at a much earlier date and at a cost materially less than would be the case were they to be provided exclusively through projects in the United States.

The developments brought about under the treaty will

be of great significance for their human values as well as for the material gains they will provide.

The flood control objectives of the United States for the lower Columbia River in Oregon and Washington which have been a pressing need for many years will be brought to substantial realization within a span of less than a decade. The Libby project will resolve the critical flood control problem in the Bonners Ferry area in Idaho. Removal of the hazard of periodic floods will pay incalculable dividends in the saving of human life and the avoidance of suffering, as well as through economic improvement in areas heretofore subject to recurring flood damage.

The initial power benefits realizable in the United States from Canadian storage under the treaty are comparable to another Grand Coulee dam, the largest hydroelectric project now in operation in the United States. The Libby clearance presents the opportunity to gain an additional block of power substantially greater than the output of Bonneville dam. The total initial result is a gain to the United States of over 1,686,000 kilowatts of low-cost prime power.

Over the longer term, this large block of storage will make more valuable the existing projects in the Columbia River basin, representing an investment of some \$3.5 billion, by accelerating the time at which their full potential can be realized. The large blocks of power that will result will be a tremendous asset in fostering the nation's economic growth and in augmenting our national resources.

Due to the location of the storage, there will be no interference with the cycle for salmon and other anadromous fish which constitute such an important economic and recreational asset for the people of the Pacific Northwest.

To provide flood control and power benefits equivalent to those provided by the Canadian storage as of 1970 entirely from projects in the United States would require an investment in the United States of about \$710,000,000 (including the cost of necessary additional transmission facilities) over this decade. To realize the treaty benefits, on the other hand, the costs in the United States over the next 10 years are estimated at not over \$150,000,000. Between 1970 and 1985 an additional estimated \$268,000,000 of United States expenditures will be required. Most of this added expenditure will go to install additional generating facilities in the United States to take full advantage of the Canadian storage. In all, the total capital outlay in the United States by reason of the treaty (exclusive of the cost of the Libby project) is estimated at about \$418,000,000.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the treaty which should not be considered from the aspect of economic benefit alone but also as a further demonstration of the spirit of cooperation and mutual accommodation which has traditionally characterized relationships between Canada and the United States of America.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 17, 1961.

Secretary Herter to the President

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, January 17, 1961

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House:

I have the honor to transmit to you a treaty between the United States of America and Canada Relating to Cooperative Development of the Water Resources of the Columbia River Basin, signed at Washington on January 17, 1961, with the recommendation that it be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

The following is a brief summary of the origin and background of this treaty. In 1944, the Governments of the United States and Canada submitted a reference to the International Joint Commission under Article IX of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. The reference requested the Commission to investigate and report on whether and in what specific respects cooperative development of the water resources of the Columbia River basin would be practicable and in the public interest from the points of view of the two Governments.

Pursuant to the reference, extensive technical studies were made over a period of years by the International Columbia River Engineering Board established by the Commission. Those studies formed the basis for a comprehensive report by the Board to the Commission in 1959 on possible plans for cooperative development of the water resources of the basin by the United States and Canada, with particular emphasis on hydroelectric power generation and flood control.

Meanwhile, the United States applied to the International Joint Commission in 1951 for approval, under the 1909 treaty, of the construction of Libby dam on the Kootenai River in Montana which had been authorized by the Congress the previous year. The United States application was subsequently withdrawn and an amended application was submitted in 1954 but the Commission did not reach agreement thereon.

In January 1959, the two Governments jointly requested the International Joint Commission to report to them its recommendations concerning the principles to be applied in determining the benefits resulting from cooperative development of the Columbia River basin and the apportionment between the two countries of those benefits, with particular regard to electrical generation and flood control.

The International Joint Commission submitted its report to the Governments in December 1959. The information and recommendations in the report provided valuable guidelines for the delegations of the two Governments which began formal negotiations for the treaty in early 1960. The United States delegation was composed of representatives of the Department of the Interior, Department of State, and the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army.

The total drainage area of the Columbia River basin is 259,000 square miles of which 39,500 square miles, or 15 percent, are in British Columbia and the remaining 219,500 square miles are in the United States. The mean

annual natural runoff of the Columbia River at the mouth is estimated to have been 178,600,000 acre-feet for the 20-year period 1929 through 1948. The Canadian portion of the basin contributed about 50,200,000 acre-feet annually, which represents 28 percent of the natural flow at the mouth.

The treaty provides for effective regulation of the flow from the Canadian portion of the basin for flood control, power and other incidental benefits in the United States as well as for benefits in Canada. Effective storage amounting to 15,500,000 acre-feet will be provided in Canada from dams on the main stem of the Columbia River at Mica Creek, at Arrow Lakes and on one or more tributaries of the Kootenay River near Duncan Lake, British Columbia. The additional storage will more than double that presently available for regulation of the flows of the main stem of the Columbia River.

The United States has the option to commence construction, at its expense, of the Libby project on the Kootenay River in northern Montana, with 5,000,000 acre-feet of usable storage, within a period of five years from the exchange of ratifications. (In Canada this river is known as the Kootenay.) Canada and the United States each will retain all of the benefits from Libby which accrue in their respective countries and Canada, at its expense, will make available and prepare the reservoir area required therein.

In the following sections the major provisions of the treaty, and the effects thereof, are discussed.

Flood Control

Based on the 1958 report by the Corps of Engineers on Water Resources Development in the Columbia River basin, a total of about 17,300,000 acre-feet of usable flood control storage is required for control of a flood equivalent to the 1894 flood, the maximum of record, to 800,000 cubic feet per second (c.f.s.) at The Dalles. This degree of control has been established as the primary objective of the flood control program of the Corps of Engineers. An additional goal of control to a maximum of 600,000 c.f.s. at The Dalles is also established in the same report. The latter level could be obtained with additional usable storage of 14,000,000 to 15,000,000 acre-feet or a total of about 32,500,000 acre-feet in all. This storage should be well distributed over the basin to provide control of all the flood producing area.

Of the foregoing usable storage requirements, projects existing or under construction on the Columbia River and its major tributaries will provide only about 10,800,000 acre-feet to meet the initial goal of 800,000 c.f.s. and about 11,500,000 acre-feet to meet the additional goal of 600,000 c.f.s. Additional usable storage of about 6,500,000 acre-feet is still required to achieve the primary goal and about 21,000,000 acre-feet is required for the additional goal.

The Columbia River in Canada, above the mouth of the Kootenay River, contributes on an average about 18 percent of the major flood flows on the lower Columbia River. The Kootenay River of Canada and the United States contributes approximately 17 percent of the major flood flows. Both flood producing areas are as yet uncontrolled.

The storage to be provided under the treaty will be

located in the uncontrolled areas of the upper Columbia and Kootenay River basins. The total storage requirements for control to both 800,000 c.f.s. and to 600,000 c.f.s. have been distributed to the two uncontrolled areas on the basis of the flood contribution of the two areas.

Of the 15,500,000 acre-feet of Canadian storage, 8,450,000 acre-feet will be useful for the primary objective of controlling floods equivalent to that of 1894 to 800,000 c.f.s. at The Dalles, Oregon. Consequently, the treaty provides that for a period of sixty years from the effective date thereof, 8,450,000 acre-feet of storage will be operated for flood control needs in the United States in accordance with flood control operating plans prepared by the United States through the operating entity designated by it to act in flood control matters. The 8,450,000 acre-feet is made up of the 7,100,000 acre-feet of storage to be provided in Arrow Lakes, 1,270,000 acre-feet of the storage to be provided in the Duncan Lake area, and 80,000 acre-feet of the storage to be provided near Mica Creek.

Additional storage in Canada, over and above the 8,450,000 acre-feet discussed above, will be useful in giving additional control of large floods in the United States to a flow of 720,000 c.f.s. at The Dalles for a flood equivalent to that of 1894. Accordingly, the treaty provides that any additional storage in the Columbia River basin in Canada will be operated for flood control during the initial sixty-year period when and as called upon by the United States operating entity. It is anticipated that such additional storage will be requested only for very large floods.

Under the method set out in the Corps of Engineers report referred to above, the 8,450,000 acre-feet of flood control storage has been evaluated as having an annual benefit of \$5,700,000. The treaty provides for payment on account of this storage of lump sums aggregating \$64,400,000. This amount is based on capitalization over the initial periods of full operation called for by the treaty, of one-half the annual flood control benefit at an interest rate of 3½ percent, which represents the average interest rate (rounded to the nearest ⅓) during the month of December 1960 for long-term United States Government bonds. That part of the total \$64,400,000 attributable to each portion of the 8,450,000 acre-feet of storage is to be paid as its operation commences.

In the event any portion of this storage does not for any reason become fully operative as scheduled in the treaty (within five years for the Duncan and Arrow Lakes storages and within nine years for the Mica Creek storage) the lump sums payable therefor will be reduced in specified amounts. The reason for this reduction is that the total of \$64,400,000 is a capitalized figure based on availability of each portion of this storage for the period of years specified by the treaty. This reduction, being a part of the method of computing payments, is not affected by Article XVIII (4) of the treaty which deals with the consequences of certain types of delays.

Payment for the additional flood control service (over and above the 8,450,000 acre-feet) in the initial sixty-year period will not exceed a total of \$7,500,000 regardless of the number of times the United States calls upon

Canada to provide the service. The United States also is to deliver to Canada electric power equal to the hydroelectric power lost by Canada as a result of operating the storage to provide this additional service. No payment, in money or power, will be required if the United States does not find it necessary to avail itself of the service.

After expiration of the initial sixty-year period, Canada will, when called upon by the United States, operate for flood control any storage in the Columbia River basin in Canada within the limits of the then existing facilities. The United States will pay the Canadian operating cost and will compensate Canada, either in cash or power as the latter may elect, for the economic loss arising directly from Canada's foregoing alternative uses of the storage.

Power

During the past decade load growth in the Pacific Northwest has been met principally from development of run-of-river dams rather than from storage projects. Dams on the main stem of the Columbia River together with those under construction will utilize 1132 feet of the 1300-foot drop from the Canadian border to the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand only 13,000,000 acre-feet of storage has been developed compared with a recommendation of the Corps of Engineers of 32,000 acre-feet for flood control and power.

The downstream power benefits made available in the United States from Canadian storage are expressed in terms of dependable capacity and average annual usable energy and are calculated by the Canadian and United States entities designated to act in power matters. Since power benefits will change as loads and resources change, the benefits are to be calculated initially for a five-year period and thereafter each year for the sixth succeeding year. In making the calculations, Canadian storage will be considered as the next storage added to the base system.

The power benefits are to be divided equally between the United States and Canada. If the equal division of benefits does not justify the United States in incurring the costs of construction and operation of any project to be located on the main stem of the Columbia River between McNary and Priest Rapids dams, the two Governments will consider a modification in the division of benefits to be attributed to that project.

In the calculation of benefits it will be assumed that the hydroelectric facilities in the United States base system will be operated to make the most effective use of the flows resulting from Canadian storage. This satisfies the undertaking of the United States to operate the base system so as to make the most effective use thereof.

Under initial conditions it is expected that the increase in dependable capacity will be about 2,600,000 kw and the increase in average annual usable energy will be about 1,500,000 kw. The increases are defined in detail in the treaty. In summary, they are the difference in the dependable capacity and average annual usable energy capable of being developed in the United States base

system of projects set out in Annex B of the treaty with and without use of Canadian storage.

It is expected that storage benefits will gradually decline as loads and resources in the United States increase. As the benefits attributable to the storage decrease, the decline will be equally reflected in the benefits credited to each country.

All of the Canadian storage will be operated to achieve optimum power generation downstream in the United States until such time as power generation facilities are installed in Canada at-site at Mica or downstream therefrom. After these Canadian power generating facilities are placed in operation in Canada, the storage will, unless mutually agreed otherwise by the United States and Canadian operating entities, be operated to achieve optimum power generation both in Canada and downstream in the United States.

This change in operation will, when it occurs, reduce the downstream power benefits which are to be divided between Canada and the United States. However, limits are provided upon the degree to which those benefits may be reduced. The downstream power benefits in the United States may not be reduced in any one year by more than that which would result from reducing by 500,000 acre-feet the Canadian storage operated to achieve optimum power generation in the United States, or by more than a total of 3,000,000 acre-feet.

If and when this reduction occurs, it will have the effect of improving the relative position of United States storage developments constructed after the treaty enters into force.

With the agreement of the United States, portions of Canada's entitlement of power may be sold in the United States. Since approval by the United States is necessary, markets for United States secondary energy production during periods of surplus power can be protected and, on the other hand, a shortage situation in the United States might be alleviated by purchase of any available portion of Canada's share of the downstream benefits.

Use of Canada's share of energy within the United States, other than through sales or exchanges of capacity and energy, is prohibited. Bypassing of water at main stem Columbia River projects in the United States will be conclusive evidence of non-use of Canadian energy within this country.

The treaty contemplates that the improved flows will be utilized to achieve maximum benefits. In order to ensure these benefits and to provide a basis whereby all projects in each country benefiting directly or indirectly from the storage in the other appropriately share in the treaty obligations, the improved flows may be used for hydroelectric purposes in each country directly or indirectly only under arrangements consistent with the treaty as determined by a governmental agency designated by that country.

Approximately three-fourths of the hydroelectric power benefits resulting in the United States from Canadian storage will accrue to the federally owned plants in the base system and the remainder to non-federal plants.

The firm power from Canadian storage realized by the United States over the initial nine-year period, together

with that which will be available from dams now under construction and licensed, is roughly equivalent to the amount needed for the normal load growth of the Pacific Northwest for the decade through 1970.

Undoubtedly other generating plants will also be built in the Pacific Northwest during this decade. It follows that the result of Canadian storage will be to make firm power, in addition to power for normal load growth, available for expansion of the electro-process and other industries in which such availability is an important factor. Such expansion will contribute to the sound growth of the economy of the Pacific Northwest and of the United States as a whole.

Some of the secondary power now available in the United States about 85 percent of the time may be firmed with power from Canadian storage. This would result in an increase in industrial production of the region without requiring any additional investment in industrial plant capacity or power facilities in the United States.

Initially, the additional annual cost of the new prime power will be less than half of the Bonneville Power Administration's existing rates. Later, additional capacity will have to be added but costs will still be less than Bonneville's average rates. Also, the addition of the large block of low-cost power from Canadian storage to the United States Columbia River Power System will mean that higher cost dams built at a later date will have a smaller impact on the Bonneville power rates than they would have had without such storage. Thus the prime power from Canadian storage will do much to assure stability in the rate levels. Stability of rate levels is of great importance to the Pacific Northwest because of the large electric energy use in the region.

Moreover, and of great significance to the conservation of all natural resources, this large block of power provides time for solving problems relating to fish, wildlife, and other factors so that the impact of large storage dams in the United States on them may be lessened by the time such dams are needed to meet load growth.

Transmission

Canada's share of the power and energy benefits accruing in the United States, less transmission losses to the border and also less any portions delivery of which are not taken by Canada, will be transmitted by the United States to the Canada-United States boundary, near Oliver, British Columbia, unless the operating entities agree on other delivery points. Transmission to the Oliver delivery point will be at the expense of the United States.

The Bonneville Power Administration transmission grid, which now interconnects with transmission facilities in Canada near Blaine, Washington, will provide standby transmission service to an east-west transmission network that will be built by the Canadian operating entity in Canada. Each year Canada will pay the United States for this service \$1.50 per kilowatt of its dependable capacity entitlement. This is approximately equal to the incremental cost of transmission from each downstream dam to the border near Oliver, British Columbia, taking account of the fact that some service is rendered the United States by Canada. Therefore, no charge need be

made against any projects in the United States for delivery to the Oliver delivery point of Canada's capacity entitlement.

An electrical coordination agreement between the operating entities in Canada and the United States could be mutually advantageous when Canada installs generation facilities. Such an agreement would, among other things, provide for emergency and standby service to the Northwest power complex, and therefore the standby charge would be eliminated if and when a mutually satisfactory electrical coordination agreement is consummated and confirmed by the two Governments.

Libby Project

The United States may initiate construction at its expense of the Libby project within five years from the date the treaty enters into force. Full operation of the Libby storage is to commence within seven years after the initiation of construction. If the United States proceeds with the project, Canada at its expense will make available and prepare the required reservoir area in Canada. Canada and the United States will retain all benefits which occur within their respective borders from the project.

Libby will provide a total of 5,000,000 acre-feet of usable storage for flood control and hydroelectric power. Under initial conditions the project will produce an additional 544,000 kilowatts of prime power at-site and downstream in the United States. It will regulate the flow of the Kootenai River thus clearly making feasible the construction of the downstream Kootenai Falls project. This project would have an estimated initial installed capacity of 180,000 kilowatts and an ultimate capacity of 360,000 kilowatts.

The Libby project will substantially eliminate the annual flood damage at Bonners Ferry, Idaho, and in the downstream Kootenai Flats area in that state. These damages are estimated to average \$815,000 annually. It will also provide flood control benefits in the lower Columbia River evaluated at \$2,030,000 annually.

Diversions

Canada may at any time after the expiration of twenty years from the date the treaty enters into force divert not more than 1,500,000 acre-feet of water annually from the Kootenay River in the vicinity of Canal Flats, British Columbia, to the headwaters of the Columbia River. Flows of the Kootenay River downstream from the point of diversion may not be reduced by this diversion below the lesser of 200 c.f.s. or the natural flow.

The diversion would somewhat reduce energy production at Libby and any other project on the Kootenai River in the United States, but this would not materially affect the value of these projects.

Other Kootenay River diversions Canada may undertake are:

(1) after the treaty has been in force for sixty years, if undertaken between that date and the one-hundredth year, a diversion into the Columbia River which does not reduce the flow of the Kootenay at the boundary near Newgate, British Columbia, below the lesser of 2,500 c.f.s.

or the natural flow. After the eightieth year, the limitation on the flow of the Kootenai River at the boundary will be the lesser of 1,000 c.f.s. or the natural flow;

(2) in the event the United States does not construct Libby, a diversion into the Columbia River which does not reduce the flow at the boundary near Newgate, British Columbia, below the lesser of 1,000 c.f.s. or the natural flow. Such a diversion would tend to afford flood protection to areas downstream in the United States. The quantitative limitations on Canada's Kootenay River diversions are designed to preserve the river as a live stream at the point where it enters the United States.

So long as the treaty remains fully in effect, these diversions may not be operated so as to diminish the downstream benefits in the United States resulting from the operation of the Mica, Arrow Lakes and Duncan storages in accordance with the operating plans.

Other than the foregoing diversions, Canada and the United States are each expressly precluded for at least sixty years, without the consent of the other, from diverting for other than consumptive uses any water in the Columbia River basin if the diversion would alter the flow of water crossing the boundary. The term "consumptive use" does not include use of water for purposes of hydroelectric power generation.

This restriction prevents diversion of Columbia River flows in Canada into the Fraser River basin. This is significant to the United States not only with regard to power generation, but in the maintenance of adequate streamflows for navigation, irrigation, water supply and pollution abatement.

This provision is one of those which does not survive termination of the treaty. However, nowhere under the treaty is there any recognition that Canada has any right, either under international law or under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, to undertake such a diversion. The Boundary Waters Treaty is terminable upon a one-year notice by either party. There is a commitment in the Columbia River Treaty, however, under which Article II of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 is maintained in effect subsequent to the termination of the Columbia River Treaty. Article II of the Boundary Waters Treaty by its terms reserves to each country exclusive jurisdiction and control (subject to certain obligations to provide legal remedies for injured persons) over the use and diversion on its own side of the boundary of waters flowing across the boundary. If Canada should, during the life of the Columbia River Treaty, undertake any works usable or relating to a possible diversion of water out of the Columbia River basin, the United States has the right to terminate the commitment in the Columbia River Treaty regarding Article II of the Boundary Waters Treaty upon one-year's notice. Thus, in the event Canada initiates construction of works useful for a diversion of the Columbia into the Fraser, the United States is in a position to ensure that the question of Canada's right, if any, to make such a diversion will be determined under generally applicable principles of international law.

Operating Entities

Canada and the United States will each designate an operating entity or entities to develop and carry out

detailed operating arrangements to implement the terms of the treaty. The operating entities will, *inter alia*, assemble agreed upon data necessary to achieve best operation of the storages, consult as to possible variations in the operation of the Libby project and the Kootenay (Canal Flats) diversion, calculate the downstream power benefits in accordance with the principles stated in the treaty and make arrangements for delivery to Canada of its share of the power benefits. The entities may also develop proposals, subject to confirmation by the Governments, for a mutually advantageous electrical coordination agreement.

Permanent Engineering Board

A Permanent Engineering Board of two members from each country is established. Its principal functions are to assemble records of the flows of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers at the international boundary, to review and report to the two Governments on operations and results under the treaty and to assist in reconciling differences concerning technical or operational matters arising between the operating utilities.

Settlement of Differences

The procedure for settlement of differences, except as otherwise agreed between the two Governments, calls, first, for referral by either Government to the International Joint Commission established by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. If no decision is arrived at within three months of the referral, either Government may submit the matter to an *ad hoc* arbitration tribunal, consisting of three members.

Damages

Each country is to be liable to the other only for breaches of the treaty which do not arise out of war, strike, major calamity, act of God, uncontrollable force or maintenance curtailment. However, failure of Canada to commence operation of the Canadian storage or of the United States to initiate operation of the Libby project is not a breach, nor will any loss of rights result therefrom, if the failure is neither willful nor reasonably avoidable.

In the event of a breach by Canada of its obligation to commence full power operation of the Canadian storage within the time provided, after full operation is initiated its entitlement to downstream power benefits will be deferred for a period of time equal to the period of delay. In respect to any other breach of the treaty by either Canada or the United States, causing loss of power benefits, damages will not exceed the actual loss in power revenues.

Period of the Treaty

The treaty is terminable after it has been in force for sixty years if ten year's written notice of termination has been delivered by either country to the other. Notwithstanding termination, the following survive:

(a) the right of the United States to receive flood control service within the limits of then existing Canadian storage developments in the Columbia River basin for so long as flows of the Columbia River in Canada

continue to contribute to potential flood hazards in the United States;

(b) the right of the United States to continue occupancy of Canadian lands for purpose of the Libby project if constructed. This right is subject to occupancy of these lands by Canada to the extent necessary for the Kootenay diversions authorized between the sixtieth and one-hundredth years;

(c) the right of Canada to divert waters of the Kootenay to the headwaters of the Columbia River as provided by Article XIII of the treaty; and

(d) the provisions of the treaty relative to the legal status existing upon termination.

Annexes

The two annexes to the treaty set out in detail the principles of operation upon the basis of which hydroelectric and flood control operating plans will be developed and the methods of determining downstream power benefits from the Canadian storage. "Annex A—Principles of Operation" covers both the flood control and power aspects of the operations, while "Annex B—Determination of Downstream Power Benefits" identifies the projects comprising the base system and sets forth the method of computing the downstream power benefits.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

TEXT OF TREATY

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA RELATING TO COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WATER RESOURCES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN

The Governments of the United States of America and Canada

Recognizing that their peoples have, for many generations, lived together and cooperated with one another in many aspects of their national enterprises for the greater wealth and happiness of their respective nations, and

Recognizing that the Columbia River basin, as a part of the territory of both countries, contains water resources that are capable of contributing greatly to the economic growth and strength and to the general welfare of the two nations, and

Being desirous of achieving the development of those resources in a manner that will make the largest contribution to the economic progress of both countries and to the welfare of their peoples of which those resources are capable, and

Recognizing that the greatest benefit to each country can be secured by cooperative measures for hydroelectric power generation and flood control, which will make possible other benefits as well,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Interpretation

(1) In the Treaty, the expression

(a) "average critical period load factor" means the average of the monthly load factors during the critical stream flow period;

(b) "base system" means the plants, works and facilities listed in the table in Annex B as enlarged from time to time by the installation of additional generating facilities, together with any other plants, works or facilities which may be constructed on the main stem of the Columbia River in the United States of America;

(c) "Canadian storage" means the storage provided by Canada under Article II;

(d) "critical stream flow period" means the period, beginning with the initial release of stored water from full reservoir conditions and ending with the reservoirs empty, when the water available from reservoir releases plus the natural stream flow is capable of producing the least amount of hydroelectric power in meeting system load requirements;

(e) "consumptive use" means use of water for domestic, municipal, stock-water, irrigation, mining or industrial purposes but does not include use for the generation of hydroelectric power;

(f) "dam" means a structure to impound water, including facilities for controlling the release of the impounded water;

(g) "entity" means an entity designated by either Canada or the United States of America under Article XIV and includes its lawful successor;

(h) "International Joint Commission" means the Commission established under Article VII of the Boundary Waters Treaty, 1909, or any body designated by the United States of America and Canada to succeed to the functions of the Commission under this Treaty;

(i) "maintenance curtailment" means an interruption or curtailment which the entity responsible therefor considers necessary for purposes of repairs, replacements, installations of equipment, performance of other maintenance work, investigations and inspections;

(j) "monthly load factor" means the ratio of the average load for a month to the integrated maximum load over one hour during that month;

(k) "normal full pool elevation" means the elevation to which water is stored in a reservoir by deliberate impoundment every year, subject to the availability of sufficient flow;

(l) "ratification date" means the day on which the instruments of ratification of the Treaty are exchanged;

(m) "storage" means the space in a reservoir which is usable for impounding water for flood control or for regulating stream flows for hydroelectric power generation;

(n) "Treaty" means this Treaty and its Annexes A and B;

(o) "useful life" means the time between the date of commencement of operation of a dam or facility and the date of its permanent retirement from service by reason of obsolescence or wear and tear which occurs notwithstanding good maintenance practices.

(2) The exercise of any power, or the performance of any duty, under the Treaty does not preclude a subsequent exercise or performance of the power or duty.

ARTICLE II

Development by Canada

(1) Canada shall provide in the Columbia River basin

in Canada 15,500,000 acre-feet of storage usable for improving the flow of the Columbia River.

(2) In order to provide this storage, which in the Treaty is referred to as the Canadian storage, Canada shall construct dams:

(a) on the Columbia River near Mica Creek, British Columbia, with approximately 7,000,000 acre-feet of storage;

(b) near the outlet of Arrow Lakes, British Columbia, with approximately 7,100,000 acre-feet of storage; and

(c) on one or more tributaries of the Kootenay River in British Columbia downstream from the Canada-United States of America boundary with storage equivalent in effect to approximately 1,400,000 acre-feet of storage near Duncan Lake, British Columbia.

(3) Canada shall commence construction of the dams as soon as possible after the ratification date.

ARTICLE III

Development by the United States of America Respecting Power

(1) The United States of America shall maintain and operate the hydroelectric facilities included in the base system and any additional hydroelectric facilities constructed on the main stem of the Columbia River in the United States of America in a manner that makes the most effective use of the improvement in stream flow resulting from operation of the Canadian storage for hydroelectric power generation in the United States of America power system.

(2) The obligation in paragraph (1) is discharged by reflecting in the determination of downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled the assumption that the facilities referred to in paragraph (1) were maintained and operated in accordance therewith.

ARTICLE IV

Operation by Canada

(1) For the purpose of increasing hydroelectric power generation in the United States of America and Canada, Canada shall operate the Canadian storage in accordance with Annex A and pursuant to hydroelectric operating plans made thereunder. For the purposes of this obligation an operating plan if it is either the first operating plan or if in the view of either Canada or the United States of America it departs substantially from the immediately preceding operating plan must, in order to be effective, be confirmed by an exchange of notes between the United States of America and Canada.

(2) For the purpose of flood control until the expiration of sixty years from the ratification date, Canada shall

(a) operate in accordance with Annex A and pursuant to flood control operating plans made thereunder

(i) 80,000 acre-feet of the Canadian storage described in Article II(2)(a),

(ii) 7,100,000 acre-feet of the Canadian storage described in Article II(2)(b),

(iii) 1,270,000 acre-feet of the Canadian storage described in Article II(2)(c),

provided that the Canadian entity may exchange flood control storage under subparagraph (ii) for flood control storage additional to that under subparagraph (i), at the location described in Article II(2)(a), if the entities agree that the exchange would provide the same effectiveness for control of floods on the Columbia River at the Dalles, Oregon;

(b) operate any additional storage in the Columbia River basin in Canada, when called upon by an entity designated by the United States of America for that purpose, within the limits of existing facilities and as the entity requires to meet flood control needs for the duration of the flood period for which the call is made.

(3) For the purpose of flood control after the expiration of sixty years from the ratification date, and for so long as the flows in the Columbia River in Canada continue to contribute to potential flood hazard in the United States of America, Canada shall, when called upon by an entity designated by the United States of America for that purpose, operate within the limits of existing facilities any storage in the Columbia River basin in Canada as the entity requires to meet flood control needs for the duration of the flood period for which the call is made.

(4) The return to Canada for hydroelectric operation and the compensation to Canada for flood control operation shall be as set out in Articles V and VI.

(5) Any water resource development, in addition to the Canadian storage, constructed in Canada after the ratification date shall not be operated in a way that adversely affects the stream flow control in the Columbia River within Canada so as to reduce the flood control and hydroelectric power benefits which the operation of the Canadian storage in accordance with the operating plans in force from time to time would otherwise produce.

(6) As soon as any Canadian storage becomes operable Canada shall commence operation thereof in accordance with this Article and in any event shall commence full operation of the Canadian storage described in Article II(2)(b) and Article II(2)(c) within five years of the ratification date and shall commence full operation of the balance of the Canadian storage within nine years of the ratification date.

ARTICLE V

Entitlement to Downstream Power Benefits

(1) Canada is entitled to one half the downstream power benefits determined under Article VII.

(2) The United States of America shall deliver to Canada at a point on the Canada-United States of America boundary near Oliver, British Columbia, or at such other place as the entities may agree upon, the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled, less

(a) transmission loss,

(b) the portion of the entitlement disposed of under Article VIII(1), and

(c) the energy component described in Article VIII(4).

(3) The entitlement of Canada to downstream power benefits begins for any portion of Canadian storage upon commencement of its operation in accordance with Annex

A and pursuant to a hydroelectric operating plan made thereunder.

ARTICLE VI

Payment for Flood Control

(1) For the flood control provided by Canada under Article IV(2)(a) the United States of America shall pay Canada in United States funds:

(a) 1,200,000 dollars upon the commencement of operation of the storage referred to in subparagraph (a)(i) thereof,

(b) 52,100,000 dollars upon the commencement of operation of the storage referred to in subparagraph (a)(ii) thereof, and

(c) 11,100,000 dollars upon the commencement of operation of the storage referred to in subparagraph (a)(iii) thereof.

(2) If full operation of any storage is not commenced within the time specified in Article IV, the amount set forth in paragraph (1) of this Article with respect to that storage shall be reduced as follows:

(a) under paragraph (1)(a), 4,500 dollars for each month beyond the required time,

(b) under paragraph (1)(b), 192,100 dollars for each month beyond the required time, and

(c) under paragraph (1)(c), 40,800 dollars for each month beyond the required time.

(3) For the flood control provided by Canada under Article IV(2)(b) the United States of America shall pay Canada in United States funds in respect only of each of the first four flood periods for which a call is made 1,875,000 dollars and shall deliver to Canada in respect of each and every call made, electric power equal to the hydroelectric power lost by Canada as a result of operating the storage to meet the flood control need for which the call was made, delivery to be made when the loss of hydroelectric power occurs.

(4) For each flood period for which flood control is provided by Canada under Article IV(3) the United States of America shall pay Canada in United States funds:

(a) the operating cost incurred by Canada in providing the flood control, and

(b) compensation for the economic loss to Canada arising directly from Canada foregoing alternative uses of the storage used to provide the flood control.

(5) Canada may elect to receive in electric power, the whole or any portion of the compensation under paragraph (4)(b) representing loss of hydroelectric power to Canada.

ARTICLE VII

Determination of Downstream Power Benefits

(1) The downstream power benefits shall be the difference in the hydroelectric power capable of being generated in the United States of America with and without the use of Canadian storage, determined in advance, and is referred to in the Treaty as the downstream power benefits.

(2) For the purpose of determining the downstream power benefits:

(a) the principles and procedures set out in Annex B shall be used and followed;

(b) the Canadian storage shall be considered as next added to 13,000,000 acre-feet of the usable storage listed in Column 4 of the table in Annex B;

(c) the hydroelectric facilities included in the base system shall be considered as being operated to make the most effective use for hydroelectric power generation of the improvement in stream flow resulting from operation of the Canadian storage.

(3) The downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled shall be delivered as follows:

(a) dependable hydroelectric capacity as scheduled by the Canadian entity, and

(b) average annual usable hydroelectric energy in equal amounts each month, or in accordance with a modification agreed upon under paragraph (4).

(4) Modification of the obligation in paragraph (3)(b) may be agreed upon by the entities.

ARTICLE VIII

Disposal of Entitlement to Downstream Power Benefits

(1) With the authorization of the United States of America and Canada evidenced by exchange of notes, portions of the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled may be disposed of within the United States of America. The respective general conditions and limits within which the entities may arrange initial disposals shall be set out in an exchange of notes to be made as soon as possible after the ratification date.

(2) The entities may arrange and carry out exchanges of dependable hydroelectric capacity and average annual usable hydroelectric energy to which Canada is entitled for average annual usable hydroelectric energy and dependable hydroelectric capacity respectively.

(3) Energy to which Canada is entitled may not be used in the United States of America except in accordance with paragraphs (1) and (2).

(4) The bypassing at dams on the main stem of the Columbia River in the United States of America of an amount of water which could produce usable energy equal to the energy component of the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled but not delivered to Canada under Article V or disposed of in accordance with paragraphs (1) and (2) at the time the energy component was not so delivered or disposed of, is conclusive evidence that such energy component was not used in the United States of America and that the entitlement of Canada to such energy component is satisfied.

ARTICLE IX

Variation of Entitlement to Downstream Power Benefits

(1) If the United States of America considers with respect to any hydroelectric power project planned on the main stem of the Columbia River between Priest Rapids Dam and McNary Dam that the increase in entitlement of Canada to downstream power benefits resulting from the operation of the project would produce a result which would not justify the United States of America in incurring the costs of construction and operation of the project, the United States of America and Canada at the

request of the United States of America shall consider modification of the increase in entitlement.

(2) An agreement reached for the purposes of this Article shall be evidenced by an exchange of notes.

ARTICLE X

East-West Standby Transmission

(1) The United States of America shall provide in accordance with good engineering practice east-west standby transmission service adequate to safeguard the transmission from Oliver, British Columbia, to Vancouver, British Columbia, of the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled and to improve system stability of the east-west circuits in British Columbia.

(2) In consideration of the standby transmission service, Canada shall pay the United States of America in Canadian funds the equivalent of 1.50 United States dollars a year for each kilowatt of dependable hydroelectric capacity included in the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled.

(3) When a mutually satisfactory electrical coordination arrangement is entered into between the entities and confirmed by exchange of notes between the United States of America and Canada the obligation of Canada in paragraph (2) ceases.

ARTICLE XI

Use of Improved Stream Flow

(1) Improvement in stream flow in one country brought about by operation of storage constructed under the Treaty in the other country shall not be used directly or indirectly for hydroelectric power purposes except:

(a) in the case of use within the United States of America with the prior approval of the United States entity, and

(b) in the case of use within Canada with the prior approval of the authority in Canada having jurisdiction.

(2) The approval required by this Article shall not be given except upon such conditions, consistent with the Treaty, as the entity or authority considers appropriate.

ARTICLE XII

Kootenai River Development

(1) The United States of America for a period of five years from the ratification date, has the option to commence construction of a dam on the Kootenai River near Libby, Montana, to provide storage to meet flood control and other purposes in the United States of America. The storage reservoir of the dam shall not raise the level of the Kootenai River at the Canada-United States of America boundary above an elevation consistent with a normal full pool elevation at the dam of 2,459 feet, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey datum, 1929 General Adjustment, 1947 International Supplemental Adjustment.

(2) All benefits which occur in either country from the construction and operation of the storage accrue to the country in which the benefits occur.

(3) The United States of America shall exercise its option by written notice to Canada and shall submit with the notice a schedule of construction which shall

include provision for commencement of construction, whether by way of railroad relocation work or otherwise, within five years of the ratification date.

(4) If the United States of America exercises its option, Canada in consideration of the benefits accruing to it under paragraph (2) shall prepare and make available for flooding the land in Canada necessary for the storage reservoir of the dam within a period consistent with the construction schedule.

(5) If a variation in the operation of the storage is considered by Canada to be of advantage to it the United States of America shall, upon request, consult with Canada. If the United States of America determines that the variation would not be to its disadvantage it shall vary the operation accordingly.

(6) The operation of the storage by the United States of America shall be consistent with any order of approval which may be in force from time to time relating to the levels of Kootenay Lake made by the International Joint Commission under the Boundary Waters Treaty, 1909.

(7) Any obligation of Canada under this Article ceases if the United States of America, having exercised the option, does not commence construction of the dam in accordance with the construction schedule.

(8) If the United States of America exercises the option it shall commence full operation of the storage within seven years of the date fixed in the construction schedule for commencement of construction.

(9) If Canada considers that any portion of the land referred to in paragraph (4) is no longer needed for the purpose of this Article the United States of America and Canada, at the request of Canada, shall consider modification of the obligation of Canada in paragraph (4).

(10) If the Treaty is terminated before the end of the useful life of the dam Canada shall for the remainder of the useful life of the dam continue to make available for the storage reservoir of the dam any portion of the land made available under paragraph (4) that is not required by Canada for purposes of diversion of the Kootenay River under Article XIII.

ARTICLE XIII

Diversions

(1) Except as provided in this Article neither the United States of America nor Canada shall, without the consent of the other evidenced by an exchange of notes, divert for any use, other than a consumptive use, any water from its natural channel in a way that alters the flow of any water as it crosses the Canada-United States of America boundary within the Columbia River basin.

(2) Canada has the right, after the expiration of twenty years from the ratification date, to divert not more than 1,500,000 acre-feet of water a year from the Kootenay River in the vicinity of Canal Flats, British Columbia, to the headwaters of the Columbia River, provided that the diversion does not reduce the flow of the Kootenay River immediately downstream from the point of the diversion below the lesser of 200 cubic feet per second or the natural flow.

(3) Canada has the right, exercisable at any time during the period commencing sixty years after the ratification date and expiring one hundred years after the

ratification date, to divert to the headwaters of the Columbia River any water which, in its natural channel, would flow in the Kootenay River across the Canada-United States of America boundary, provided that the diversion does not reduce the flow of the Kootenay River at the Canada-United States of America boundary near Newgate, British Columbia, below the lesser of 2,500 cubic feet per second or the natural flow.

(4) During the last twenty years of the period within which Canada may exercise the right to divert described in paragraph (3) the limitation on diversion is the lesser of 1,000 cubic feet per second or the natural flow.

(5) Canada has the right:

(a) if the United States of America does not exercise the option in Article XII(1), or

(b) if it is determined that the United States of America, having exercised the option, did not commence construction of the dam referred to in Article XII in accordance therewith or that the United States of America is in breach of the obligation in that Article to commence full operation of the storage,

to divert to the headwaters of the Columbia River any water which, in its natural channel, would flow in the Kootenay River across the Canada-United States of America boundary, provided that the diversion does not reduce the flow of the Kootenay River at the Canada-United States of America boundary near Newgate, British Columbia, below the lesser of 1,000 cubic feet per second or the natural flow.

(6) If a variation in the use of the water diverted under paragraph (2) is considered by the United States of America to be of advantage to it Canada shall, upon request, consult with the United States of America. If Canada determines that the variation would not be to its disadvantage it shall vary the use accordingly.

ARTICLE XIV

Arrangements for Implementation

(1) The United States of America and Canada shall each, as soon as possible after the ratification date, designate entities and when so designated the entities are empowered and charged with the duty to formulate and carry out the operating arrangements necessary to implement the Treaty. Either the United States of America or Canada may designate one or more entities. If more than one is designated the powers and duties conferred upon the entities by the Treaty shall be allocated among them in the designation.

(2) In addition to the powers and duties dealt with specifically elsewhere in the Treaty the powers and duties of the entities include:

(a) coordination of plans and exchange of information relating to facilities to be used in producing and obtaining the benefits contemplated by the Treaty,

(b) calculation of and arrangements for delivery of hydroelectric power to which Canada is entitled for providing flood control,

(c) calculation of the amounts payable to the United States of America for standby transmission services,

(d) consultation on requests for variations made pursuant to Articles XII(5) and XIII(6),

(e) the establishment and operation of a hydrometeorological system as required by Annex A,

(f) assisting and cooperating with the Permanent Engineering Board in the discharge of its functions,

(g) periodic calculation of accounts,

(h) preparation of the hydroelectric operating plans and the flood control operating plans for the Canadian storage together with determination of the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled,

(i) preparation of proposals to implement Article VIII and carrying out any disposal authorized or exchange provided for therein,

(j) making appropriate arrangements for delivery to Canada of the downstream power benefits to which Canada is entitled including such matters as load factors for delivery, times and points of delivery, and calculation of transmission loss,

(k) preparation and implementation of detailed operating plans that may produce results more advantageous to both countries than those that would arise from operation under the plans referred to in Annexes A and B.

(3) The entities are authorized to make maintenance curtailments. Except in case of emergency, the entity responsible for a maintenance curtailment shall give notice to the corresponding United States or Canadian entity of the curtailment, including the reason therefor and the probable duration thereof and shall both schedule the curtailment with a view to minimizing its impact and exercise due diligence to resume full operation.

(4) The United States of America and Canada may by an exchange of notes empower or charge the entities with any other matter coming within the scope of the Treaty.

ARTICLE XV

Permanent Engineering Board

(1) A Permanent Engineering Board is established consisting of four members, two to be appointed by Canada and two by the United States of America. The initial appointments shall be made within three months of the ratification date.

(2) The Permanent Engineering Board shall:

(a) assemble records of the flows of the Columbia River and the Kootenay River at the Canada-United States of America boundary;

(b) report to the United States of America and Canada whenever there is substantial deviation from the hydroelectric and flood control operating plans and if appropriate include in the report recommendations for remedial action and compensatory adjustments;

(c) assist in reconciling differences concerning technical or operational matters that may arise between the entities;

(d) make periodic inspections and require reports as necessary from the entities with a view to ensuring that the objectives of the Treaty are being met;

(e) make reports to the United States of America and Canada at least once a year of the results being achieved under the Treaty and make special reports concerning any matter which it considers should be brought to their attention;

(f) investigate and report with respect to any other matter coming within the scope of the Treaty at the request of either the United States of America or Canada.

(3) Reports of the Permanent Engineering Board made in the course of the performance of its functions under this Article shall be *prima facie* evidence of the facts therein contained and shall be accepted unless rebutted by other evidence.

(4) The Permanent Engineering Board shall comply with directions, relating to its administration and procedures, agreed upon by the United States of America and Canada as evidenced by an exchange of notes.

ARTICLE XVI

Settlement of Differences

(1) Differences arising under the Treaty which the United States of America and Canada cannot resolve may be referred by either to the International Joint Commission for decision.

(2) If the International Joint Commission does not render a decision within three months of the referral or within such other period as may be agreed upon by the United States of America and Canada, either may then submit the difference to arbitration by written notice to the other.

(3) Arbitration shall be by a tribunal composed of a member appointed by Canada, a member appointed by the United States of America and a member appointed jointly by the United States of America and Canada who shall be Chairman. If within six weeks of the delivery of a notice under paragraph (2) either the United States of America or Canada has failed to appoint its member, or they are unable to agree upon the member who is to be Chairman, either the United States of America or Canada may request the President of the International Court of Justice to appoint the member or members. The decision of a majority of the members of an arbitration tribunal shall be the decision of the tribunal.

(4) The United States of America and Canada shall accept as definitive and binding and shall carry out any decision of the International Joint Commission or an arbitration tribunal.

(5) Provision for the administrative support of a tribunal and for remuneration and expenses of its members shall be as agreed in an exchange of notes between the United States of America and Canada.

(6) The United States of America and Canada may agree by an exchange of notes on alternative procedures for settling differences arising under the Treaty, including reference of any difference to the International Court of Justice for decision.

ARTICLE XVII

Restoration of Pre-Treaty Legal Status

(1) Nothing in this Treaty and no action taken or foregone pursuant to its provisions shall be deemed, after its termination or expiration, to have abrogated or modified any of the rights or obligations of the United States of America or Canada under then existing international law, with respect to the uses of the water resources of the Columbia River basin.

(2) Upon termination of this Treaty, the Boundary

Waters Treaty, 1909, shall, if it has not been terminated, apply to the Columbia River basin, except insofar as the provisions of that Treaty may be inconsistent with any provision of this Treaty which continues in effect.

(3) Upon termination of this Treaty, if the Boundary Waters Treaty, 1909, has been terminated in accordance with Article XIV of that Treaty, the provisions of Article II of that Treaty shall continue to apply to the waters of the Columbia River basin.

(4) If upon the termination of this Treaty Article II of the Boundary Waters Treaty, 1909, continues in force by virtue of paragraph (3) of this Article the effect of Article II of that Treaty with respect to the Columbia River basin may be terminated by either the United States of America or Canada delivering to the other one year's written notice to that effect; provided however that the notice may be given only after the termination of this Treaty.

(5) If, prior to the termination of this Treaty, Canada undertakes works usable for and relating to a diversion of water from the Columbia River basin, other than works authorized by or undertaken for the purpose of exercising a right under Article XIII or any other provision of this Treaty, paragraph (3) of this Article shall cease to apply one year after delivery by either the United States of America or Canada to the other of written notice to that effect.

ARTICLE XVIII

Liability for Damage

(1) The United States of America and Canada shall be liable to the other and shall make appropriate compensation to the other in respect of any act, failure to act, omission or delay amounting to a breach of the Treaty or of any of its provisions other than an act, failure to act, omission or delay occurring by reason of war, strike, major calamity, act of God, uncontrollable force or maintenance curtailment.

(2) Except as provided in paragraph (1) neither the United States of America nor Canada shall be liable to the other or to any person in respect of any injury, damage or loss occurring in the territory of the other caused by any act, failure to act, omission or delay under the Treaty whether the injury, damage or loss results from negligence or otherwise.

(3) The United States of America and Canada, each to the extent possible within its territory, shall exercise due diligence to remove the cause of and to mitigate the effect of any injury, damage or loss occurring in the territory of the other as a result of any act, failure to act, omission or delay under the Treaty.

(4) Failure to commence operation as required under Articles IV and XII is not a breach of the Treaty and does not result in the loss of rights under the Treaty if the failure results from a delay that is not wilful or reasonably avoidable.

(5) The compensation payable under paragraph (1)

(a) in respect of a breach by Canada of the obligation to commence full operation of a storage, shall be forfeiture of entitlement to downstream power benefits resulting from the operation of that storage, after operation commences, for a period equal to the period between the

day of commencement of operation and the day when commencement should have occurred;

(b) in respect of any other breach by either the United States of America or Canada, causing loss of power benefits, shall not exceed the actual loss in revenue from the sale of hydroelectric power.

ARTICLE XIX

Period of Treaty

(1) The Treaty shall come into force on the ratification date.

(2) Either the United States of America or Canada may terminate the Treaty other than Article XIII (except paragraph (1) thereof), Article XVII and this Article at any time after the Treaty has been in force for sixty years if it has delivered at least ten years written notice to the other of its intention to terminate the Treaty.

(3) If the Treaty is terminated before the end of the useful life of a dam built under Article XII then, notwithstanding termination, Article XII remains in force until the end of the useful life of the dam.

(4) If the Treaty is terminated before the end of the useful life of the facilities providing the storage described in Article IV(3) and if the conditions described therein exist then, notwithstanding termination, Articles IV(3) and VI (4) and (5) remain in force until either the end of the useful life of these facilities or until those conditions cease to exist, whichever is the first to occur.

ARTICLE XX

Ratification

The instruments of ratification of the Treaty shall be exchanged by the United States of America and Canada at Ottawa, Canada.

ARTICLE XXI

Registration with the United Nations

In conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, the Treaty shall be registered by Canada with the Secretariat of the United Nations.

This Treaty has been done in duplicate copies in the English language.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Treaty at Washington, District of Columbia, United States of America, this 17th day of January, 1961.

For the United States of America:

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President

of the United States of America

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

Secretary of State

ELMER F. BENNETT

Under Secretary of the Interior

For Canada:

JOHN G. DIEFENBAKER

Prime Minister of Canada

E. D. FULTON

Minister of Justice

A. D. P. HEENEY

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
Canada to the United States of America*

ANNEX A

PRINCIPLES OF OPERATION

General

1. The Canadian storage provided under Article II will be operated in accordance with the procedures described herein.

2. A hydrometeorological system, including snow courses, precipitation stations and stream flow gauges will be established and operated, as mutually agreed by the entities and in consultation with the Permanent Engineering Board, for use in establishing data for detailed programming of flood control and power operations. Hydrometeorological information will be made available to the entities in both countries for immediate and continuing use in flood control and power operations.

3. Sufficient discharge capacity at each dam to afford the desired regulation for power and flood control will be provided through outlet works and turbine installations as mutually agreed by the entities. The discharge capacity provided for flood control operations will be large enough to pass inflow plus sufficient storage releases during the evacuation period to provide the storage space required. The discharge capacity will be evaluated on the basis of full use of any conduits provided for that purpose plus one half the hydraulic capacity of the turbine installation at the time of commencement of the operation of storage under the Treaty.

4. The outflows will be in accordance with storage reservation diagrams and associated criteria established for flood control purposes and with reservoir-balance relationships established for power operations. Unless otherwise agreed by the entities the average weekly outflows shall not be less than 3,000 cubic feet per second at the dam described in Article II(2)(a), not less than 5,000 cubic feet per second at the dam described in Article II(2)(b) and not less than 1,000 cubic feet per second at the dam described in Article II(2)(c). These minimum average weekly releases may be scheduled by the Canadian entity as required for power or other purposes.

Flood Control

5. For flood control operation, the United States entity will submit flood control operating plans which may consist of or include flood control storage reservation diagrams and associated criteria for each of the dams. The Canadian entity will operate in accordance with these diagrams or any variation which the entities agree will not derogate from the desired aim of the flood control plan. The use of these diagrams will be based on data obtained in accordance with paragraph 2. The diagrams will consist of relationships specifying the flood control storage reservations required at indicated times of the year for volumes of forecast runoff. After consultation with the Canadian entity the United States entity may

from time to time as conditions warrant adjust these storage reservation diagrams within the general limitations of flood control operation. Evacuation of the storages listed hereunder will be guided by the flood control storage reservation diagrams and refill will be as requested by the United States entity after consultation with the Canadian entity. The general limitations of flood control operation are as follows:

(a) *The Dam described in Article II(2) (a)*—The reservoir will be evacuated to provide up to 80,000 acre-feet of storage, if required, for flood control use by May 1 of each year.

(b) *The Dam described in Article II(2) (b)*—The reservoir will be evacuated to provide up to 7,100,000 acre-feet of storage, if required, for flood control use by May 1 of each year.

(c) *The Dam described in Article II(2) (c)*—The reservoir will be evacuated to provide up to 700,000 acre-feet of storage, if required, for flood control use by April 1 of each year and up to 1,270,000 acre-feet of storage, if required, for flood control use by May 1 of each year.

(d) The Canadian entity may exchange flood control storage provided in the reservoir referred to in subparagraph (b) for additional storage provided in the reservoir referred to in subparagraph (a) if the entities agree that the exchange would provide the same effectiveness for control of floods on the Columbia River at The Dalles, Oregon.

Power

6. For power generating purposes the 15,500,000 acre-feet of Canadian storage will be operated in accordance with operating plans designed to achieve optimum power generation downstream in the United States of America until such time as power generating facilities are installed at the site referred to in paragraph 5(a) or at sites in Canada downstream therefrom.

7. After at-site power is developed at the site referred to in paragraph 5(a) or power generating facilities are placed in operation in Canada downstream from that site, the storage operation will be changed so as to be operated in accordance with operating plans designed to achieve optimum power generation at-site in Canada and downstream in the United States of America and Canada, including consideration of any agreed electrical coordination between the two countries. Any reduction in the downstream power benefits in the United States of America resulting from that change in operation of the Canadian storage shall not exceed in any one year the reduction in downstream power benefits in the United States of America which would result from reducing by 500,000 acre-feet the Canadian storage operated to achieve optimum power generation in the United States of America and shall not exceed at any time during the period of the Treaty the reduction in downstream power benefits in the United States of America which would result from similarly reducing the Canadian storage by 3,000,000 acre-feet.

8. After at-site power is developed at the site referred to in paragraph 5(a) or power generating facilities are placed in operation in Canada downstream from that site, storage may be operated to achieve optimum generation of power in the United States of America

alone if mutually agreed by the entities in which event the United States of America shall supply power to Canada to offset any reduction in Canadian generation which would be created as a result of such operation as compared to operation to achieve optimum power generation at-site in Canada and downstream in the United States of America and Canada. Similarly, the storage may be operated to achieve optimum generation of power in Canada alone if mutually agreed by the entities in which event Canada shall supply power to the United States of America to offset any reduction in United States generation which would be created as a result of such operation as compared to operation to achieve optimum power generation at-site in Canada and downstream in the United States of America and Canada.

9. Before the first storage becomes operative, the entities will agree on operating plans and the resulting downstream power benefits for each year until the total of 15,500,000 acre-feet of storage in Canada becomes operative. In addition, commencing five years before the total of 15,500,000 acre-feet of storage is expected to become operative, the entities will agree annually on operating plans and the resulting downstream power benefits for the sixth succeeding year of operation thereafter. This procedure will continue during the life of the Treaty, providing to both the entities, in advance, an assured plan of operation of the Canadian storage and a determination of the resulting downstream power benefits for the next succeeding five years.

ANNEX B

DETERMINATION OF DOWNSTREAM POWER BENEFITS

1. The downstream power benefits in the United States of America attributable to operation in accordance with Annex A of the storage provided by Canada under Article II will be determined in advance and will be the estimated increase in dependable hydroelectric capacity in kilowatts for agreed critical stream flow periods and the increase in average annual usable hydroelectric energy output in kilowatt hours on the basis of an agreed period of stream flow record.

2. The dependable hydroelectric capacity to be credited to Canadian storage will be the difference between the average rates of generation in kilowatts during the appropriate critical stream flow periods for the United States of America base system, consisting of the projects listed in the table, with and without the addition of the Canadian storage, divided by the estimated average critical period load factor. The capacity credit shall not exceed the difference between the capability of the base system without Canadian storage and the maximum feasible capability of the base system with Canadian storage, to supply firm load during the critical stream flow periods.

3. The increase in the average annual usable hydroelectric energy will be determined by first computing the difference between the available hydroelectric energy at the United States base system with and without Canadian storage. The entities will then agree upon the part of available energy which is usable with and without Canadian storage, and the difference thus agreed

ANNEX B—TABLE—BASE SYSTEM

Project	Stream	Stream mile above mouth	Usable storage acre-feet	Normal elevation		Gross head feet	Initial installation		Estimated ultimate instal- lation	
				Pool feet	Tailwater feet		No. of units	Plant kilowatts (nameplate)	No. of units	Plant kilowatts (nameplate)
Hungry Horse	S. Fk. Flathead	5	⁴ 3,161,000	3,560	3,083	477	4	285,000	4	285,000
	Flathead	73	1,219,000	2,893	2,706	187	3	168,000	3	168,000
	Clark Fork	209	Pondage	2,396	2,336	60	6	30,000	8	65,000
	Noxon Rapids	170	Pondage	2,331	2,179	152	4	336,000	5	420,000
	Cabinet Gorge	150	Pondage	2,175	2,078	97	4	200,000	6	300,000
Albion Falls	Pend Oreille	90	1,155,000	2,062	2,034	28	3	42,600	3	42,600
	Box Canyon	34	Pondage	2,031	1,989	42	4	60,000	4	60,000
	Grand Coulee	597	⁴ 5,232,000	³ 1,290	1,947	343	18	1,944,000	34	3,672,000
	Chief Joseph	546	Pondage	946	775	171	16	1,024,000	27	1,728,000
	Wells	516	Pondage	775	707	68	6	400,000	10	666,700
Rocky Reach	Columbia	474	Pondage	707	614	93	7	711,550	11	1,118,150
	Rock Island	453	Pondage	³ 608	570	38	10	212,100	10	212,100
	Wanapum	415	Pondage	570	486	84	10	831,250	16	1,330,000
	Priest Rapids	397	Pondage	486	406	80	10	788,500	16	1,261,600
	Brownlee	285	974,000	2,077	1,805	272	4	360,400	6	540,600
Oxbow	Snake	273	Pondage	1,805	1,683	122	4	190,000	5	237,500
	Snake	10	Pondage	440	343	97	3	270,000	6	540,000
	Ice Harbor									
McNary	Columbia	292	Pondage	340	265	75	14	980,000	20	1,400,000
	John Day	216	Pondage	265	161	104	8	1,080,000	20	2,700,000
	The Dalles	192	Pondage	160	74	86	² 16	1,119,000	² 24	1,743,000
	Bonneville	145	Pondage	74	15	59	10	518,400	16	890,400
	Kootenay Lake	16	673,000	1,745						
Chelan	Chelan	0	676,000	1,100	707	393	2	48,000	4	96,000
	Coeur d'Alene	102	223,000	2,128						
Total	24 Projects		413,313,000			3,128	166	11,598,800	258	19,476,650

¹ The Wells project is not presently under construction; when this project or any other project on the main stem of the Columbia River is completed, they will be integral components of the base system.

² Includes two 13,500-kilowatt units for fish attraction water.

³ With flashboards.

⁴ In determining the base system capabilities with and without Canadian storage the Hungry Horse reservoir storage will be limited to 3,008,000 acre-feet (normal full pool elevation of 3,560 feet) and the Grand Coulee project will not include the effect of adding flashboards, limiting the storage to 5,072,000 acre-feet (normal full pool elevation of 1,288 feet). The total usable storage of the base system as so adjusted will be 13,000,000 acre-feet.

will be the increase in average annual usable hydroelectric energy. Determination of the part of the energy which is usable will include consideration of existing and scheduled transmission facilities and the existence of markets capable of using the energy on a contractual basis similar to the then existing contracts. The part of the available energy which is considered usable shall be the sum of:

(a) the firm energy,

(b) the energy which can be used for thermal power displacement in the Pacific Northwest Area as defined in Paragraph 7, and

(c) the amount of the remaining portion of the available energy which is agreed by the entities to be usable and which shall not exceed in any event 40% of that remainder.

4. An initial determination of the estimated downstream power benefits in the United States of America from Canadian storage added to the United States base system will be made before any of the Canadian storage becomes operative. This determination will include estimates of the downstream power benefits for each year until the total of 15,500,000 acre-feet of Canadian storage becomes operative.

5. Commencing five years before the total of 15,500,000 acre-feet of storage is expected to become operative, estimates of downstream power benefits will be calculated annually for the sixth succeeding year on the basis of the assured plan of operation for that year.

6. The critical stream flow period and the details of the assured plan of operation will be agreed upon by the entities at each determination. Unless otherwise agreed upon by the entities, the determination of the downstream power benefits shall be based upon stream flows for the twenty year period beginning with July 1928 as contained in the report entitled *Modified Flows at Selected Power Sites—Columbia River Basin*, dated June 1957. No retroactive adjustment in downstream power benefits will be made at any time during the period of the Treaty. No reduction in the downstream power benefits credited to Canadian storage will be made as a result of the load estimate in the United States of America, for the year for which the determination is made, being less than the load estimate for the preceding year.

7. In computing the increase in dependable hydroelectric capacity and the increase in average annual hydroelectric energy, the procedure shall be in accordance with the three steps described below and shall encompass the loads of the Pacific Northwest Area. The Pacific Northwest Area for purposes of these determinations shall be Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana west of the Continental Divide but shall exclude areas served on the ratification date by the California Oregon Power Company and Utah Power and Light Company.

Step I

The system for the period covered by the estimate will consist of the Canadian storage, the United States base system, any thermal installation operated in coordination with the base system, and additional hydroelectric projects which will provide storage releases usable by the

base system or which will use storage releases that are usable by the base system. The installations included in this system will be those required, with allowance for adequate reserves, to meet the forecast power load to be served by this system in the United States of America, including the estimated flow of power at points of interconnection with adjacent areas, subject to paragraph 3, plus the portion of the entitlement of Canada that is expected to be used in Canada. The capability of this system to supply this load will be determined on the basis that the system will be operated in accordance with the established operating procedures of each of the projects involved.

Step II

A determination of the energy capability will be made using the same thermal installation as in *Step I*, the United States base system with the same installed capacity as in *Step I* and Canadian storage.

Step III

A similar determination of the energy capability will be made using the same thermal installation as in *Step I* and the United States base system with the same installed capacity as in *Step I*.

8. The downstream power benefits to be credited to Canadian storage will be the differences between the determinations in *Step II* and *Step III* in dependable hydroelectric capacity and in average annual usable hydroelectric energy, made in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3.

United States and Iraq Sign Cultural Agreement

Joint Statement

Press release 33 dated January 23

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Iraq, in consideration of the bonds of friendship and understanding existing between their peoples on the basis of mutual respect, and with a view to their desire to develop further understanding of each other's culture, aspirations and progress through organizing and encouraging continued cultural exchanges, today [January 23] signed a cultural agreement in Baghdad.

The two Governments are confident that continuation of the close cooperation between them on a basis of equality in the fields of education, science and culture will have a great effect in increasing mutual understanding between their peoples, and will be a great contribution to the development of relations between them in the service of their peoples.

Ambassador John D. Jernegan signed the agreement on behalf of the United States, and Brigadier Ismail al-Arif, Minister of Education, signed on behalf of Iraq. The agreement will remain in force indefinitely at the pleasure of the respective Governments.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Health

Constitution of the World Health Organization. Opened for signature at New York July 22, 1946. Entered into force April 7, 1948. TIAS 1808.
Acceptance deposited: Nigeria, November 25, 1960.

Shipping

Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Signed at Geneva March 6, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958. TIAS 4044.
Acceptance deposited: Iceland (with reservation and declaration), November 8, 1960.

Telecommunications

International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.
Accessions deposited: Cameroun, December 22, 1960; Ivory Coast, December 23, 1960; Gabon, December 28, 1960.

International telecommunication convention with six annexes. Done at Geneva December 1, 1959. Entered into force January 1, 1961.¹
Accessions deposited: Ivory Coast, December 23, 1960; Senegal, December 28, 1960.

BILATERAL

Brazil

Agreement for the loan of two U.S. destroyers to Brazil. Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro November 21 and December 27, 1960. Entered into force December 27, 1960.

Agreement for the loan of two U.S. submarines to Brazil. Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro December 28 and 29, 1960. Entered into force December 29, 1960.

Canada

Postal convention. Signed at Ottawa January 12 and at Washington January 13, 1961. Enters into force on a date to be determined by mutual agreement. Ratified by the President January 19, 1961.

Denmark

Agreement establishing a consultative committee on Greenland defense projects, with annex. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 2, 1960. Entered into force December 2, 1960.

Italy

Agreement on arrangements respecting patents and technical information in defense programs. Signed at Rome October 3, 1952.
Entered into force: December 16, 1960.

Agreement approving the procedures for reciprocal filing of classified patent applications in the United States and Italy. Effected by exchange of notes at Rome March 9 and October 27, 1959.
Entered into force: December 16, 1960.

Korea

Agreement extending the period of the loan to Korea of certain U.S. vessels. Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul October 28 and November 4, 1960. Entered into force November 4, 1960.

Kuwait

Agreement relating to the reciprocal granting of nonimmigrant passport visas. Effected by exchange of notes at Kuwait December 11 and 27, 1960. Entered into force December 27, 1960; operative January 26, 1961.

Panama

Agreement relating to investment guaranties against inconvertibility and losses due to expropriation and war 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 Washington January 23, 1961. Enters into force on the date of a note from Panama stating the agreement has been ratified in accordance with its constitutional procedures.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Secretary Rusk Sends Greetings to Diplomatic and Consular Posts

Press release 32 dated January 23

Following is the text of a message sent by Secretary Rusk to all American diplomatic and consular posts on January 21.

I have assumed office with a sense of high privilege and pledge to it my best efforts. Personal greetings to colleagues of the Department at home and abroad whom I have now joined for service to the President and to our country.

DEAN RUSK

¹ Not in force for the United States.

Foreign Service Officers To Study With Pennsylvania Labor Department

The Department of State announced on January 27 (press release 37) that a group of Foreign Service officers will go to Harrisburg, Pa., on January 30 for a week of detailed briefings and discussions with the Secretary of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania, William L. Batt, Jr., and his staff.

This week of study with the Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry is a part of an 11-month training program in international labor affairs now being conducted for the second time by the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State, in cooperation with the Department of Labor. This comprehensive training program is designed to broaden the background of selected Foreign Service officers in the area of international labor affairs and to prepare them to assume positions abroad involving significant labor reporting responsibilities.

The program began in September with a 4-week seminar in international labor affairs at the Foreign Service Institute, followed by rotating on-the-job training assignments in the Departments of Labor and State and by training visits to trade unions, management associations, and other Federal Government agencies active in labor affairs. To provide an academic framework for the practical activities of the program, a seminar in "World Labor and Contemporary International Relations" was developed by American University, Washington, D.C., at the request of the Foreign Service Institute, and meets once a week.

The Pennsylvania department operates one of the largest public employment services in the world and maintains wage information on more than 4 million workers. It pays unemployment compensation benefits to qualified jobless persons, and operates the fourth largest insurance company in the State, to assure employers of liability insurance for workmen's compensation. The department also administers and enforces working conditions and minimum rates of pay for women and children, inspects most of the publicly used buildings in Pennsylvania, licenses 16,000 elevators, guarantees the rights of workers to unionize and bargain, and promotes labor harmony through a mediation service, among other functions.

Arrangements for the group to study the operations of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry were made by Hilding A. Peterson, Foreign Service officer assigned as training officer to the School of Foreign Affairs of the Foreign Service Institute. Foreign Service officers assigned to this program are: James Howe Bahti, Herman J. Cohen, Charles Marshall Hanson, Jr., Jack Liebof, and Fred A. Somerford.

Consulate Established at Arequipa, Peru

Department mailing notice dated January 23

A consulate at Arequipa, Peru, was established December 3, 1960, and opened to the public December 29. Nicholas McCausland has been designated as principal officer of this new post. The consular district for Arequipa will include the following Peruvian Departments: Arequipa, Cuzco, Madre de Dios, Moquegua, Puno, and Tacna.

The consular district for the American Embassy at Lima is now comprised of all those Departments not included in the Arequipa consular district.

The Embassy at Lima will supervise the administration of Arequipa.

Confirmations

The Senate on January 23 confirmed the nomination of Chester Bowles to be Under Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 36 dated January 25.)

Appointments

Angier Biddle Duke as Chief of Protocol, effective January 24. (For biographic details, see press release 35 dated January 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.

The Newly Independent Nations—Libya. Pub. 6966. African Series 1. 4 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give a few highlights on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Malaya. Pub. 6967. Far Eastern Series 88. 8 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give the public background information on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Philippines. Pub. 6968. Far Eastern Series 89. 7 pp. 5¢.

Another leaflet in the series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations designed to give the public background information on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—India. Pub. 7029. Near and Middle Eastern Series 56. 7 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give a few highlights on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Jordan. Pub. 7030. Near and Middle Eastern Series 57. 7 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give a few highlights on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Viet-Nam. Pub. 7031. Far Eastern Series 97. 7 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give the public background information on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Israel. Pub. 7041. Near and Middle Eastern Series 58. 6 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give a few highlights on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Korea. Pub. 7042. Far Eastern Series 99. 10 pp. 15¢.

Another leaflet in the series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations designed to give the public background information on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Sudan. Pub. 7044. African Series 2. 8 pp. 5¢.

A leaflet, one of a series of fact sheets on the newly independent nations, designed to give a few highlights on the people and the country.

The Science Adviser of the Department of State. Pub. 7056. Department and Foreign Service Series 97. 27 pp. 15¢.

An illustrated pamphlet describing the functions of the Office of the Science Adviser in Washington and the corps of science officers overseas whose activity it directs.

The Newly Independent Nations—Pakistan. Pub. 7073. Near and Middle Eastern Series 49. 8 pp. 5¢.

Another leaflet in the series on the newly independent nations designed to give the public a brief summary of information on the people and the country.

The Newly Independent Nations—Ghana. Pub. 7076. African Series 5. 10 pp. 10¢.

A leaflet in the series on the newly independent nations designed to give the public a few highlights on the country and the people.

Point Four in Jordan. Pub. 7078. Near and Middle Eastern Series 59. 12 pp. 10¢.

Text of an address made by Norman Burns, Director of the U.S. Operations Mission in Jordan, International Cooperation Administration, before the Chamber of Com-

merce, Jerusalem, on June 14, 1960, discussing U.S. economic aid to Jordan.

Mutual Security in Action—Tunisia (Revised). Pub. 7082. Near and Middle Eastern Series 60. 12 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet giving background information on the country and discussing its economy, government, and the extent of U.S. assistance.

The Record on Korean Unification, 1943-1960—Narrative Summary With Principal Documents. Pub. 7084. Far Eastern Series 101. xiii, 241 pp. 65¢.

This volume describes the continuing efforts of the United States and the United Nations to achieve the unification of Korea.

A Survey of the Strategic Trade Control Program, 1957-1960—Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951—Fourteenth Report to Congress. Pub. 7088. General Foreign Policy Series 156. 50 pp. 25¢.

A report submitted by Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon to Congress summarizing trade-control activities for the period 1957-1960.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Pub. 7105. Commercial Policy Series 176. 23 pp. 15¢.

A pamphlet discussing intention of the U.S. Government to participate in negotiations under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 as amended and extended; supplementary notice of U.S. intention to negotiate; list of supplementary products; and notice of public hearings. Prepared by the Interdepartmental Trade Agreements Organization.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Disposition of Equipment and Materials. TIAS 4556. 7 pp. 10¢.

Arrangement between the United States and the Netherlands. Exchange of notes—Dated at The Hague November 12 and 26, 1953. Entered into force November 26, 1953. And amending arrangement. Exchange of notes—Signed at The Hague August 10 and 13, 1960. Entered into force August 13, 1960.

Air Transport Services. TIAS 4558. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Italy, amending the agreement of February 6, 1948, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington August 4, 1960. Entered into force August 4, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4560. 7 pp. 10¢.

Understanding between the United States of America and China, relating to article III of the agreement of June 9, 1959, as supplemented. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei August 17 and 24, 1960. Entered into force August 24, 1960.

Tracking Stations. TIAS 4562. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of South Africa. Exchange of notes—Signed at Pretoria September 13, 1960. Entered into force September 13, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4563. 26 pp. 15¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China. Signed at Taipei August 30, 1960. With exchanges of notes. Entered into force August 30, 1960.

Defense—Mutual Weapons Development Program. TIAS 4565. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Australia. Signed at Washington August 23, 1960. Entered into force August 23, 1960.

Africa. U.S. To Send 150 American Teachers to East Africa 218

Agriculture

Food-for-Peace Committee Reports to President Kennedy 217

Food Program for Congo To Be Increased 218

President Describes Role of Food-for-Peace Director 216

Asia. Water Resources Development in Asia and the Far East (Bloodgood) 225

Atomic Energy. Nuclear-Test Study Panel Named by Disarmament Administration 215

Canada. United States and Canada Sign Columbia River Treaty (Diefenbaker, Eisenhower, Herter, text of treaty) 227

Congo, Republic of the. Food Program for Congo To Be Increased 218

Cuba. Mr. Voorhees Submits Final Report on Cuban Refugee Problem (Eisenhower, Voorhees, text of report) 219

Department and Foreign Service

Appointments (Duke) 245

Confirmations (Bowles) 245

Consulate Established at Arequipa, Peru 245

Foreign Service Officers To Study With Pennsylvania Labor Department 245

Secretary Rusk Sends Greetings to Diplomatic and Consular Posts 244

Disarmament. Nuclear-Test Study Panel Named by Disarmament Administration 215

Economic Affairs

President Meets With Committee on U.S. Economic Position 215

Water Resources Development in Asia and the Far East (Bloodgood) 225

Educational and Cultural Affairs

United States and Iraq Sign Cultural Agreement (joint statement) 243

U.S. To Send 150 American Teachers to East Africa 218

International Organizations and Conferences.

Water Resources Development in Asia and the Far East (Bloodgood) 225

Iraq. United States and Iraq Sign Cultural Agreement (joint statement) 243

Labor. Foreign Service Officers To Study With Pennsylvania Labor Department 245

Mutual Security

Food-for-Peace Committee Reports to President Kennedy 217

Food Program for Congo To Be Increased 218

President Describes Role of Food-for-Peace Director 216

U.S. To Send 150 American Teachers to East Africa 218

Peru. Consulate Established at Arequipa, Peru 245

Presidential Documents

Mr. Voorhees Submits Final Report on Cuban Refugee Problem 219

President Describes Role of Food-for-Peace Director 216

President Kennedy Replies to Message From Soviet Leaders 214

The State of the Union 207

United States and Canada Sign Columbia River Treaty 227

Publications. Recent Releases 245

Refugees. Mr. Voorhees Submits Final Report on Cuban Refugee Problem (Eisenhower, Voorhees, text of report) 219

Treaty Information

Current Actions 244

United States and Canada Sign Columbia River Treaty (Diefenbaker, Eisenhower, Herter, text of treaty) 227

United States and Iraq Sign Cultural Agreement (joint statement) 243

U.S.S.R.

President Kennedy Replies to Message From Soviet Leaders (Brezhnev, Kennedy, Khrushchev) 214

Secretary Cites Value of Privacy in Use of Diplomatic Channel (Rusk) 214

United Nations. Food Program for Congo To Be Increased 218

Name Index

Bloodgood, Grant 225

Bowles, Chester 245

Brezhnev, Leonid 214

Diefenbaker, John G 228

Duke, Angier Biddle 245

Eisenhower, President 219, 227, 228

Herter, Secretary 227, 229

Kennedy, President 207, 214, 216

Khrushchev, Nikita 214

Rusk, Secretary 214, 244

Voorhees, Tracy S 219

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 23-29

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Release issued prior to January 23 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 26 dated January 17.

No.	Date	Subject
32	1/23	Rusk: message to diplomatic and consular posts.
33	1/23	Cultural agreement with Iraq.
*34	1/23	Swearing in of Secretary Rusk (biographic details).
*35	1/24	Swearing in of Duke as Chief of Protocol (biographic details).
*36	1/25	Swearing in of Under Secretary Bowles (biographic details).
37	1/27	Foreign Service officers studying labor affairs.
38	1/28	ICA to recruit U.S. teachers for African schools.

*Not printed.

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



the
Department
of
State

Two new pamphlets on the Americas . . .

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ACT OF BOGOTÁ

Publication 7120

10 cents

and

THE LAND PROBLEM IN THE AMERICAS

Publication 7112

10 cents

The Act of Bogotá was approved on October 11, 1960, by the Council of the Organization of American States as prepared by the Special Committee To Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation during the course of its Third Meeting held in Bogotá, Colombia, from September 5 to 13, 1960.

These pamphlets give the basic purpose and main principles of the Act of Bogotá and describe the "new look" which it takes of the Western Hemisphere's social, political, and economic problems.

WORLD REFUGEE YEAR—JULY 1959—JULY 1960

Publication 7095

15 cents

The World Refugee Year, which was brought into being by the United Nations, was participated in by the United States under Presidential proclamation dated May 19, 1959.

This illustrated pamphlet describes the United States contributions under the Year program, as well as its long-term assistance under other U.S. and U.N. refugee programs.

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$.....
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

Please send me
copies

- Social Implications of the Act of Bogotá.*
 The Land Problem in the Americas.
 World Refugee Year—July 1959–June 1960.

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1130

February 20, 1961

FORCES OF CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA • by
Wymberley DeR. Coerr 251

**THE CHALLENGE OF AFRICA TO THE AMERICAN
CITIZEN** • *Remarks by Assistant Secretary Williams* . . . 259

SOME ASPECTS OF U.S. FOREIGN TRADE POLICY
• by *Theodore J. Hadraba* 263

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN CLIMATOLOGY
• *Article by Helmut E. Landsberg* 278

E
FICIAL
EELY RECORD
ITED STATES
REIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1130 • PUBLICATION 7141

February 20, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (Jan. 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

Forces of Change in Latin America

by Wymberley DeR. Coerr

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs¹

Our objective toward the nations of Latin America is simple: We want the friendship of their governments and peoples. We believe the nations of Latin America can be our friends only if they maintain their genuine and sovereign independence and that they can maintain this independence only to the extent that they achieve increasing social equity and economic progress through democratic methods.

We seek no satellites. We control no fifth columns or traitorous domestic parties with which to convert independent nations into satellites. We cherish the independence of the nations in this hemisphere as the key to their friendship for us, recognizing that it would suffer from undue exertions of our influence and that under Soviet domination it would die.

The Dominant Condition in Latin America—Change

It is obvious to us all that the dominant condition in Latin America is *change*—change swelling and gaining momentum on two important fronts.

On the *economic* front, the population of Latin America is increasing more rapidly than that in any other major area of the world. On the other hand, the rate of increase in the area's production of goods and services has been slowing down. If this trend continues, in the long run there will be more and more people to share less and less, and the share of most of the people is already scant.

The average income per capita in Latin America is about \$300 per year and among the nations of Latin America varies roughly from a high of \$750 to a low of \$70. These figures are for the

average income per capita—a statistical figure obtained by dividing the number of people in a nation into the value of its gross national income. This figure is misleadingly high. Since in each nation a few people are rich and many are poor, the *average* income—low as it is—is obviously higher than the *median* income that *most* people receive. It would be ironic to tell a subsistence farmer in the backlands who may earn little or no cash that his nation's average per capita income is several hundred dollars. Many people in Latin America exist practically outside of the monetary economy.

The downward economic trend is being accentuated by the continued absence and flight of Latin American capital to the United States and Europe and by the currently falling *rate* of new private investment from abroad. Both these trends are caused basically by political insecurity and further weaken the area's economic productive capacity.

On the *social* front, however, people's expectations are shooting upward. In comparison with the endowments of the wealthy few, the majority of the people have long been accustomed to slim shares in food, housing, land, medical attention, education, and in political power and individual dignity. Now in the minds of the majority this comparison is changing to contrast. Resignation is being rapidly replaced by insistence on change. Desire for a better life is leading to hope, and hope to demand, and demand to action. In contrast to the *income per capita*, which is slowly falling, the *aspirations per capita*—if we may use the phrase—are rising rapidly. The gap between income and aspirations is widening. The welfare of the Latin American nations and our friendship for them demand that this gap be narrowed.

¹ Address made before the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts at Boston, Mass., on Feb. 1.

The key question is, will this great gathering force of change be handled in a manner destructive or constructive to the millions of hopes from which it springs? Will it rampage undirected or maldirected so as to destroy any real economic and social progress, or will it be channeled so as to enrich and ennoble the lives of Latin America's people?

The Latin American nations have to handle their turbulence of change in a time of world conflict. On one side, the Communists are aggressively perpetrating "peaceful coexistence," a policy they described in Moscow last December as dedicated to "mobilizing the masses" and the "intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all Communist parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas." On the other side, the President of the United States has declared in his inaugural address:²

. . . this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

The Latin Americans do not have as much time or tranquillity as we did to tackle domestic problems in comparative insulation. They face a choice. Will the free nations of Latin America choose to treat their onrushing change with the methods offered by the free world or with those imposed by international communism? Their own experience already provides comparison in these methods.

Three Types of Revolution

Latin America's experience includes many changes in government by violent revolutions—in which we can clearly distinguish three types.

First, and in the vast majority, the old style revolutions that changed the government without expressing or affecting basic social change—the so-called "palace revolutions."

Second, social revolutions that basically shifted the distribution of political power, of individual prestige, and of wealth and income from one economic grouping to another.

The first social revolution was the Mexican, in the second decade of this century, fought under

the banner of *Tierra y Libertad* ("Land and Liberty"). This revolution was won before the Bolshevik revolution started and hence in the absence of an international Communist apparatus capable of exploiting it. On our side, the revolution frankly caused us problems and misunderstandings, but as a whole we received the revolution with sympathy and, most important, negotiated our problems with Mexico on the basis of mutual consent, respect, and friendship. Since then the Communists have tried to intervene, but the Mexicans have maintained control of their own revolution.

The second social revolution came 35 years later, in Bolivia, where the MNR—the National Revolutionary Movement—sought and won universal suffrage, the government ownership of the largest (but not the medium and small) mines (with compensation), and "land reform." Before the revolution in 1952, Bolivian presidential elections had less than 100,000 voters in a population of about 3 million; in 1956 and 1960 the figure was close to 1 million. International communism took a hand in the Bolivian revolution and attempted to force the revolution toward more extreme measures than it adopted. The United States Government, in a decision of which the significance has been too little recognized, has extended not only technical assistance but also substantial financial aid to the MNR government as the representative of the majority of the Bolivian people—in an amount of some \$20 million a year.

Bolivia continues to face extremely difficult financial, economic, and political problems, and the Communists are actively engaged in attempting to subvert the revolution to their purposes. Last December the MNR newspaper, *La Nación*, protested the subversive activities of Cuban diplomats in Bolivia and declared that their pretension to act as "mentors of the Bolivian revolution" was inadmissible. Bolivia has so far succeeded in maintaining control of its own revolution.

Both Mexico and Bolivia have experienced the violence and tragedy of social revolution, its waste of human and economic resources, its immediately destructive effect on the gross national product, and its initial inhibition of rationality in constructive endeavors of many kinds. We deplore violence as a method of social change, but we have in our history and makeup enough of the revolu-

² For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

tionary to sympathize with some of the popular aspirations that lead to revolution. Hence the widespread sympathy that Castro enjoyed in the United States when he was a rebel in the Sierra Maestra.

Sovietized Social Revolution: Cuba

This brings us to the *third* type of revolution, that which is portrayed and portended in Cuba today. It is unique, so far, in the hemisphere and so new that we have to coin a label for it. I suggest, the "Sovietized social revolution."

As in Mexico and Bolivia, the Cuban revolution was made possible by economic and social inequities that made Castro's promises attractive and inspiring to many Cubans and evoked widespread sympathy throughout Latin America and in the United States. We extended to Castro a hand of friendship. We sent to Habana one of our best ambassadors [Philip W. Bonsal], a man known for his understanding of Latin America and his love of democracy, and Castro refused to deal with him. We received Castro in the United States. Castro's advisers let us know that he wanted no United States assistance.

Whether Castro was a Communist all along, or whether he has become their puppet after his victory, what is apparent is that he has been leading his people into the Communist camp. He has deliberately attempted to destroy the initially vast reservoirs of United States good will for the Cuban revolution and Cuba's friendship for the United States. Early in 1959 his followers began the chant that has since become a national refrain, "Cuba si, Yankee no." He has invoked the full magic of the word "revolution" to sanctify communism by declaring that to be "anti-Communist" was to be "counterrevolutionary." He has betrayed not only Cuban-American friendship but also many of his fellow non-Communist revolutionaries. Men of the July 26 Movement who fought with him in the Sierra have been nullified, imprisoned, exiled, or killed. Castro celebrated the second anniversary of his initially Cuban revolution in the company and with the resounding benedictions of Russian and Chinese Communists.

International communism views the force of change in the other Latin American nations as the potential source of new revolutions with

which to destroy existing governments and institutions for its own objectives. It has found in Fidel Castro a most effective instrument for this attack. Last May Khrushchev welcomed

. . . the events in Cuba where the people proudly and courageously rose up under the banner for the struggle for their independence. I am convinced that other Latin American countries also will rise up in the struggle.

Two months later Fidel Castro faithfully echoed,

We promise to make our nation the example that can convert the Cordillera of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the American continent.

Castro's righthand man, Che Guevarra, has to this end written a widely circulated little book on guerrilla warfare, and Cuba has imported shiploads of Russian and other bloc armaments, which it paraded on the second anniversary of its revolution, vastly in excess of its needs for self-defense.

Castro's agents are busy peddling international communism throughout Latin America, and his diplomats have been so flagrantly active along this line that six Latin American countries have suspended or broken diplomatic relations and three have recalled their ambassadors from Habana.

But Castro is still regarded by many in Latin America as a Robin Hood who takes from the rich and gives to the poor. Many still view him as a true Latin American revolutionary. They do not realize he has betrayed the Cuban revolution into the hands of foreigners. They do not realize that the benefits that he has been able to produce through the revolution for some Cubans have been largely financed by the one-time expedient of confiscating properties and defaulting on debts totaling hundreds of millions of dollars and at the cost of damaging Cuba's economic productive capacity. Many believe in *Fidelismo* because to them it represents, however mistakenly, a life of less hardship and more dignity.

This revolution was successfully fought by Cubans against Cubans for internal goals. Then it was captured by foreign-directed Communists and converted into a weapon against the whole inter-American system. In Cuba the Communists have demonstrated their ability to take over, to "Sovietize," a social revolution and through it the powers of government so as to deny that nation friendship with us and to affirm its dependence on international communism.

A Hope: The Act of Bogotá

But, if there is a new danger, there is also a new hope.

On September 12, 1960, at Bogotá, the Foreign Ministers of the American states met in the third meeting of the Special Committee To Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Development, the so-called Committee of 21. By a vote of 19 to 0 (the Dominican Republic absent and Cuba abstaining) they approved the Act of Bogotá,³ which is a radically new step in the American states' formal and multilateral approach to their fundamental problems.

The Act of Bogotá's relevance to the new danger was made eloquently explicit by Mr. Douglas Dillon, then Under Secretary of State and now Secretary of the Treasury:⁴

... we can, if we will, launch a far-reaching attack on the poverty, ignorance, and lack of social justice which, even in this 20th-century world of miraculous technical progress, still oppress so many of our fellow citizens in Latin America.

There are those in the world today who are trying to take advantage of this situation for their own selfish ends. . . .

Our fundamental task here at Bogotá is nothing more than to outline the route by which the people of the Americas can achieve the material progress they desire without any sacrifice of fundamental human rights and freedoms. . . . we can . . . give a powerful impetus to constructive forces of domestic action and international cooperation working hand in hand to promote the common objective of the economic and social advancement of our peoples today.

The act emphasizes both economic and social development. Now we cannot claim novelty for emphasis on *economic* development, which had in fact long been emphasized and widely practiced by the governments and private enterprise of our hemisphere. For example, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had authorized over \$1 billion in loans for Latin America, and the Export-Import Bank well over \$3 billion for roads, industrial plants, hydroelectric projects, and other forms of economic development. We have recently seen the great new copper mine, Toquepala, appear in the barren mountains of southern Peru, with a smelter near the little O. Henry-type port of Ilo, financed by

over \$100 million of Export-Import Bank credit and \$135 million of United States private investment. In Chile the steel plant of Huachipato represents the combined investments of the U.S. Government, the Chilean Government, and Chilean private enterprise.

Such economic development provides employment and raises the national income. As urged in the third recommendation of the Act of Bogotá, it must be expanded. It is essential, but it is not enough. One measure of a country's economic development is average income per capita. Pre-Castro Cuba was in this respect among the highest in the hemisphere, but Castro came, and won, and brought in the Sovietized social revolution. Why? Basically because of the disparities in the distribution of existing income (which economic development had hardly changed and its indices had hardly measured), because of the reaction of the underprivileged to this contrast, and because of their urgent hopes for social justice and adequate opportunities.

The preamble of the Act of Bogotá recognizes that:

... economic development programs, which should be urgently strengthened and expanded, may have a delayed effect on social welfare, and that accordingly early measures are needed to cope with social needs. . . .

What kind of measures? The preamble asserts—with a candor we hope will be incandescent:

... That the success of a cooperative program of economic and social progress will require maximum self-help efforts on the part of the American republics and, in many cases, the improvement of existing institutions and practices, particularly in the fields of taxation, the ownership and use of land, education and training, health and housing. . . .

As we study this act, we could call it the "act with a view" because in its repetitive use of the seemingly innocuous little phrase "with a view" it asks the signatory powers to focus on and move toward startling vistas of social change. It recommends the examination of land tenure legislation and facilities *with a view* to insuring a wider and more equitable distribution of land ownership, of agricultural credit institutions *with a view* to providing adequate financing for farmers, of tax systems *with a view* to assuring equity of taxation and encouraging improved use of privately owned land that is idle.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1960, p. 537.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

New Partnership Between Latin America and U.S.

As we study the act further we realize that it proposes a partnership between the Latin American nations and the United States. Whereas the preamble emphasizes maximum self-help efforts on the part of the American Republics in social development, section II welcomes the decision of the United States to establish a special inter-American fund for social development. This is the \$500 million that the last Congress authorized and the administration is asking the present Congress to appropriate. The Act of Bogotá thus provides for the first social development program that the American nations have formally and jointly approved.

Latin American nations and the United States had already made many efforts in the spirit of the Act of Bogotá. In July 1960, for instance, the United States announced lines of credit of about \$50 million for Peru⁵ and \$70 million for Colombia in which the governments of those countries would participate with the Development Loan Fund and the International Cooperation Administration to develop new lands for agricultural settlement and savings and loan associations to stimulate the construction of low-priced housing on reasonable terms. For some time our ICA has been working with the Governments of Chile and Guatemala in community self-help housing projects. But the need is still vast.

The Communists, it should be noted, have established a record of combating any steps toward greater benefits that they cannot control. We have reason to believe, for example, that in Bolivia they inspired physical violence against agents of the Bolivian-United States supervised credit program, forcing it out of some towns where it was extending credit at low cost to farmers that needed it; that in Ecuador the Communist Party fears that President [José María] Velasco [Ibarra] may be able to carry out successful land reform and has therefore determined to sabotage the Government's efforts by all means possible. The promise of land is communism's greatest weapon, but the ownership of land is its greatest fear.

The act does not define "social development," but I interpret it to mean investment of money and effort in those neglected fields of economic activity that are poor in present financial investment

and potential profit but rich in unused human resources—investment in the small farmer who lacks credit, in the homeless family that wants to build a house, in the children and the many adults who have never had the chance to learn to read.

The Act of Bogotá provides for a *partnership for progress* between the Latin American nations and the United States. This new partnership will demand of each partner the talents and contributions that he is most fitted to give. Of the United States it will demand technical assistance and financial contributions, handled with imagination, flexibility, speed, and understanding. Of the Latin American governments it will demand social measures in taxation, land, housing, and education of the type viewed in the Act of Bogotá. In this framework Latin American students, intellectuals, businessmen, democratic farm and labor organizations, and democratic political parties can provide the initiative and the creative drive without which governmental measures would be empty gestures. No one partner acting alone can make this partnership successful. Any United States contribution would be wasted without social development measures by the Latin American nations, and such measures could, on the other hand, fail for lack of adequate support and technical expertise.

One essential characteristic of this partnership must be emphasized—its place of business, its fruition, must be in Latin America. The struggle could be lost in Washington but can only be won in Latin America itself.

Change is confronting Latin America with choice—urgent and inescapable—not just between the Communist bloc and the United States but between Communist domination and independence. The Latin American nations could forfeit freedom by default. They could permit their peoples' rising aspirations to be exploited by international communism in its drive to acquire satellite states and subject peoples. Or Latin America could, with free-world methods, convert the forces of change into strength—strength to promote the welfare of its people and protect the independence of its nations. The Act of Bogotá, the "act with a view," points the way. Latin America has great democratic leaders and political parties and peoples who have proved their

⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1960, p. 346.

love of country. The effort will be great, but I am confident that they and we together will convert the Act of Bogotá into constructive action.

President Asks Brazil's Cooperation To Reinvigorate Unity of Americas

White House press release dated January 31

The White House on January 31 made public the following telegrams from President Kennedy to President Janio da Silva Quadros of Brazil and to the former President of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek.

President Kennedy to Mr. Quadros

JANUARY 27, 1961

His Excellency
JANIO DA SILVA QUADROS
*President-elect of the Republic of the United States of Brazil
Brasilia, Brazil*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On the occasion of Your Excellency's inauguration as Chief Executive of our friendly neighbor and wartime ally, the United States of Brazil, I extend to you my warmest personal congratulations and the most sincere good wishes of the people of the United States of America.

Once in twenty years presidential inaugurations in your country and mine occur within days of each other. This year of 1961 is signalized by that happy coincidence. At this time, each of us assumes challenging duties for which he has been freely chosen by his fellow citizens. To each of us is entrusted the heavy responsibility of guiding the affairs of a democratic nation founded on Christian ideals and aspiring to common goals of peace and human betterment.

It is my earnest wish, Mr. President, to fortify the spirit of cooperation and mutual esteem which has always marked relations between our countries. In that spirit, let us work together to reinvigorate the alliance of American Republics, recognizing the magnitude of the tasks we face, and confident in the strength of the heritage we share.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

President Kennedy to Mr. Kubitschek

JANUARY 29, 1961

His Excellency
JUSCELINO KUBITSCHKE DE OLIVEIRA
*President of the Republic of the United States of Brazil
Brasilia, Brazil*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I welcome the thoughtful message¹ which you sent to me on the occasion of my inauguration, not only because of the constructive and friendly spirit which motivates your comments, but also because I share Your Excellency's deep concern for the social, political, and economic well-being of the peoples of our hemisphere. One of the cardinal objectives of my administration will be the association of the United States with the peoples of Latin America in a common effort to improve the lives of our peoples under the reign of liberty.

May I take this opportunity, Mr. President, to extend to you, as you leave the high office in which you have so faithfully served your country, my personal best wishes and those of the people and government of the United States of America, for your continued health and prosperity.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Mr. Voorhees Resigns; Mr. Ribicoff To Coordinate Cuban Refugee Program

Following are the texts of letters from President Kennedy to Tracy S. Voorhees accepting his resignation as the President's representative for the Cuban refugee problem and to Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, directing him to coordinate the activities of Federal agencies in this field.

THE PRESIDENT TO MR. VOORHEES

White House press release dated January 27

JANUARY 27, 1961

DEAR MR. VOORHEES: I want to express the grateful appreciation of this government and myself for the energetic service you have given to help meet the very serious Cuban refugees needs

¹ Not printed.

confronting this country in recent months.¹ Urgent individual wants have been met, and the cause of humanity sustained and strengthened by your prompt mobilizing of public and private resources to assist those driven from their homes in Cuba.

I believe that the work which you undertook in the initial stages of this problem can now best be augmented by bringing to bear the vast welfare, health, and other skills available in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under Secretary Ribicoff's direction, and by his coordinating, as a member of my Cabinet, the activities of other Federal agencies in this field. I know you will give your full personal cooperation to Secretary Ribicoff to help him undertake these new responsibilities.

With grateful thanks, I accept the resignation which you have submitted, to be effective February 1.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The Honorable TRACY S. VOORHEES
The White House
Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT TO SECRETARY RIBICOFF

White House press release dated January 26

JANUARY 27, 1961

The Honorable ABRAHAM RIBICOFF
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I want you to undertake responsibility, effective February 1, for directing the Cuban refugee activities now being conducted by the Executive branch of the Federal Government, and to make an on-the-scene investigation of the problem within the next week as my personal representative.

I want you to make concrete my concern and sympathy for those who have been forced from their homes in Cuba, and to assure them that we shall seek to expedite their voluntary return as soon as conditions there facilitate that. I believe

¹For texts of Mr. Voorhees' interim and final reports on the Cuban refugee problem, see BULLETIN of Jan. 9, 1961, p. 45, and Feb. 13, 1961, p. 219.

that the present program can best be strengthened by directly bringing to bear your personal leadership and the vast welfare, health, and other skills of your Department. I am anxious that you make use of private services available for the refugees to the greatest extent possible.

Both here at home and abroad, I want to re-emphasize most strongly the tradition of the United States as a humanitarian sanctuary, and the many times it has extended its hand and material help to those who are "exiles for conscience's sake." In the presently troubled world, we cannot be a peacemaker if we are not also the protector of those individuals as well as nations who cast with us their personal liberty and hopes for the future.

Immediate action should be taken to assure no interruption in present services for the refugees. I also want your consideration of the use of surplus U.S. foods if needed for them, and possible utilization of the many qualified physicians and other professionally or technically qualified refugees.

In undertaking the task given here, you should coordinate activities in this field with the Secretaries of State, Defense, Labor, and Agriculture, and with the heads of other relevant agencies. Under previous arrangements, funds have already been made available to meet such immediate expenditure as will be requested by you of the Department of State, Department of Defense, or other appropriate agency whose participation in this program of emergency assistance to Cuban refugees you may find essential.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

U.S. Queries Soviet Union on 11 Missing Airmen

Press release 48 dated February 2

On January 18, 1961, the American Ambassador at Moscow, Llewellyn E. Thompson, delivered to the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., V. V. Kuznetsov, a note referring to an article contained in the January 15 issue of the Soviet magazine "Ogonyok," which states that 11 members of the crew of an American aircraft parachuted onto Soviet territory on September 2, 1958, and were captured in the vicinity of

Yerevan, in Soviet Armenia. The men were members of the crew of an unarmed U.S. Air Force C-130 transport which was attacked by Soviet fighter aircraft in the vicinity of the Turkish-Soviet border on September 2, 1958, and subsequently crashed in Soviet Armenia.¹ On January 25, 1961, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered to the American Embassy at Moscow a reply to the U.S. note of January 18. Following are the texts of the U.S. and Soviet notes.

U.S. NOTE OF JANUARY 18

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor, on instruction of its Government, to communicate the following.

The attention of the United States Government has been drawn to the publication in the January 15 issue of the Soviet publication "Ogonyok" of an article by Wolfgang Schreyer in which the following statement is made with regard to the shooting down of a United States airplane over Soviet Armenia on September 2, 1958:

Shortly after the announcement of this disgraceful sentence,² on September 2, 1958, a spy plane was shot down over the territory of the Armenian S.S.R. and burned in the mountains. It was exactly such as the students described: equipped with radar and special apparatus for radio interception. It was a heavy aircraft. On board, there were seventeen persons. The plane was based in Turkey. Since the Americans thought that the Soviet Union did not have any evidence of the spy character of this flight, they, as usual in such cases, tried to present the affair in a distorted light.

The State Department of John F. Dulles even summoned up the insolence to deliver a note in which it accused the Russian pilots of "deliberate enticement" of the American plane onto Soviet territory, and of "savage reprisal on an innocent aircraft." But the Soviet Government exposed the falsifiers with annihilating facts: even before pursuit in the air of the intruding American plane was undertaken, eleven of the seventeen members of its crew were parachuted onto Soviet territory; they were captured in the vicinity of Yerevan.

As the Ministry knows, the United States Government has repeatedly requested the Soviet Gov-

ernment to furnish information concerning the eleven men who were unaccounted for after the shooting down of the C-130 aircraft, and the Soviet Government has repeatedly denied that it had any information about the fate of these men.

In view of the fact that the magazine "Ogonyok", which is a product of the Pravda Publishing House, as a matter of practice bears the indication that it has been authorized for publication—in the present instance, authorized for publication on January 11, 1961—and having in mind the existence of an organ of government subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the USSR known as the Main Administration for Safeguarding Military and State Secrets in the Press, the United States Government cannot fail to ascribe importance to the information contained in issue No. 3 of "Ogonyok" of January 15.

If the eleven men to whom reference is made are presently in the Soviet Union, in custody or otherwise, the United States Government expects that the Embassy will be granted immediate access to them. The United States Government further will expect their return without delay to United States authorities. In the meantime, the United States Government expects to be informed immediately of the welfare and whereabouts of these men in order that their families may be notified.

SOVIET NOTE OF JANUARY 25

No. 14/OSA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in connection with the Embassy's note No. 703 of January 18, 1961, considers it necessary to state the following.

The Soviet Government at the time transmitted to the United States Government the exhaustive information which it possessed about the circumstances of the crash of an American C-130 aircraft on Soviet territory 55 kilometers northwest of the city of Yerevan, and has nothing to add to that information.

Concerning the references contained in the Embassy's note to an article by the German writer W. Schreyer in the magazine "Ogonyok", according to facts transmitted to the Ministry by the Editorial Collegium of the magazine "Ogonyok", this article by W. Schreyer was republished from the magazine "Neue Berliner Illustrierte", published in the German Democratic Republic, and an incorrect presentation of the facts concerning the C-130 aircraft was committed by the author of this article.

Naturally, the Soviet Government cannot take any responsibility for this sort of publication.

JANUARY 25, 1961.

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 23, 1959, p. 262.

² This is a reference to the trial and sentencing by the United Kingdom in 1958 of three British students for activities in violation of the Official Secrets Act (*Isis* case).

The Challenge of Africa to the American Citizen

Remarks by G. Mennen Williams

*Assistant Secretary-designate for African Affairs*¹

In his stirring inaugural address,² President Kennedy reminded us:

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. . . . I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. . . .

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

Tonight I would like to review President Kennedy's challenge with you as I see it from where I sit as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs-designate.

First of all let me say that I sincerely believe that the African challenge to the world is, as President Kennedy said in appointing me, "second to none." The kind of world you and I know and believe in may well prosper or decline according to whether the people of Africa have the opportunity to enjoy the blessings of freedom and the more abundant life now so fervently sought by them.

The challenge of Africa to our sense of brotherly love and human dignity is likewise a challenge to our perception of our own self-interest and sense of survival. Africa today, at what for us is a late hour in history, is consumed by a hunger for freedom, for human dignity, and for the good things of this world. Everything takes color from this. America has stature with these peoples because of our own great Revolution and for our espousal of human dignity and self-determination. But America suffers when there is any appearance

that we are somehow supporting colonialism and when we fail at home to support our philosophy of human dignity.

What can we do for our country with respect to the great revolution that is sweeping over the continent of Africa as it seeks to bridge several centuries in the march of human freedom and in some instances a millennium or more in the economic life of its people?

Tonight I would like to suggest that there are four things that each of us can do for our country to help Africa establish itself in freedom:

1. Know Africa and the Africans so that we may better support our Government in effective policies and programs for Africa.
2. Make the United States a hospitable host for our African visitors.
3. Accelerate our progress in seeing that we have no second-class citizens in America.
4. Encourage every American city to adopt an African city.

Know Africa

If America is to be the friend to Africa that most of us want it to be, we must understand the nations and peoples of that vast continent and help them to know us better. For too long most of Africa has truly been a Dark Continent to most Americans.

Yet Africa by its very geographic mass commands attention. It is the second largest continent, one-fifth of the land surface of the earth. It is as large as the United States, Western Europe, India, and China put together. In Africa there live about 220 million people, speaking somewhere between 600 to 800 languages. In the northeast, in Egypt, its cultural heritage can be traced back to the very cradle of human civiliza-

¹ Made at the Roosevelt Day dinner sponsored by the Philadelphia Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action at Philadelphia, Pa., on Jan. 30 (press release 41). Mr. Williams was sworn in as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs on Feb. 1.

² BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

tion. In the lofty mountains of Ethiopia lives a people independent since ancient times. Elsewhere in the continent there is a rediscovery of old kingdoms and cultures whose influences still enrich the lives of the African peoples.

Africa's resources have exceptional promise. The continent produces about 98 percent of all diamonds, 55 percent of gold, 22 percent of copper, and has rich stores of industrially useful minerals such as bauxite, uranium, and oil. Yet with these riches, great areas of the land are not arable and the continent as a whole is not self-sustaining in foodstuffs.

But although these are important indices of Africa, our attention is drawn above all to the life and movement of the African peoples, and here the theme is freedom. Until recent years only Liberia and Ethiopia were independent, and Ethiopia lost her freedom for a time. Today, however, there are 27 independent countries in Africa (including the Malagasy Republic), and 17 of these achieved their independence last year. These 27 nations make up better than one-fourth of the U.N. General Assembly. I need hardly observe that this emergence of new African nations has literally changed the shape of the political world in which we live.

Like our own Revolutionary America, these new nations want most of all to be free to develop their own institutions. We welcomed the loans and help we got from Europe, but the last thing we wanted was to be brought again under alien rule. So, too, with Africa, where there is a compelling desire to develop a distinctly African "personality." From this it follows that few Africans are interested in the cold war, least of all being forced to choose sides. The peoples of Africa prize independence as the doorway into the larger world in which they can find their own self-expression and national development.

It was to this central truth that President Kennedy, during the election campaign, addressed himself. He said:

We want an Africa which is made up of a community of stable and independent governments . . . where men are given the opportunity to choose their own national course, free from the dictates or coercion of any other country.

It is along this line of sight that we must look at what is happening in Africa if we would un-

derstand its peoples and develop friendly and constructive relationships with them.

Make the United States a Hospitable Host

People from these new African countries come to America in two general capacities—as traveling dignitaries or as students. In either case we can offer them our best help and in so doing perform a true service to our country. It is up to us to extend to them the welcome we would wish to receive were we visiting their countries. I have experienced African hospitality, and I can assure you that we shall be hard pressed to match it.

Occasionally a visiting African dignitary is not received here as he should be. While I am sure this audience here tonight possesses the understanding and sensitivity to know whereof I speak, I just want to emphasize that one untoward incident can undo a world of good.

So I suggest that each one of us make a special effort whenever we can assist in the entertainment of our African visitors. We have much to offer to the world, but we must begin at home.

The African students who come to study in our schools are, in truth, the future leaders of their countries. They have come here to learn, to equip themselves for service to their governments, their industries, their farms, their schools, and to the families they will guide. Let us be sure they know America as it really is, not without blemishes but yet a source of strength to free minds and dedicated spirits.

I can testify that our efforts to realize these aims are not lost on other peoples. I am thinking of the time when I was sitting in a restaurant in Beirut, in Lebanon, when a Ghana delegation walked up and asked to be introduced. These were people who wished to assure me of their appreciation of the international student days I had sponsored at the capital in Michigan. They had not forgotten.

Civil Rights in America

American policy is hampered in Africa, as it is in almost every part of the world, by our failures to live up to giving first-class citizenship to every American. I'm not going to elaborate on this because it is too obvious to everyone.

All I am going to say is that every American can help see that a better job is done in this re-

gard wherever he lives—and you can help right here in Philadelphia, as I know I can in Michigan and now in Washington.

American Cities To Adopt African Cities

In the final analysis dignity is a personal thing, and so is friendship.

I suppose we could pour billions of dollars of aid into Africa or anywhere else and still fail in our desire to elevate human dignity and promote brotherhood. There is no point in expecting our African friends to jump through so many hoops to get aid that they will exhaust the good will which we presently can claim. I strongly believe that real personal respect and the implementation of that feeling can go a long way toward communicating a sense of personal dignity.

All of which causes one to wonder whether it would not be a service to our country and Africa if a number of our American cities were to choose a sister city in Africa and exchange expressions of interest by visits back and forth, by cultural exchanges, and the like.

Just think what the impact would be if a group of Philadelphia high school youngsters visited some African city on a good-will trip—perhaps a glee club, perhaps a marching band, or an athletic group. Of course there would be more formal events, such as an exchange of visits by mayors and city officials.

This would be a person-to-person recognition of human values and importance that would make national and international values and policies more meaningful. I do honestly think we could promote understanding and friendship in this among other ways.

I commend to you, then, these four points and ask of you that you consider them in the spirit of the President's inaugural. Our standing in Africa is in your hands, the hands of an enlightened American citizenry.

Danish Prime Minister Visits United States February 11–19

Press release 47 dated February 2

The Prime Minister of Denmark, Viggo Kampmann, will visit the United States February 11 to 19. Although the Prime Minister will make an

informal visit to Washington briefly for calls on the new administration, the principal purpose of his trip to the United States will be to open "The Arts of Denmark" exhibition in Chicago.

Prime Minister Kampmann will arrive at New York on February 11. The next day he will visit with officials of the Mystic Marine Historical Association, Mystic, Conn., to discuss the possibility of a Danish sea exhibition there. On February 13 the Prime Minister will be the guest of honor at a luncheon at New York sponsored by the Danish-American Society. He will tour the United Nations in the afternoon.

The Danish Head of Government will visit Washington on February 14, where he will call on President Kennedy and will be given a luncheon at the Presidential Guest House by Secretary Rusk. Prime Minister Kampmann leaves the next day for Chicago, where on February 16 he will officially open "The Arts of Denmark" exhibition, which recently moved there from New York. He is expected to visit San Francisco before leaving the United States for home on February 19.

Prime Minister Kampmann was asked by King Frederik IX to reconstitute the Government of Denmark approximately 1 year ago following the death of H. C. Hansen, former Prime Minister. Mr. Kampmann later formed a new coalition government following the Danish general elections of November 1960. Prior to taking over as Head of Government he had served as Finance Minister in addition to other positions of responsibility in Denmark.

President Kennedy Replies to Message From President of Indonesia

White House press release dated January 28

The White House on January 28 made public the following exchange of telegrams between President Kennedy and President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia.

President Kennedy to President Sukarno

JANUARY 27, 1961

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I deeply appreciate your thoughtful message of congratulations and kind wishes on the occasion of my inauguration as President of the United States of America. I am

extremely anxious that the friendly relations between our countries will continue to prosper. In mutual understanding and cooperation and with the help of God, we and our countries can work together for the achievement of peace.

With every good wish for Your Excellency and for the people of Indonesia,

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

His Excellency

DR. SUKARNO,

President of the Republic of Indonesia,

Djakarta

President Sukarno to President Kennedy

JANUARY 21, 1961

THE PRESIDENT

The White House

Washington

YOUR EXCELLENCY: The people and government of the Republic of Indonesia join me in conveying our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of Your Excellency's inauguration as President of the United States of America. I am confident that under Your Excellency's able and vigorous leadership the people of the United States will enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity and may God Almighty guide Your Excellency in the enormous task that Your Excellency is about to shoulder. I am convinced that cordial relations and warm understanding between our two countries will continue to prosper and may both our governments cooperate closely together toward the realization of world peace.

SUKARNO

President of the Republic of Indonesia

Mohandas K. Gandhi Honored as "Champion of Liberty"

*Remarks by Secretary Rusk*¹

Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Postmaster General, Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen: The man we honor today spoke briefly and simply, and I shall try to do the same. We are gathered here today on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of India's Republic Day to do honor to the memory of Mohandas K. Gandhi through the issuance of "Champion of Liberty" postage stamps bearing his likeness. For the first time as Secretary of

¹Made at a ceremony dedicating the Mohandas K. Gandhi "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp at Washington, D.C., on Jan. 26 (press release 39 dated Jan. 30).

State I am privileged to participate in a ceremony honoring a great hero and patriot of a sister nation. One of the unforgettable evenings in my own life was an evening spent with a few dozen undergraduates at Oxford in company with this great spirit. The memory of the nobility and long-suffering patience of Gandhi will live forever. His clear vision, untiring efforts, and perseverance brought independence and liberty to India, establishing it as a respected member of the world community of nations.

India and the United States have much in common. They are the two most populous democracies in the world. Both countries hold infinite respect for the dignity of the individual, and both are composed of many different ethnic groups. As Gandhi once said, "I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house. . . . It has room for the least of God's creations." This we believe also, and we wish to work with the peoples of India for the betterment of mankind.

We are grateful to India for this great contribution to all of mankind throughout the world.

U.S. Comments on Change in Rate of Exchange for Korean Hwan

Statement by Under Secretary Ball

Press release 49 dated February 2

In announcing a major reform of its exchange system the Republic of Korea has taken a big step forward in the march toward establishment of a sound economy. This step should remove some of the obstacles to economic growth, encourage productive enterprise, expand foreign trade, and hasten economic and social development. This concrete example of the determination of the Korean Government and people to cope courageously with difficult economic problems is gratifying to friends of the new Republic everywhere.

For the United States this is, of course, a matter of special satisfaction in view of the close ties that have existed between the two countries, dating from the founding of the Republic and progressing through the repulse of the Communist invaders and the subsequent rehabilitation of the war-ravaged country. The interest and concern of the United States in Korea's continued progress are as strong today as during the trials of war

and reconstruction. In that crucial period United States lives and resources merged with the sacrifices of the Korean people. Now, after a political overturn in Korea and the establishment of a new government dedicated to democratic ideals and economic reform, we reaffirm our continued participation in the joint task of attaining our mutual objectives in Korea.

To this end the United States is now considering the extension of additional grants that may prove necessary in meeting special short-term re-

quirements which may arise in connection with the new exchange system and other economic measures which the Korean Government plans to undertake in order to assure fullest utilization of both domestic and aid resources. There is every reason to anticipate that the positive attitude of Prime Minister Chang Myon's administration toward Korea's economic problems will lead to a more effective utilization of Korea's natural and human resources and result in improved living standards and a brighter future for the Korean people.

Some Aspects of U.S. Foreign Trade Policy

by Theodore J. Hadraba

*Director, Office of International Trade*¹

Progressively over the years there has been a genuine, stepped-up interest among American business executives in international affairs, particularly international economic affairs. Quite naturally this interest has long existed among business groups which have had a major stake in business with foreign countries. But it would be my observation that never before has there been such widespread interest in foreign economic relations among our business executives. This seems to mean that, irrespective of how indirect the effects of foreign trade may be on a particular American concern, its management has come to realize that these effects must be taken into account now and, more particularly, must be part and parcel of executive thinking and forward planning. I would like to hope that my remarks on some aspects of U.S. foreign trade policy may prove of some interest to you.

The fundamental objective of our foreign economic policy, to which our foreign trade interests are securely tied, is straightforward and simple. It has been and continues to be to promote the security and well-being of the United States and

its people. For many years the United States has acted on the conviction that this objective can best be achieved under a system of nondiscriminatory multilateral trade and payments, freed of governmental restrictions to the extent possible. There are three basic reasons for this.

First, the liberal trade policy of the United States is consistent with and accurately reflects our general political philosophy that that government is best which governs least—that government interference in our economic life should be limited. There is no need for me to elaborate this proposition here.

Second, our trade policy promotes the economic strength of the United States.

Third, it promotes the economic strength, stability, and unity of the free world.

The contribution of exports to United States economic strength is clear. It provides employment, lowers costs of production and prices, and adds to profits. In the immediate past U.S. merchandise exports have been running at a rate close to \$20 billion per year. Some idea of what this means can be seen from the fact that it is three times the value of our production of automobiles and automotive equipment and almost equal to the value of our farm production.

¹ Address made at Lake Arrowhead, Calif., on Jan. 30 before the University of California at Los Angeles Executive Education Program.

Many U.S. industries depend heavily on large foreign sales. For example, 40 percent of the domestic output of certain tractors are exported.

Let us turn now to imports. They also have an important role to play in the U.S. economy. First of all, imports provide the basis for financing our exports. Without imports there could be no exports. Many countries rely much more heavily on exports than we do as a source of national earnings.

The United States depends heavily on imports of a large number of basic materials. For example, one-fourth of our iron ore, one-third of our copper and rubber, and the great bulk of our tin, nickel, and newsprint must come from abroad. These items are essential to keep the factory wheels turning and the assembly lines moving in America today.

Imports also play an important role in keeping inflationary pressures under control. Can you imagine what an automobile would cost if we had to find domestic substitutes for all the imported raw materials? The availability of finished products from abroad also keeps our prices down.

Foreign competition is generally a stimulant. Admittedly at times, in certain instances, it may be painful. But by and large it helps to keep American producers and designers on their toes, helps to keep our economy dynamic, and helps to keep our prices in line.

Finally, lest we forget, imports give the American consumer a break. He can choose from a wider variety of goods than are available from only domestic producers. He can take advantage of imports when "the price is right." And, in the last analysis, the test of an economic policy must be its impact on the consumer, on real wages, on America's real standard of living. In our economy the consumer is boss. He makes the decisions. In this our system differs from Mr. Khrushchev's.

In sum, without foreign trade the American economy would be much different—much poorer, much less dynamic than it is today.

Objectives of U.S. Economic Policy

Our approach to international economic relations recognizes that tariffs are a legitimate means of domestic protection and that a country may justifiably resort to certain other protective measures in compelling circumstances. It emphasizes,

however, the desirability of the gradual reduction of tariffs; the importance of restraint in, and limitations on, the application of other barriers to trade; and the need to eliminate discriminatory treatment in international commerce. Many other countries share these views with us.

These objectives have a rational basis in both economics and international politics. The political implications of governmental trade restrictions, particularly those of a discriminatory nature, were made clear in the years between the World Wars. Import quotas, exchange controls, multiple-currency devices, bilateral trade arrangements, among others, were both a significant cause of political friction and the instruments of economic disruption.

It was against the background of the bitter experiences of the 1930's that our foreign trade program as we know it today developed. The real forerunner of our present trade agreements legislation is the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, which, as a means of expanding foreign markets for United States products, authorized the negotiation of trade agreements in which existing United States duties—the high rates set in the Tariff Act of 1930—could be reduced by 50 percent in exchange for tariff concessions by other countries. The act authorized the President to enter into such trade agreements with foreign governments without having to refer the negotiated agreements to Congress. The act did stipulate, however, that reasonable public notice should be given of intention to negotiate and that the President should seek information and advice from the various executive agencies and other appropriate sources.

The Congress extended the President's authority under this legislation without substantial change until 1945. During these 11 years we concluded bilateral trade agreements with 29 countries, but by 1945 our bargaining power under the authority granted in the original act had been largely exhausted. In the 1945 renewal of the act, however, the Congress authorized the President to move up to January 1, 1945, the base date upon which the 50 percent tariff reductions were to be computed.

In 1947 the United States engaged in multilateral negotiations with 22 other countries, most of them countries with which we had concluded bilateral trade agreements in the thirties and forties. The results of these negotiations were included in the General Agreement on Tariffs and

Trade, or GATT, which has become the keystone of our foreign trade policy. In the negotiation of the agreement the bargaining with respect to the concessions to be made in the tariffs of the participating countries was conducted between pairs of countries—each country negotiating with each other country with respect to the items of trade in which each was interested. The concessions made by each country as the result of its bilateral negotiations were then consolidated into a single tariff schedule. This agreement, the GATT, is an important development in the history of the trade agreement program.

Role of GATT

With your permission I shall digress here to say a few elaborating words on what the GATT is and what it is not and what it has tried and will try to do. The GATT is essentially a trade agreement which represents obligations and commitments among virtually all of the important trading nations of the world, including, of course, the United States. It developed out of proposals made by the United States after the war 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.

The GATT structure is squarely based on the assumption that international trade within the free world is and should continue to be conducted in the main by private traders operating in response to conditions of supply, demand, and price in a market economy. It is true that GATT recognizes the existence of state-trading in a few of its clauses. But these provisions are an attempt to set standards for the case of state-trading in particular products. And even in such cases the chief standard applied is that government enterprises ought to behave as though they were privately operated.

Despite the technical complexities of the GATT it can be reduced to three basic essentials. First, it consists of tariff schedules or “concessions” which provide the maximum level of the tariffs which member countries (called contracting parties) will apply to their imports from each other. These extremely detailed schedules have been arrived at by a series of multilateral negotiations.

Second, there is a code of agreed rules or “gen-

eral provisions” governing the import and export trade of the contracting parties. While these rules fill many pages of the GATT document, they relate in one way or another to the four main commitments embodied in the General Agreement, (a) the specific agreed ceilings on tariffs, (b) the prohibition against absolute quotas as a normal means of protecting domestic industries, (c) the rule of nondiscrimination in applying trade regulations to imported and exported goods, and (d) the prohibition that internal trade regulations, such as consumption or excise taxes, marketing regulations, and the like, are not to be used as a means of protection against foreign competition.

Third, through periodic meetings of the participating countries, GATT provides a broad international forum for the friendly discussion and settlement of problems of international trade.

One’s reaction may well be at this stage that the GATT is simply the usual reciprocal trade agreement with multilateral effect rather than a series of bilateral compacts between pairs of countries. If the GATT were only a multilateral agreement and nothing more, it is doubtful if much attention would be focused on it. It is the GATT’s institutional arrangements that have given it life and enabled it to serve its member governments effectively in a world of rapid economic transition.

The GATT contains no provisions for a formal international organization such as those found in the Food and Agriculture Organization or in the International Monetary Fund. To be sure, there is a small, compact secretariat in Geneva, whose role is one of assisting and facilitating negotiation and agreement. It serves the needs of the participating governments and is a *de facto* group of their creation and the subject of their collective will.

Since the General Agreement makes no provisions for the usual attributes of international organization, what it does provide is that the Contracting Parties could act collectively in certain specified circumstances, that is to say, they could take action as a group. For example, if a difference of views should arise between governments over the interpretation of any of the provisions of the agreement, an authoritative opinion could be given by a majority vote of the Contracting Parties acting as a body. The GATT provides also

that, if a country should raise a tariff or establish a quota in violation of the agreement, thus damaging or impairing the trade interests of another member, the Contracting Parties as a group could authorize the injured country to take back some of the trade concessions it had granted to the offending country, thus restoring the balance of reciprocal benefits. In addition the Contracting Parties, acting as a group on the basis of a two-thirds vote, could waive the trade obligations which a government has assumed under the agreement if exceptional circumstances seemed to justify such a waiver.

The important thing to note here is that the GATT cannot place a new obligation on any government, nor can it compel any government to change its trade regulations to conform with GATT's opinion. The concept of supranationality finds no expression in the General Agreement and is alien to the GATT tradition of negotiation, reconciliation, and the persuasive power of community opinion. At this stage and against this general background one may well wonder how it can conduct its business to the common advantage of its members.

I should like here to use the words of the Executive Secretary of the GATT [Eric Wyndham-White], who put it very well when he said:

The GATT is an agreement between a number of countries, which are convinced that the rules and restraints of the General Agreement are in the common interest and that these rules should be used as the basis for their mutual trading relationships. Accordingly, the organization itself only begins to act when it is set in motion on the initiative of one of the Contracting States. And even then there is no police action. There is a right of recourse to the community in order to enforce the contract by which all members are bound. This is an important source of strength for the General Agreement, but at the same time it also involves certain weaknesses. I have often heard it said that the GATT is ineffective because this, that or the other country is taking some action which is contrary to the General Agreement but the GATT is doing nothing about it. This is admittedly unsatisfactory. It is obviously a bad thing that any body of law shall come into disrepute by being disregarded with impunity. On the other hand, if any country is affected by a breach of the Agreement it has the means, and, as I shall show later on, effective means, for bringing the country which is in breach before the international community and for seeking the enforcement of the contract. It is, however, a matter of judgment for the other countries which are affected by a breach whether or not they think the occasion is appro-

priate or the objective worthwhile to bring it before the community.

Another astute observer of the GATT mechanism has put it this way:

GATT has been given no municipal powers by its creators, the national governments. It has no mandate to patrol the highways in search of traffic violators. It is up to country X, if it thinks that country Y is acting contrary to GATT's provisions, to bring the matter to GATT for discussion. Only then does GATT take cognizance.

There is hardly a member government of GATT which has not brought one or more trade complaints in the GATT forum or has not had complaints brought against it. In the great majority of these cases the complaints have been settled in a manner satisfactory to the contending parties and also in conformity with GATT's rules. Complaints about Australian fertilizer subsidies, discriminatory internal taxes in Brazil, excessive French import duties, Greek duties on phonograph records, Swedish anti-dumping duties, German potato tariffs—these are a few of the many issues which the GATT machinery has successfully handled. And for each one of these, many more trade quarrels between governments have been quietly disposed of on the side in the knowledge that if necessary the GATT procedures could always be invoked by the complainant in the case.

Today there are 38 contracting parties to the GATT. Three more—Israel, Tunisia, and Switzerland—are in the process of accession, and we expect that several others will negotiate for accession within the coming months. This latter group includes Argentina, Cambodia, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal. Some of these have been participating in the work of the Contracting Parties since last spring. Poland and Yugoslavia have been invited to participate in the work of the Contracting Parties and have entered into a special GATT relationship with many of the contracting parties. Additionally, the Contracting Parties have recommended to individual contracting parties that they continue to apply, on a basis of reciprocity, the General Agreement in their relations with Cyprus and certain African territories which have recently acquired full autonomy in the conduct of their external commercial relations. This recommendation is for 2 years and is intended to afford these countries an opportunity to decide upon their future relations with the GATT. The fact that an additional 27 countries—running alphabetically from Afghanistan to Venezuela—have been represented at recent GATT sessions by observers is an important indication of the expanding recognition of the GATT as the world's multilateral trading framework.

U.S. Participation in Tariff Negotiating Process

Let us return now to our current authority for United States participation in the tariff negotiating process. Congressional extensions of the Trade Agreements Act have usually been for a period of 1 to 3 years, but in 1958 Congress, after a debate of some 8 months, granted a 4-year extension, which was signed by the President on August 20, 1958.² In general this most recent extension of the act permits the President to reduce tariffs existing on July 1, 1958, by 20 percent or by 2 percentage points or to reduce to 50 percent rates in excess of that level. These reductions must be made in stages. The President is also authorized to increase duty rates 50 percent above those in effect on January 1, 1934, rather than those in effect on January 1, 1945, which was previously the case. As the 1934 rates were generally higher than those in effect in 1945, this provision is an added safeguard for American producers.

Pursuant to existing authority we recently embarked on the most complex tariff negotiations in which the United States has ever participated, within the GATT framework at Geneva. We hope to make these negotiations an operation of real worth to the trading interests of our own country, both exporters and importers, and to our GATT trading partners. The preparations for these negotiations have been under way for many months in the interagency trade agreements organization. Procedures have been laid down by law and Executive order to make sure that the trade agreements program produces results in the national interest.

As in the four previous tariff conferences these negotiations have as their objective the reduction of the level of tariff and other import charges. The first phase of the negotiations, which commenced on September 1 and which is currently in progress,³ is principally concerned with negotiations with the Commission of the European Economic Community (more generally known as the Common Market) to establish a new schedule of tariff concessions to replace the existing national schedules of the member states, namely, Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. The second phase,

which we expect will begin in a few weeks, will cover negotiations for an exchange of new tariff concessions among contracting parties, including the Commission of the EEC, and similar negotiations with countries invited to accede to the GATT. With the disappearance of quantitative restrictions imposed for balance-of-payments reasons, which I shall mention later, tariffs stand out as the most important remaining barrier to our access to many foreign markets. We are therefore bargaining for lower customs duties abroad, which will advance the export interests of the United States.

In this connection I would like to call your attention to the fact that various commodities of direct and indirect interest to the industrial and agricultural producers and distributors in this area are included in the list of products on which the United States will consider requesting tariff concessions. This list was issued last May. At the same time the list of articles under consideration for possible tariff concessions by the United States was issued. A supplement to the latter list was issued in November.⁴

Subsequent to such publication the Committee for Reciprocity Information, which has interagency representation and is chaired by the Tariff Commission, has heard interested persons and organizations at public hearings and received written views from them regarding possible tariff concessions which the United States might make in trade agreement negotiations or which it might seek from other countries. The briefs filed by various organizations which speak for industrial, agricultural, and related segments of our economy have been most helpful in assuring us of the real interest of these groups in expanding export markets in a substantial range of commodities. We are grateful for this interest as it helps those of us responsible for submitting recommendations to the President to arrive at an objective and equitable decision as to the concessions we seek and those we offer.

European Economic Community

Let me expand at this point on the subject of the European Economic Community. In this case France, Italy, Benelux [Belgium, Netherlands,

² BULLETIN of Sept. 8, 1958, p. 396.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1960, p. 291, and Sept. 19, 1960, p. 453.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, June 13, 1960, p. 968; July 4, 1960, p. 22; and Dec. 12, 1960, p. 897.

and Luxembourg], and the Federal Republic of Germany recognized the desirability of greater economic interdependence. It was their judgment that the road to strength lay through economic integration. The Community comprises an area of 450,000 square miles with a population of more than 165 million. As the world's largest importer and its second largest exporter, it conducts one-fifth of all international trade and is second only to Canada as a market for United States goods.

As most of you doubtless know, the EEC envisages the stepwise elimination of tariffs and quantitative restrictions in trade among the member states within the next 10 to 15 years at most. During this same period the Community will also arrive by stages at its common external tariff, which was generally fixed by arithmetic averaging of the previous national tariffs. For certain products, however—including some of substantial importance to our trade—the members decided to fix the new rates by negotiation among themselves.

I can assure you that we are very much aware of the importance to our American agricultural, industrial, and other trading interests of a tariff level which will permit our exporters to have continued access to this important trade area. One of our principal objectives at the GATT tariff conference is to negotiate the external tariff downward as much as possible so that the difference between the external and internal tariffs of the Community will be small enough to permit increased American trade.

Under the accelerated implementation of the Rome Treaty agreed upon by the Community last May, internal tariffs within the Community have already been cut by 30 percent, including a 10 percent reduction on January 1. On that date the first step was also taken toward establishing the new common external tariff through increases or decreases, as the case may be, in the tariffs previously collected by the member states.

Of particular interest to us in the acceleration program of the Community is the decision to make a provisional 20 percent reduction in the level of the common external tariff for the purpose of calculating the changes made in the national tariffs on January 1. The permanence of this reduction, according to the Community's announcement, will depend on the extent to which the desire of the EEC for reciprocity is satisfied during the tariff negotiations. We feel that the Community's

20 percent reduction, if it can be made definitive, represents an important contribution to liberal world trade policy.

European Free Trade Association

Another regional economic organization, the European Free Trade Association, was established more recently than the European Economic Community. The EFTA, comprising the United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, and Portugal, is more limited in scope and purpose than the EEC. Under the EFTA convention, tariffs and nontariff barriers among the participating countries are, with certain exceptions, to be eliminated by stages during a transitional period. Each country will, however, retain its own national tariff in imports from outside the EFTA area. Accordingly, in the new tariff negotiations conference the United States will be negotiating separately with EFTA members on the basis of their individual national tariffs. On the other hand, our negotiations with the EEC will be based on the common external tariff, and the Commission of the Community will be the sole negotiator for the member states.

Our current efforts to reduce tariffs to mutual advantage are very much tied to the fact that our export markets are more important to our country today than ever before. We must all make a vigorous effort to sell more American products overseas and thus improve our balance-of-payments picture, create more American jobs, and stimulate the healthy growth of our own and other free economies.

International Economic Situation Today

The international economic situation which confronts us today is completely different from that which existed at the close of World War II. In the immediate postwar period the United States was primarily interested in rebuilding the war-devastated economies of other free nations. With our help the countries of Western Europe were making an organized effort to reconstruct. In the Far East the Japanese, also with our help, were rebuilding their industrial plant. Meanwhile, we were the only large-scale producers of goods for export. American products virtually sold themselves to the extent that other countries were able to pay for them. Our main concern then was the "dollar gap."

We have now entered a new decade and a new trading era. The other industrialized free nations have reconstructed their economies, have rebuilt their monetary reserves, and are competing strongly for world markets. This is a development we should welcome. The early postwar period, when we dominated the free world's economy, was clearly abnormal. Hence, United States policy was directed toward rebuilding the economies of the other countries of the free world. Success in this effort was essential, for a free world in which the United States alone enjoyed economic strength could not long survive. We can take justifiable pride in the resurgent strength of our allies, for we helped to nourish it.

Today, however, the international economic situation has greatly changed. The commercial export surplus of the United States for some years has not covered the foreign exchange costs of maintaining American soldiers, sailors, and airmen overseas, of expanding tourist expenditures, and of the flow of public and private funds abroad for investment and assistance. The result is a large deficit in our overall balance of payments.

In 1958 the deficit amounted to \$3.5 billion. In 1959 it rose to \$3.8 billion. And what about 1960? First, on the basis of figures for the 11-month period January–November, exports were running at an annual rate of \$19.5 billion, which was equal to the peak reached in 1957 and up some 20 percent from the level of 1958 and 1959. Thus, there has been good progress in expanding our exports, covering a very wide range of commodities. With imports at about the same level as in 1959, our net export surplus is accruing at an annual rate of about \$4 billion, exceeded in the past decade only in 1956 and 1957. But primarily because of the movements of short-term capital in the second half of 1960 the overall payments deficit for the year appears to be in the range of the deficit for 1958 and 1959. This is still a larger deficit than we could sustain on a continuing basis. Although there is no cause for alarm, the United States must intensify its efforts to assure reasonable equilibrium in its balance of international payments over the years ahead.

World trade is larger than ever before and continues to expand. Our country must participate in this diversification of trade on a basis which will yield a sufficiently large export surplus to finance our essential overseas military expenditures,

an adequate outflow of private American investment capital, and the relatively small part of the Mutual Security Program which affects our balance of payments. In short, a substantial export surplus has become essential to our national security, to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives, and to our economic prosperity.

Removal of Obstacles to U.S. Exports

Earlier in my remarks I suggested that I would have a few words to say about the disappearance abroad of quantitative restrictions imposed for balance-of-payments reasons. The removal of foreign discriminations against American goods was the essential first step to enlarge our exports. The postwar need for such trade discrimination has now all but disappeared. The financial reserves of our important trading partners have been rebuilt to satisfactory and, in some cases, very high levels. Your Government has accordingly been able to make great progress in removing obstacles to our exports during the past year and a half.⁵ Here are some significant examples:

1. The United Kingdom has narrowed its dollar discrimination to the point where it continues to impose discriminatory controls against the dollar area on only 10 commodities.

2. Discrimination by France against industrial goods from the dollar area is now limited to only one product, although a number of agricultural items are still subject to quantitative restrictions which, in 12 cases, discriminate against the dollar. Furthermore, France took steps in July, September, and December of last year to remove a number of the quantitative controls on imports of industrial commodities.

3. Italy has almost removed discrimination against United States industrial goods. Nevertheless, controls are still maintained on a number of important agricultural items from the dollar area. In view of the high level of Italian gold and dollar reserves, such discrimination is no longer justified. We are exerting every effort, both in direct discussions with the Italian Government and through the GATT, to see that these remaining restrictions are promptly eliminated.

4. The Federal Republic of Germany has removed the great majority of controls from indus-

⁵ For a summary of moves by foreign countries to lift restrictions on U.S. exports, see *ibid.*, May 30, 1960, p. 873.

trial products, although it still maintains rather extensive restrictions on imports of agricultural products, some of which discriminate against the United States. This situation must be improved, and we are continuing our efforts to better it.

5. Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Switzerland have virtually done away with discriminations.

6. Norway has withdrawn 400 commodities from a list of some 700 previously subject to import licenses.

7. Sweden, which retains discriminations on a few agricultural items, has recently enlarged its dollar-import free list.

8. Japan has begun a program of liberalization to be spread out over the next several years. A number of commodities were liberalized in July and in September 1960, and discrimination has almost been eliminated. In view of Japan's rapidly improving financial situation, however, a speedup in its present plans is both justified and required. We are urging on all occasions that Japan accelerate its liberalization program.

9. The Federation of Malaya and the State of Singapore have removed the last remaining import licensing discrimination against regular direct shipments from the dollar area. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has likewise removed the last vestiges of discrimination against dollar imports.

10. Further trade liberalization measures have also been taken by the Governments of Australia, Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Iceland, India, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay.

The effects of this extensive lowering of the bars against American products are already evident in the substantial increase we have seen in our exports in 1960, to which I alluded earlier. Possibly 25 percent of the some \$3 billion improvement in our commercial export-surplus position as against 1959, or \$750 million, can be fairly attributed to increased sales of items which previously had been hampered by discriminatory import restrictions. Progress in the removal of discriminatory restrictions has been slower in the agricultural field than in the industrial sector. In some cases discrimination against the United States has been removed but controls are maintained on imports of agricultural products from

all sources. These restrictions in many cases are the result of deep-rooted political, economic, and social factors in the importing country. Consequently further liberalization is a long and gradual process. You can be sure that your Government will continue unceasing efforts to eliminate the last vestiges of unjustified discrimination and to increase our access to foreign markets.

The extent to which our exporters take advantage of new opportunities opened by the removal of discriminatory restrictions abroad will depend upon how vigorous an effort American business makes to sell its products in world markets against increasingly keen competition. This is a competition which American business should welcome. As the leading proponents of the benefits of a system of free enterprise, our businessmen are now, in their own and in the Nation's interest, called upon to put their principles into practice with greater vigor than ever before. We feel sure they will not be found wanting. To assist them your Government is moving as never before in our history to facilitate exports.

Export Expansion Program

In March of 1960 the President sent a special message to Congress outlining a program developed by the administration providing for Government stimulation of American exports.⁶ The program is a prime example of the interdependence of the public and private sectors. It is expected to help business, at the same time working for the public good.

The President's message initiated new action by the executive branch—especially the Departments of State and Commerce and the Export-Import Bank—to improve and expand Government services to private industry in the development of export trade. It also sought to enlist increasing cooperation between Government and business in finding new markets abroad. The program signals the high priority being given to export expansion in Government policy.

The new features of the Government's program include strengthening of the trade-promotion services of the Department of Commerce, expanded commercial activities of the Foreign Service, increased agricultural trade promotion activities of the Department of Agriculture, establishment of

⁶ For text, see *ibid.*, Apr. 11, 1960, p. 560.

new overseas trade centers, and expanded use of international trade fairs, trade missions, and other means of stimulating the interest of foreign buyers in United States products. The export expansion program as a whole is designed to supply American businessmen with services and facilities comparable to those now available to their competitors in other countries. We seek to provide the tools that will enable small business concerns which have never before exported their products to enter this competitive field with a reasonable chance to make a profit.

If we succeed in our new program of export promotion we will gain benefits going far beyond the improvement we must achieve in our balance of payments. We will benefit agriculture, industry and labor, and the many services which have a direct and indirect interest in expanded trade.

Equally important is the fact that larger American exports will help the countries with which we trade. Our interest in expanding mutually advantageous trade with other nations, particularly in the underdeveloped areas, has far more than commercial implications. The aim of our foreign trade policy should be to develop an international environment favorable to the expansion of international economic and political freedom. Other nations cannot be forced or bribed into adopting our system of economic freedom. Through trading with us they can come to see the advantages of freedom and to choose that way for themselves. We can best influence the conduct of world trade by our own example, by demonstrating through our actions that we rely on free markets to keep us economically strong. That is the best and, in fact, the only way we can build an environment favorable to economic freedom.

Fire Victims in Yemen Receive Emergency Aid

Press release 40 dated January 31

On January 20 a serious fire took place at Hodeida, a port city in Yemen on the Red Sea. Six hundred dwellings were destroyed and an estimated 3,000 residents of the city were left homeless.

At the request of the Government of Yemen the U.S. Government agreed to provide emergency

February 20, 1961

relief assistance to assist the Government of Yemen in caring for those left destitute. As part of the United States aid program to Yemen, 3,000 blankets, 5 tons of dried milk, and 150 tons of wheat and flour are being made available.

The blankets are being flown to Hodeida from a U.S. military depot in France by a U.S. Air Force plane. The dried milk is being flown to Hodeida from CARE stocks now available in Alexandria in the United Arab Republic. The supplies of wheat and flour are already in Yemen as part of the U.S. aid program to that country.

A six-man U.S. Army medical team has also arrived in Hodeida from Asmara, Ethiopia, to assist in relieving the suffering.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

The Northern California District of the Communist Party: Structure—Objectives—Leadership. Hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Part 1, May 12, 1960, 77 pp.; Part 2, May 13, 1960, 82 pp.; Part 3, May 14—June 10, 1960, 121 pp.; Part 4, May 12—June 10, 1960, 199 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 Judiciary Committee. Part 10. Testimony of William D. Pawley. September 2-8, 1960. 58 pp.

Soviet Terrorism in Free Germany. 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 Theodore Hass. September 21, 1960. 39 pp.

Policy Planning for Space Telecommunications. Staff report prepared for the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee. December 4, 1960. 207 pp. [Committee print]

Organizing for National Security: The National Security Council. Study submitted to the Senate Government Operations Committee by its Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery. December 12, 1960. 10 pp. [Committee print]

Agricultural Proposals in the European Economic Community. Study-mission report of Senator Frank Carlson to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. December 16, 1960. 16 pp. [Committee print]

Economic Programs for Labor Surplus Areas in Selected Countries of Western Europe. Materials prepared for the Joint Economic Committee. December 27, 1960. [Joint Committee print]

87th Congress, 1st Session

Text of International Labor Organization Recommendation Adopted at the Forty-first (Maritime) Session of the International Labor Conference at Geneva. Letter from the Assistant Secretary of State transmitting text of ILO Recommendation No. 109. H. Doc. 38. January 3, 1961. 4 pp.

The State of the Union. Message from President Eisenhower. H. Doc. 1. January 12, 1961. 14 pp.

Activities of the Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission. Message from the President transmitting a report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1960. H. Doc. 48. January 12, 1961. 2 pp.

Nomination of Dean Rusk, Secretary of State-Designate. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. January 12, 1961. 38 pp.

Interparliamentary Activities and Reception of Foreign Officials. Report to accompany S. Res. 40. S. Rept. 2. January 13, 1961. 2 pp.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Adjourned During January 1961

2d ICAO Special Limited Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting.	Paris	Jan. 3-24
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Jan. 4-11
FAO Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council: 9th Meeting	Karachi	Jan. 6-23
10th International Conference on Social Work	Rome	Jan. 8-14
ITU Study Group on Mobile Services Manual	Geneva	Jan. 9-13
U.N. ECE Meeting on Labor Productivity Problems	Geneva	Jan. 9-13
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 13th Session of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.	Geneva	Jan. 10-27
IMCO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Rules of Procedure: 3d Meeting	London	Jan. 13 (1 day)
FAO Consultative Subcommittee on the Economic Aspects of Rice: 5th Session.	New Delhi	Jan. 13-23
IMCO Council: 4th Session	London	Jan. 16-20
FAO Technical Advisory Committee on Desert Locust Control: 9th Session.	Rome	Jan. 16-20
Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara: Inter-African Conference on Hydrology.	Nairobi	Jan. 16-26
ILO Tripartite Meeting on Social Consequences of Coal Crisis	Geneva	Jan. 16-26
FAO Emergency Meeting on African Horse Sickness and African Swine Fever.	Paris	Jan. 17-20
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 4th Session	Bangkok	Jan. 17-24

In Session as of January 31, 1961

Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
GATT: 5th Round of Tariff Negotiations	Geneva	Sept. 1-
U.N. General Assembly: 15th Session (recessed Dec. 20, 1960, until Mar. 7, 1961).	New York	Sept. 20-
IAEA Board of Governors: 20th Session	Vienna	Jan. 24-
U.N. ECOSOC Plenipotentiary Conference To Adopt a Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.	New York	Jan. 24-
SEATO Heads of Universities Conference	Karachi	Jan. 25-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 13th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 26-
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: 4th Meeting	Tokyo	Jan. 30-
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: Working Party on Perishable Foodstuffs.	Geneva	Jan. 30-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Jan. 24, 1961. Following is a list of abbreviations: 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; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund.

OAS Recommends Further Economic Action Regarding Dominican Republic

On January 4 the Council of the Organization of American States considered a report by a special committee of the Council which proposed a resolution recommending that the member states suspend exports of certain articles to the Dominican Republic. The resolution was adopted by the Council on January 4 by a vote of 14 to 1, with 6 abstentions. On January 19 the United States notified Fernando Lobo, the Chairman of the OAS Council, of its action pursuant to the Council resolution. Following is a statement made on January 4 by Philip W. Bonsal, U.S. Interim Representative on the Council, together with texts of the special committee's report and the U.S. note.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR BONSALE

The United States was represented on the special committee which prepared the report and the draft resolution now before the Council, and it joined with six of the seven members of that committee in submitting the report and the draft resolution to the Council. The United States delegation plans to vote in favor of the resolution.

The special committee was charged by the Council with the consideration of Resolution I of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics.¹ That meeting decided to apply certain specified measures, namely, the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic and the partial interruption of economic relations with that country beginning with the immediate suspension of trade in arms and war implements of every kind. The resolution further stated that the Council was to study the feasibility and the desirability of extending the suspension in trade to articles in addition to arms, in accordance with the circumstances and with due regard to legal and constitutional limitations of the member states.

The proposal before the Council would, if approved, conclude that it is feasible and desirable for the member states to extend the suspension of their trade with the Dominican Republic to exports to that country of petroleum, petroleum

products, trucks, and spare parts for trucks. The Council would also request the member states to take measures to prevent the reexport of these articles from their territories to the Dominican Republic. The proposal before the Council would thus represent an important step in the carrying out of the mandate assigned to it by the Foreign Ministers.

In the view of the United States delegation it is most important to bear in mind the circumstances under which the Sixth Meeting of Foreign Ministers was convened. That meeting considered a report of the investigating committee demonstrating clearly that the Government of the Dominican Republic had been involved in actions against the Government of Venezuela culminating in an attempt upon the life of the President of Venezuela,² a President democratically elected in accordance with constitutional norms and provisions. The American Republics were in fact confronted with grave acts of aggression and intervention on the part of the government of one of its members against another member.

The Foreign Ministers assembled at San José took such measures as appeared immediately susceptible of being carried out, and they charged this Council with the duty of determining the feasibility and desirability of specific further measures.

My delegation does not agree that for further measures to be taken it is necessary to show that the Dominican Government has committed further acts of intervention or aggression other than those which gave rise to the measures applied by the Sixth Meeting of Foreign Ministers. Resolution I of that meeting makes no mention of such further acts.

My delegation believes to be especially pertinent the conclusion reached by the special committee that, in the period since the adoption of Resolution I by the Sixth Meeting, no change has taken place in the attitude of the Dominican Government toward the fundamental principles of the inter-American system. The history of hostile actions of the Dominican Republic against the present Government of Venezuela, confirmed by investigation of this Organization, is a factor to be borne in mind in this connection. Also, there is to be recalled the report of the Inter-American Peace

¹ For statements made by Secretary Herter and text of resolution, see BULLETIN of Sept. 5, 1960, p. 355.

² For background, see *ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1960, p. 224.

Committee of June 6, 1960,³ which found that international tensions in the Caribbean region had been aggravated by flagrant and widespread violations of human rights in the Dominican Republic and concluded that these tensions would continue to increase so long as the violations persisted.

As the Council is aware, the United States is the only member of this Organization with which the Dominican Republic has a substantial portion of its foreign trade. Therefore the United States representative on the special committee was able to furnish from United States Government sources information as to the effect of the possible suspension of trade in given items with that country.

My Government understands that the terms of the resolution before us would be recommendatory rather than obligatory with respect to the individual member states. Nevertheless I am authorized to state that the United States Government would undertake to implement the terms of the resolution should it be approved by the Council.

In preventing the reexport to the Dominican Republic from their territories of the specified articles originating in other countries, many member states could play a significant role in helping to insure, to the extent possible, the effectiveness of the resolution. It is important, in the United States' view, to preserve the collective nature of further decisions and actions taken by member states in regard to the Dominican Republic, following upon the action already jointly taken by them at the Sixth Meeting of Foreign Ministers.

It is the hope of the United States, as I am sure it is that of the other member states, that the decisions we take here in this Council, following upon those taken by the Foreign Ministers at San José, will in the long run have a constructive effect in contributing to the achievement of a situation in which the Dominican Republic will harmonize her policies with the principles of the charter of our Organization and enjoy friendly and cooperative relations with the other Republics of the hemisphere.

The United States Government wishes to emphasize once more that it expects to continue to work with the other member states in keeping the situation under constant scrutiny and in taking such further measures as may seem desirable.

TEXT OF REPORT ⁴

FIRST REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO CARRY OUT THE MANDATE RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL PURSUANT TO RESOLUTION I OF THE SIXTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

At its meeting of September 21, 1960, the Council of the Organization referred to this Special Committee Resolution I of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, paragraphs 1 and 2 of which read as follows:

"1. To apply the following measures:

a. Breaking of diplomatic relations of all the member states with the Dominican Republic;

b. Partial interruption of economic relations of all the member states with the Dominican Republic, beginning with the immediate suspension of trade in arms and implements of war of every kind. The Council of the Organization of American States, in accordance with the circumstances and with due consideration for the constitutional or legal limitations of each and every one of the member states, shall study the feasibility and desirability of extending the suspension of trade with the Dominican Republic to other articles.

2. To authorize the Council of the Organization of American States to discontinue, by a two-thirds affirmative vote of its members, the measures adopted in this resolution, at such time as the Government of the Dominican Republic should cease to constitute a danger to the peace and security of the hemisphere."

With all the care required by its important assignment, the committee has considered the situation in the Dominican Republic dating from the Sixth Meeting of Consultation and the different aspects of that country's foreign trade. The General Secretariat prepared a document with information on this matter for use by the committee.

Through its deliberations and study, the committee has reached the conclusion that there has been no change in the attitude of the Government of the Dominican Republic toward the basic principles of the inter-American system. Therefore, the committee believes that it would not be justifiable to discontinue the measures adopted by the Organ of Consultation, and that it is desirable to extend the suspension of trade to the following articles:

- a. Petroleum and petroleum products
- b. Trucks and spare parts

The members of the committee have ascertained from their respective governments that for the latter there is no legal barrier to the extension of the suspension of trade with the Dominican Republic to certain articles besides those specified in the Resolution of the Organ of Consultation, that is, arms and implements of war of every kind.

Some members of the committee expressed the opinion that the present report must make it clear that any

⁴ Submitted to the OAS Council on Dec. 21, 1960, and made public on Jan. 4, 1961.

³ Not printed here.

resolutions adopted by the Council in compliance with Resolution I of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation should be considered only as recommendations to the member states, and that in no case do they impose any legal obligation upon them.

The Delegation of Brazil stated in writing that it had not given its approval to this report for the reasons expressed in the accompanying dissenting opinion.

Within the spirit and the purposes of Resolution I, the committee will continue to follow the situation closely, in order to consider and make such recommendations to the Council as the circumstances may suggest.

In view of the foregoing, the special committee has the honor to submit to the Council the following draft resolution:⁵

THE COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES.

MINDFUL of the terms of paragraph 1 (b) of Resolution I of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and

HAVING SEEN the first report of the special committee to carry out the said resolution,

RESOLVES:

1. To state that it is feasible and desirable that the member states of the Organization who signed the Final Act of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs extend the suspension of their trade with the Dominican Republic to the exportation of the following items:

- a. Petroleum and petroleum products
- b. Trucks and spare parts

2. To request the member states, in connection with the preceding paragraph, to take measures to prevent the re-export of the items mentioned from their territory to the Dominican Republic.

3. To request the governments of the member states to inform the Chairman of the Council of the Organization regarding the measures they take with respect to this resolution, in order that this Council and the Security Council of the United Nations may be kept informed in the matter.

DECEMBER 19, 1960

AUGUSTO GUILLERMO ARANGO
*Ambassador, Representative of Panama
Chairman of the Committee*

CÉLEO DÁVILA
*Ambassador, Representative of Honduras
Vice Chairman of the Committee*

VICENTE SÁNCHEZ GAVITO
Ambassador, Representative of Mexico

TEODORO ALVARADO GARAICOA
Ambassador, Representative of Ecuador

PHILIP W. BONSAI
Representative of the United States

⁵This draft resolution was approved by the Council without change at the meeting held on January 4, 1961. [Footnote in original.]

ALUYSIO GUEDES REGIS BITTENCOURT
Representative of Brazil
(Dissenting vote attached)

FAUSTO SOTO
Representative of Chile

DISSENTING VOTE OF BRAZIL

In reference to the first report of the special committee of the Council appointed to carry out the provisions of Resolution I of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and to the draft resolution attached thereto, both of which documents were approved by the aforementioned Committee, the Delegation of Brazil wishes to register, clearly and unequivocally, its position in the matter and the basis of its dissenting vote:

1. The real solution in such cases does not lie in the progressive application of coercive measures, but at the higher, more constructive, long-range level of moral sanctions and persuasion, which will not endanger inter-American solidarity but preserve the unity of the system and encourage the gradual evolution of the country into a democracy. This is the principle that guided the Delegation of Brazil in Costa Rica and that was expressed clearly by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Horacio Lafer, when he said that censure applied to a member of the American family does not imply that the country is not expected to return soon to the democratic community of the Hemisphere, and also when he promised that Brazil would persist in its high purpose of promoting continental unity, within the democratic system, by means of persuasion and conciliation.

2. The sanctions imposed by the Sixth Meeting of Consultation, which are in themselves sufficiently severe and serious, had as their purpose not the condemnation of the domestic government of a country—which would violate the principle of nonintervention, the cornerstone of the inter-American system—but the condemnation of acts of aggression and intervention which were perfectly determined and duly verified, as a result of the investigation made *in situ* by a committee specially appointed by the Council. This was clearly established in the text of Resolution I of the meeting at Costa Rica: "*To condemn emphatically the participation of the Government of the Dominican Republic in the acts of aggression and intervention against the State of Venezuela that culminated in the attempt on the life of the President of that country.*"

3. New accusations of aggression and intervention against the Dominican Republic were recently brought to the attention of the Council and the Peace Committee by Venezuela, and they are now being considered and studied, although neither of the aforesaid bodies has made any statement in this respect up to the present time.

4. Consequently, the Delegation of Brazil considers that, since the measures taken in Costa Rica are still in force and the censure applied by the hemisphere to the Dominican Republic is therefore being maintained, an increase at this time of the sanctions against that country, based on accusations which are still under consideration, would jeopardize the long-range unity and solidarity of the Americas, and above all it would immediately bring about

the aggravation of a situation which might take an unforeseeable turn.

5. If it were the case today, and it were proved beyond any doubt that new acts of aggression or intervention had been committed by the Dominican Republic, Brazil in that case would favor increasing the sanctions. In doing so, however, it would have the same concern that it expressed in Costa Rica with regard to the very nature of the measures prescribed: Brazil would favor effective sanctions primarily affecting the accused government, but that would not directly harm the people of the country.

6. In this case, it appears to Brazil that, in addition to the hastiness of the decision taken, the sanctions now being recommended are inappropriate. The reason is that since they involve the importation of petroleum and petroleum products, trucks, and spare parts, they would directly and primarily affect the Dominican people in their basic need for transportation, supplies, and thermoelectric power. Since it is possible, moreover, to obtain supplies from other sources, the measures under consideration are not only ineffectual but self-defeating; having no foreseeable practical effect, they will merely contribute to political tension to the detriment of continental solidarity.

WASHINGTON, December 19, 1960

TEXT OF U.S. NOTE

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the resolution approved by the Council of the Organization of American States on January 4, 1961 in which it stated that it was feasible and desirable that the Member States extend their suspension of trade with the Dominican Republic to the export to that country of petroleum, petroleum products, trucks and spare parts. In the resolution the Council also requested the Member States to prevent the re-export of these items from their territory to the Dominican Republic, and to inform the Council regarding the measures they take with respect to the resolution.

Accordingly, I wish to inform Your Excellency that pursuant to the above-mentioned resolution, the United States Government has taken the necessary action, effective January 20, 1961, to suspend the export of the cited items from the United States to the Dominican Republic. The action taken includes, as well, the re-export of these items to the Dominican Republic.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

PHILIP W. BONSAI

Interim Representative of the United States of America on the Council of the Organization of American States

Ambassador Stevenson States U.S. Views on United Nations

*Remarks by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson
U.S. Representative to the United Nations*¹

This is my first meeting with the United Nations press corps since I last served with the United States delegation to the General Assembly in 1947. I am happy to be back with you and also to see so many old friends. I look forward to cooperating with you in every possible way so that the people of the United States and of the world may know, through your efforts, about the objectives and ideas and ideals of the United States and our people.

The United States is on every stage in every region of the world, and there is nothing larger or more important or more influential, in our judgment, than the United Nations. I hope that we can play our part actively and consistently to advance the peace and security and to strengthen and expand the influence and authority of the United Nations.

Let me suggest some general policies or attitudes that I expect will govern our actions here.

President Kennedy, in his inaugural address last week,² described the United Nations as "our last best hope" and renewed our pledge to support the Organization and "enlarge the area in which its writ may run." I believe that there has been too great a tendency to use the forum of the United Nations for narrow propaganda purposes. But the hour is too late, the times too dangerous, for name calling and rhetorical violence. I believe that the world would benefit from a moratorium on propaganda and abuse and by a return in this great parliament to the courtesy and dignity of traditional diplomatic usage.

The United Nations is now an organization of 99 member states—double its size when I last served here. We cannot afford to neglect the opportunities which our membership gives us, nor do we intend to do so. We look to the United Nations not as an arena in which to fight the cold war but, rather, as an instrument which can help us to end it and to liberate man from the scourges

¹ Made at a press conference held at U.N. headquarters on Jan. 27 (U.S./U.N. press release 3642). Following these opening remarks, Ambassador Stevenson answered questions asked by the news correspondents.

² BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

of war, poverty, disease, ignorance, and oppression. We are not seeking here military alliances; we shall not try to impose our system or philosophy on others. We seek only that they should make good their national independence and advance the well-being of their people.

The United States is the oldest anticolonial power, and we are in favor of freedom and self-determination for all peoples. The United States views with satisfaction the rapid political revolution of independence which has swept the world. Like the former colonial powers—the United Kingdom and France, for example—we are now interested in the orderly, peaceful transition to self-government and a healthy national life, without creating new enmities to plague the world. Hence we deeply regret the disaster that has befallen the Congo in its first months of national independence.

By trial and error we have learned a great deal about economic development. The United States attaches the first importance to improving the well-being of peoples, and the United Nations has proved its ability to administer economic and technical aid without fear of ulterior motives. So we shall support expanded efforts of the United Nations to aid countries whose peoples are determined to aid themselves. Much unrest in the world would be eased if millions of people were sure of at least one square meal a day.

We believe that the United Nations can be used much more than it has been to facilitate quiet diplomacy. I recall that the solution of the Berlin crisis in 1948 had its origin in quiet talks here at the United Nations. And we believe that the United Nations offers a great opportunity to anticipate crises as well as to deal with the urgent problems of the moment. To prevent fire is often better than to extinguish fire.

The priceless value of the United Nations in all these fields depends on the integrity of the office of the Secretary-General and the adequacy of the Organization's financial resources. Attacks on the Secretary-General are attacks on the institution itself. I should think that the small powers would rise as one in defense of the institution

which is their best protection. The United Nations exists in order that no nation need be powerful in order to be independent and secure.

The United States cherishes free institutions and is committed to the growth of law across national and cultural frontiers. We believe our goals and interests are shared with the masses of people throughout the world. We will not shrink from the burdens of our membership in this Organization. The United States will not always have its way, we know, but I hope we will always have a decent respect for the opinions of others and will act reasonably in settling disputes, reducing armaments, achieving normal relations, even with those with whom we disagree.

We believe that the United Nations offers the best possible means to find common ground with the nations of the world and thereby to achieve a peace in which the free and the just can dwell in safety. Upon that common ground we devoutly believe that the nations and the peoples of the world must ultimately stand.

I have made courtesy calls on the Presidents of the Security Council and the General Assembly. I have also called, of course, upon the Secretary-General. I am calling on all the members of the Security Council, and I would like to pay my respects to all of the representatives, all of my colleagues, of other countries. I will not have time to visit them all, but I am sending out invitations for a series of lunches at which I hope to have an opportunity to meet everyone. I hope to have the representatives of our neighbors, the Latin American Republics, dine with me this coming week.

We are just finishing, as you all know, a new building to house the United States mission. I hope it is a good sign for Soviet participation in the United Nations that they too are interested in new quarters. We have offered our help if they need it.

I hope to see all of you often in the ensuing months. It will be my purpose, the purpose of the United States mission, to do everything possible to assist you in carrying out your assignments.

International Cooperation in Climatology

THIRD SESSION OF THE COMMISSION FOR CLIMATOLOGY OF THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

by Helmut E. Landsberg

The Commission for Climatology of the World Meteorological Organization held its third session from December 1 to 15, 1960, at London, England. The two preceding sessions were held at Washington in 1953 and 1957.¹

International cooperation in the field of climatology follows early precedents stimulated by scientific academies in the 18th century and formal efforts under the International Meteorological Organization, the predecessor of WMO, since 1873.

The meeting of the Commission was opened by the Viscount Hailsham, Minister of Science of the United Kingdom, who recalled this long tradition of international cooperation in climatology. The Director-General of the Meteorological Office of the United Kingdom, Sir Graham Sutton, also welcomed the delegates and invited them to visit the various meteorological installations in the London area. Oliver M. Ashford, Chief of the Technical Division of WMO, brought the greetings of the Secretary General of the Organization.

The President of the Commission, R. G. Verward of the United Kingdom, stressed in his ad-

dress the important tasks before the Commission, as laid down in its terms of reference. He placed particular emphasis on the importance of upper-air climatology and the various practical applications of climatology. The role of the Commission in guiding the climatological work of national meteorological services was highlighted.

The following 38 members of WMO were represented at this session:

Argentina	Mauritius
Australia	Netherlands
Austria	Netherlands New Guinea
Belgium	Norway
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	Pakistan
Canada	Portugal
Denmark	Portuguese East Africa
Dominican Republic	Portuguese West Africa
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	Rumania
Federal Republic of Germany	Saudi Arabia
Finland	Sweden
France	Switzerland
Hungary	Thailand
India	Tunisia
Iran	Turkey
Ireland	Union of South Africa
Israel	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Italy	United Arab Republic
	United Kingdom
	United States

Among the international organizations having official observers present at the meeting were the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the U.N. Educational,

¹ For a report by Dr. Landsberg on the second session, see BULLETIN of Apr. 15, 1957, p. 612.

• Dr. Landsberg is Director of the Office of Climatology of the U.S. Weather Bureau. He served as principal U.S. delegate at the third session of the WMO Commission for Climatology.

Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The U.S. delegation was composed of Helmut E. Landsberg and Herbert C. S. Thom of the U.S. Weather Bureau and George W. Moxon, Air Weather Service, U.S. Air Force. They were supported by three advisers: Joseph M. Frosio, Fleet Weather Facility, London, England; Harold B. Harshbarger, U.S. Weather Bureau; and Franklin Newhall, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture.

The agenda consisted of 9 administrative and 13 technical items. Most of the work was handled by two committees established for the duration of the session. One of these dealt primarily with the administrative regulatory and guidance material, while the other handled scientific matters. A great deal of preparatory work had been done by nine small working groups between sessions. Their reports and recommendations were before the Commission for review and action.

Even though the work schedule was heavy for the short period of the meeting, there were opportunities for social and scientific events. Among the scientific events were lectures and discussions on the theme of climatic fluctuations, a special Royal Meteorological Society meeting on problems of automatic data processing, and visits to the Forecast Office at Dunstable, the Climatological Offices at Harrow, and a factory manufacturing weather radars.

The U.S. delegation brought material for an exhibit which included the latest U.S. technical publications and a three-dimensional model of the average air motion in the atmosphere. Demand for copies of the publications stimulated arrangements for useful exchanges of literature with the other nations.

The Commission passed 9 resolutions concerning matters in which it has authority and forwarded 17 recommendations to the Executive Committee of WMO for final approval. There is little doubt that most of these will become part of the codified international practices in climatology.

One of the continuing tasks of the Commission is the review of the climatological section of the technical regulations of WMO. These lay down the basic procedures which the meteorological services of the WMO members are enjoined to follow. Most of them are designed to standardize

practices and facilitate international exchange of information. With the rapid development of atmospheric science this requires continuing revision. To the layman these are boring technicalities, but they are very essential for many practical applications. For example, to meet the requirements of international aviation, summaries of wind conditions are needed for the planning of air routes and schedules for ever-higher layers in the atmosphere, and more information is needed on icing and severe turbulence, which still are serious impediments to flight, and on poor weather conditions near airports, which are potentially among the worst hazards of modern air transport. New agreements on climatological tabulations of these conditions were reached.

Many meteorological services are presently engaged in the charting of the meandering upper-air currents. In order to avoid unnecessary labor and duplication the WMO secretariat has been charged with collection and publication of an inventory listing work completed and in progress along these lines.

From many points of view the most important endeavor in climatology is the concerted effort to produce a world climatological atlas. This atlas is being built up from national charts into regional maps, all prepared under a unified scheme. The task is under the guidance of a working group of specialists, one from each of the six WMO regions, which correspond essentially to the major continents. Precipitation maps have been given the highest priority in view of the importance of this element for agricultural planning. Completion of a substantial portion of this work before the next session of the Commission is now envisaged.

The Commission also approved the major portions of a guide to climatological practices. Nine of the main chapters are finished and ready for issue. Arrangements have been made for smaller working parties to finish the four chapters still outstanding. This guide is a small compendium of practical experiences resulting from the work of national climatological services. It covers such problems as organization, collection and quality control of observations, automatic data handling, and publications. It is particularly timely because of the establishment of new weather services in countries which have recently become independent, but it will also help those in the older

services to align their time-honored procedures with modern methods of analysis.

Every climatologist is interested in the problem of climatic fluctuations of shorter or longer duration. Long-range economic planning is much concerned with these vagarious atmospheric events. Rainfall changes are particularly critical in the world's arid and semiarid lands. WMO, in cooperation with the arid-zone project of UNESCO, plans to have a scientific colloquium on these problems in Rome in October 1961. It was agreed by the Commission that prior to the October meeting a bibliography on publications for the last decade would be cooperatively prepared. Further specifications were also laid down for the worldwide exchange of information at the end of each month on the departures from average of the major climatic elements, and the interval from 1931 to 1960 was agreed upon as the period for comparison. Some hold out hope that this information may contribute to longer range outlooks of climatic conditions. The U.S. contribution to this effort, a publication entitled *Monthly Climatic Data for the World*, sponsored by WMO, was highly praised.

In view of the success of this publication the WMO secretariat was asked to look into possible arrangements for expanding a present U.S. publication of the day-to-day upper-air observations of the northern hemisphere into one covering the whole world. This would solve many of the data exchange problems that remained in an unsatisfactory state for the research scientists at the end of the International Geophysical Year and the period of international geophysical cooperation. At any rate, recommendations for the exchange of data, particularly in a form suitable for machine processing, were made. In this connection the adoption of a uniform punched card which has been designed for data from ocean areas was urged upon the Executive Committee of WMO. For international exchange of observations from land areas, minimum contents for punched cards of observations were also agreed upon, and guidelines for the desired accuracy of these observations were laid down.

In view of the rather infrequent meetings of the Commission the WMO secretariat was asked to collect and publish henceforth annual progress reports and bibliographies on climatology from member nations. These materials will replace the

quadrennial compilations and facilitate more rapid exchange of information. It was also arranged to have the secretariat compile information on soil-temperature measurements in various nations. These data are important in the assessment of the atmospheric energy budget. For the same purpose information on the extent of snow covers is also essential, and arrangements for multilateral exchange of current maps were approved for countries where this element is observed.

The Commission recommended that reports of the working groups on climatic classifications and statistical procedures be expanded and published in a suitable form. The desire was also expressed to publish a bibliography on instruments and methods used in microclimatology.

In recognition of the important effects of climate on human health and well-being the Commission suggested that national meteorological services explore problems of human bioclimatology more intensively than heretofore and cooperate, as appropriate, with the International Society for Bioclimatology and Biometeorology.

Several of the former working groups of the Commission, with their assignments completed, lapsed with this meeting. Four of the groups with continuing tasks were reestablished, and four other working groups covering new ground were inaugurated. The President was given authority to establish another group at his pleasure. These are small groups of four to six experts charged with preparation of specific reports, which are to be submitted in the interim between sessions.

Among its final actions the Commission indicated a preference for holding its next meeting at WMO headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. The Vice President of the Commission, C. C. Boughner of Canada, was unanimously elected to be the new President; C. C. Wallén of Sweden succeeded him as the Vice President.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

14th World Health Assembly

The Department of State announced on February 3 (press release 52) the following principal members of the U.S. delegation to the 14th World

Health Assembly, which will convene at New Delhi, February 7, 1961:

Delegates

Leroy E. Burney, *chairman*, former Surgeon General, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

H. van Zile Hyde, Assistant to the Surgeon General for International Health, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Leonard W. Larson, president-elect, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Other members of the delegation include:

Alternate Delegates

Lowell T. Coggshall, vice president, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Edward H. Cushing, Deputy Assistant Secretary (Health and Medical), Department of Defense

John E. Fobes, U.S. Technical Cooperation Mission, New Delhi, India

Richard K. C. Lee, president, Board of Health, Honolulu, Hawaii

Congressional Advisers

Steven B. Derouniau, House of Representatives

John E. Fogarty, House of Representatives

Advisers

Margaret C. Arnstein, chief, Division of Nursing, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

John C. Hume, chief, Public Health Division, U.S. Technical Cooperation Mission, New Delhi, India

Carol C. Laise, First Secretary and Political Officer, American Embassy, New Delhi

Maurice Lebosquet, Jr., U.S. Technical Cooperation Mission, New Delhi, India

Emory W. Morris, president and general director, W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich.

Clifford A. Pease, Jr., chief, Near East and Far East Division, Office of Public Health, International Cooperation Administration

James E. Perkins, managing director, National Tuberculosis Association, Chicago, Ill.

Mack I. Shanholtz, president, State and Territorial Health Officers, and Commissioner of Health of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

Laurence R. Wyatt, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Administrative Officer

Maurice J. Scanlon, Office of International Conferences, Department of State.

The World Health Organization (WHO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations, with headquarters at Geneva. Membership is open to all nations. As of January 1961, there were 103 members, including associate members. The Assembly, the supreme authority, meets annually

and is composed of delegates from member states.

Besides reviewing the work of WHO, the participants at the 14th World Health Assembly will be concerned with program and budget of the Organization for the calendar year 1962; elections to fill vacancies on the newly expanded 24-member Executive Board; WHO's future financing of the malaria eradication program; and health conditions in the Congo.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Report to the Secretary-General from his special representative in the Congo regarding the current situation in Stanleyville. S/4590. December 9, 1960, 4 pp.

Report dated December 21, 1960, to the Secretary-General from his special representative in the Congo concerning incidents at Bukavu on December 15 and 16. S/4601. December 21, 1960. 4 pp.

Documents submitted by the Secretary-General which concern incidents at Bukavu December 30, 1960-January 1, 1961. S/4606. January 1, 1961, 17 pp.; and Add. 1, January 6, 1961, 5 pp.

Letter of January 9, 1961, from the Chargé d'Affaires of the permanent mission of Guatemala to the President of the Security Council regarding statements made by the Cuban representative at the 921st meeting. S/4618. January 10, 1961. 3 pp.

Note verbale of January 11, 1961, from the permanent representative of Belgium to the Secretary-General regarding the transit landing at Usumbura made by troops of the Congolese National Army. S/4621. January 11, 1961. 2 pp.

Letter of January 11, 1961, from the permanent representative of the Soviet Union addressed to the President of the Security Council regarding Belgian trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi. S/4622. January 12, 1961. 8 pp.

Decisions taken and resolutions adopted by the Security Council during the year 1960. Prepared by the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. S/INF/15. January 13, 1961. 22 pp.

General Assembly

The Situation in the Republic of the Congo

Letter dated November 21, 1960, from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4583. November 21, 1960. 3 pp.;

Statement by the delegation of the U.S.S.R. on November 21, 1960, regarding the attitude of the Command of the U.N. Force to the Mobutu forces in the Congo. A/4586. November 22, 1960. 3 pp.;

Report to the Secretary-General from his Acting Special Representative in the Republic of the Congo,

¹Printed 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.

General Rikhye. A/4587, November 22, 1960, 7 pp.; and Add. 1, November 26, 1960, 2 pp.; Report by the Advisory Committee on the Congo. A/4592. November 24, 1960. 9 pp.; Cable dated November 27, 1960, from the President of the Republic of Ghana addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4598. November 27, 1960. 1 p.; Letter dated December 2, 1960, from the Permanent Representative of the U.S.S.R. addressed to the President of the General Assembly. A/4612. December 2, 1960. 3 pp.; Note verbale dated December 3, 1960, from the permanent delegation of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4613. December 3, 1960. 2 pp.; Report to the Secretary-General from his Special Representative in the Congo regarding certain actions taken against Patrice Lumumba. A/4614. December 5, 1960. 11 pp. Appeal for maximum support to efforts of newly emerging states for strengthening their independence. Letter of December 6, 1960, from the President of the General Assembly to the Chairman of the Special Political Committee. A/SPC/49. December 7, 1960. 4 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Aviation

International air services transit agreement. Signed at Chicago December 7, 1944. Entered into force for the United States February 8, 1945. 59 Stat. 1693.

Acceptance deposited: Nigeria, January 25, 1961.

Protocol amending articles 48(a), 49(e), and 61 of the convention on international civil aviation (TIAS 1591) by providing that sessions of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization shall be held not less than once in 3 years instead of annually. Done at Montreal June 14, 1954. Entered into force December 12, 1956. TIAS 3756.

Ratifications deposited: Mali, January 10, 1961; Tunisia, January 16, 1961.

Cultural Property

Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, and regulations of execution. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954. Entered into force August 7, 1956.¹

Accessions deposited: Malaya, December 12, 1960; Albania, December 20, 1960.

Protocol for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954. Entered into force August 7, 1956.¹

Accessions deposited: Malaya, December 12, 1960; Albania, December 20, 1960.

¹ Not in force for the United States.

United Nations

Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Done at London November 16, 1945. Entered into force November 4, 1946. TIAS 1580.

Signatures: Niger, Malagasy Republic, and Upper Volta, November 10, 1960; Cameroun and Central African Republic, November 11, 1960; Somalia, November 15, 1960; Gabon, November 16, 1960; Togo, November 17, 1960; Kuwait, November 18, 1960; Congo (Léopoldville), November 25, 1960; Chad, December 19, 1960.

Acceptances deposited: Mali, November 7, 1960; Senegal, Niger, and Malagasy Republic, November 10, 1960; Cameroun and Central African Republic, November 11, 1960; Nigeria and Upper Volta, November 14, 1960; Somalia, November 15, 1960; Gabon, November 16, 1960; Togo, November 17, 1960; Kuwait, November 18, 1960; Congo (Léopoldville), November 25, 1960; Chad, December 19, 1960.

BILATERAL

Iraq

Cultural agreement. Signed at Baghdad January 23, 1961. Enters into force on the date that the Government of Iraq notifies the United States that the agreement has been ratified.

Mexico

Air transport agreement. Signed at México August 15, 1960.

Entered into force: January 17, 1961.

Sweden

Agreement relating to the safeguarding of classified information, equipment, materials, or services related to defense. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington January 30, 1961. Entered into force January 30, 1961.

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 exchange of notes. Signed at Ankara January 11, 1961. Entered into force January 11, 1961.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on January 26 confirmed Murat W. Williams to be Ambassador to El Salvador.

The Senate on January 30 confirmed the following:

George W. Ball to be Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 44 dated February 1.)

Roger W. Jones to be Deputy Under Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 45 dated February 1.)

G. Mennen Williams to be Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 43 dated February 1.)

Africa
 The Challenge of Africa to the American Citizen (Williams) 259
 Williams confirmed as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs 282

American Republics
 Forces of Change in Latin America (Coerr) 251
 OAS Recommends Further Economic Action Regarding Dominican Republic (Bonsal, texts of OAS report and U.S. note) 273
 President Asks Brazil's Cooperation To Reinvigorate Unity of Americas 256
 Brazil. President Asks Brazil's Cooperation To Reinvigorate Unity of Americas 256
 Congress, The. Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy 271

Cuba
 Forces of Change in Latin America (Coerr) 251
 Mr. Voorhees Resigns; Mr. Ribicoff To Coordinate Cuban Refugee Program (Kennedy) 256

Denmark. Danish Prime Minister Visits United States February 11-19 261

Department and Foreign Service. Confirmations (Ball, Jones, G. M. Williams, M. W. Williams) 282

Dominican Republic. OAS Recommends Further Economic Action Regarding Dominican Republic (Bonsal, texts of OAS report and U.S. note) 273

Economic Affairs
 Ball confirmed as Under Secretary for Economic Affairs 282
 OAS Recommends Further Economic Action Regarding Dominican Republic (Bonsal, texts of OAS report and U.S. note) 273
 Some Aspects of U.S. Foreign Trade Policy (Hadraba) 263
 U.S. Comments on Change in Rate of Exchange for Korean Hwan (Ball) 262
 El Salvador. Williams confirmed as Ambassador 282

Health, Education, and Welfare
 14th World Health Assembly (delegation) 280
 Mr. Voorhees Resigns; Mr. Ribicoff To Coordinate Cuban Refugee Program (Kennedy) 256

India. Mohandas K. Gandhi Honored as "Champion of Liberty" (Rusk) 262

Indonesia. President Kennedy Replies to Message From President of Indonesia (Kennedy, Sukarno) 261

International Organizations and Conferences
 Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings 272
 14th World Health Assembly (delegation) 280
 International Cooperation in Climatology (Landsberg) 278
 OAS Recommends Further Economic Action Regarding Dominican Republic (Bonsal, texts of OAS report and U.S. note) 273
 Korea. U.S. Comments on Change in Rate of Exchange for Korean Hwan (Ball) 262
 Mutual Security. Fire Victims in Yemen Receive Emergency Aid 271

Presidential Documents
 Mr. Voorhees Resigns; Mr. Ribicoff To Coordinate Cuban Refugee Program 256
 President Asks Brazil's Cooperation To Reinvigorate Unity of Americas 256
 President Kennedy Replies to Message From President of Indonesia 261

Protection of Nationals. U.S. Queries Soviet Union on 11 Missing Airmen (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) 257

Refugees. Mr. Voorhees Resigns; Mr. Ribicoff To Coordinate Cuban Refugee Program (Kennedy) 256

Science. International Cooperation in Climatology (Landsberg) 278

Treaty Information. Current Actions 282

U.S.S.R. U.S. Queries Soviet Union on 11 Missing Airmen (texts of U.S. and Soviet notes) 257

United Nations
 Ambassador Stevenson States U.S. Views on United Nations 276
 Current U.N. Documents 281

Yemen. Fire Victims in Yemen Receive Emergency Aid 271

Name Index

Ball, George W 262, 282
 Bonsal, Philip W 273
 Coerr, Wymberley DeR 251
 Hadraba, Theodore J 263
 Jones, Roger W 282
 Kennedy, President 256, 261
 Landsberg, Helmut E 278
 Rusk, Secretary 262
 Stevenson, Adlai E 276
 Sukarno, Dr 261
 Williams, G. Mennen 259, 282
 Williams, Murat W 282

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 30-February 5

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
39	1/30	Rusk: Gandhi "Champion of Liberty" stamp.
40	1/31	Emergency relief assistance to Yemen.
41	1/30	Williams: Roosevelt Day dinner, Philadelphia, Pa.
*42	2/1	Appointment of Mrs. Louchheim (biographic details).
*43	2/1	Williams sworn in as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs (biographic details).
*44	2/1	Ball sworn in as Under Secretary for Economic Affairs (biographic details).
*45	2/1	Jones sworn in as Deputy Under Secretary for Administration (biographic details).
†46	2/2	U.S. grain sent to Libya for drought relief.
47	2/2	Visit of Danish Prime Minister.
48	2/2	U.S. and Soviet notes on 11 missing USAF personnel.
49	2/2	Ball: exchange rate of Korean hwan.
*50	2/2	Fisher appointed deputy to the Adviser to the President on Disarmament (biographic details).
*51	2/3	Stern appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (biographic details).
52	2/3	U.S. delegation to 14th World Health Assembly (rewrite).

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



the
Department
of
State

Two new pamphlets on the Americas . . .

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ACT OF BOGOTÁ

Publication 7120

10 cents

and

THE LAND PROBLEM IN THE AMERICAS

Publication 7112

10 cents

The Act of Bogotá was approved on October 11, 1960, by the Council of the Organization of American States as prepared by the Special Committee To Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation during the course of its Third Meeting held in Bogotá, Colombia, from September 5 to 13, 1960.

These pamphlets give the basic purpose and main principles of the Act of Bogotá and describe the "new look" which it takes of the Western Hemisphere's social, political, and economic problems.

WORLD REFUGEE YEAR—JULY 1959—JULY 1960

Publication 7095

15 cents

The World Refugee Year, which was brought into being by the United Nations, was participated in by the United States under Presidential proclamation dated May 19, 1959.

This illustrated pamphlet describes the United States contributions under the Year program, as well as its long-term assistance under other U.S. and U.N. refugee programs.

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$.....
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

Please send me
copies

- Social Implications of the Act of Bogotá.*
- The Land Problem in the Americas.*
- World Refugee Year—July 1959—June 1960.*

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

Doc Sec

1961

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1131

February 27, 1961

U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND GOLD OUTFLOW FROM THE UNITED STATES • *Message of President Kennedy to the Congress* 287

SECRETARY RUSK'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF FEBRUARY 6 296

SECRETARY RUSK INTERVIEWED ON "TODAY" SHOW 305

DEVELOPMENTS IN U.S. FOREIGN TRADE DURING 1960 • *Statement by Eugene M. Braderman* 314

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1131 • PUBLICATION 7144

February 27, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:

52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

U.S. Balance of Payments and Gold Outflow From the United States

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO THE CONGRESS¹

To the Congress of the United States:

The gold outflow of the past 3 years has dramatically focused world attention on a fundamental change that has been occurring in the economic position of the United States. Our balance of payments—the accounting which shows the result of all of our trade and financial relations with the outside world—has become one of the key factors in our national economic life. Mainly because that balance of payments has been in deficit we have lost gold.²

This loss of gold is naturally important to us, but it also concerns the whole free world. For we are the principal banker of the free world and any potential weakness in our dollar spells trouble, not only for us but also for our friends and allies who rely on the dollar to finance a substantial portion of their trade. We must therefore manage our balance of payments in accordance with our responsibilities. This means that the United States must in the decades ahead, much more than at any time in the past, take its balance of payments into account when formulating its economic policies and conducting its economic affairs.

Economic progress at home is still the first requirement for economic strength abroad. Accordingly, the first requirement for restoring balance in our international payments is to take all possible steps to insure the effective performance of our own economic system—to improve our technology, lower our production and marketing costs, and devise new and superior products, under conditions of price stability. The real wealth of a nation resides in its farms and factories and the people who man them. A dynamic economy pro-

ducing goods competitively priced in world markets will maintain the strength of the dollar.

Thanks to our international reserves we have time, if we use it wisely, in which to strengthen our domestic economy and make it fully competitive with that of other nations. Our situation is one that justifies concern but not panic or alarm.

In my message on February 2,³ I dealt with the measures for reviving our domestic economy. The steps I now propose will strengthen our dollar position and insure that our gold reserves are employed effectively to facilitate the commerce of the free nations and to protect the stability of their currencies. Because these steps supplement the policies for strengthening our domestic economy, and because we can take them calmly and deliberately, they are not for that reason any less important or less urgent. Those that are within the present authority of the Executive will be the subject of vigorous action. Where action by the Congress is required I urge early consideration and approval.

For the past decade our international transactions have resulted in a deficit—payments that were in excess of receipts—in every year except that of the Suez crisis, 1957. The surplus of our exports over our imports, while substantial, has not been large enough to cover our expenditures for United States military establishments abroad, for capital invested abroad by private American businesses, and for Government economic assistance and loan programs. All of these outlays are essential. Our military establishments in foreign countries protect the national security. Private investment promotes world economic growth and trade and, through the return of profits to our

¹ H. Doc. 84, 87th Cong., 1st sess.; transmitted on Feb. 6.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 860.

³ H. Doc. 81, 87th Cong., 1st sess.

country, will strengthen our balance of payments in future years. Our economic assistance programs, much the smallest of these three items in its effect on payments balance, is vital in the continuing struggle against tyranny and oppression, and the poverty on which they feed.

Over the period 1951 to 1957 the deficit in our balance of payments averaged about \$1 billion annually. These did not result in a net outflow of gold from the United States; foreign monetary authorities, banks, and private individuals held these earnings as dollars or claims on dollars. Thus our gold reserves were \$22.8 billions at the end of 1950 and \$22.9 at the end of 1957. But during these years the dollar holdings by foreign countries increased from \$8.4 billion at the end of 1950 to almost \$15 billion at the end of 1957.

These earlier deficits in our balance of payments were, in fact, favorable in their world effect. They helped to restore foreign monetary systems by enabling foreign countries to earn the dollars which they needed to rebuild their international reserves. They made it possible for the industrialized countries of Western Europe to restore the convertibility of their currencies, thus freeing world trade and payments from exchange control. This was of benefit to the export trade of the United States. However, this growth in foreign dollar holdings placed upon the United States a special responsibility—that of maintaining the dollar as the principal reserve currency of the free world. This required that the dollar be considered by many countries to be as good as gold. It is our responsibility to sustain this confidence.

In 1958 and 1959 the deficit in our balance of payments sharply increased—to \$3.5 billion in 1958 and to \$3.8 billion in 1959. This came about mainly because of lagging exports and rising imports. There was no significant increase in our outlays for military expenditures, private investment, or Government economic assistance. However in these years, unlike the period 1951–57, the deficit resulted in large transfers of gold to foreign accounts as well as a further increase in foreign dollar holdings. For the 2 years together, 1958 and 1959, gold transfers to foreign accounts were \$3.0 billion while foreign dollar holdings by foreign countries increased by another \$4.3 billion. These gold transfers did not make the underlying

balance of payments fundamentally worse. They did reflect a decision by foreigners to take more of their earnings in gold and to hold less in dollars.

Last year, 1960, the surplus of our exports of goods and services over our imports increased from \$2.2 billion in 1959 to \$5.8 billion. This was caused, principally, by an increase—amounting to more than \$3 billion—in our exports. This once more reduced what may be called our basic deficit—it was only about \$1.5 billion for the year. However, during 1960 there was a large movement abroad of short-term capital. Favorable interest rates abroad, a high rate of growth, and good investment prospects in Europe and some speculative fears concerning the future value of the dollar all played a part. It is estimated that this outward flow of short-term funds was between \$2 and \$2.5 billion, and this was the crucial factor in raising the overall deficit to \$3.8 billion. Of this, \$1.7 billion were transferred in the form of gold and \$2.1 billion took the form of increased foreign dollar holdings.

An outward movement of short-term funds such as that which occurred in 1960 should not be considered a part of the basic deficit. Such movements are quickly reversible in response to changes in interest rates and other business factors here and abroad. Moreover, insofar as short-term funds transferred to foreign financial centers consist of U.S.-owned capital, they create U.S. claims against the recipient country. In the new era of convertible currencies upon which we have entered, we may expect that short-term money will continue to flow back and forth. I have requested the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury to work for still closer cooperation between the monetary and financial authorities of the industrialized free nations with a view toward avoiding excessive short-term money flows which could be upsetting to the orderly development of international trade and payments.

In sum our basic deficit of \$1.5 billion is of manageable proportions. And it is this basic deficit which affects the real strength of our currency. But the time has come to end this deficit. It must be ended by responsible, determined, and constructive measures.

There are other factors which lend basic support to our monetary and financial position. Our gold reserve now stands at \$17.5 billion. This is

more than 1½ times foreign official dollar holdings and more than 90 percent of all foreign dollar holdings. It is some two-fifths of the gold stock of the entire free world.

Of this \$17.5 billion, gold reserves not committed against either currency or deposits account for nearly \$6 billion. The remaining \$11.5 billion are held under existing regulations as a reserve against Federal Reserve currency and deposits. But these, too, can be freed to sustain the value of the dollar; and I have pledged that the full strength of our total gold stocks and other international reserves stands behind the value of the dollar for use if needed.

In addition, the United States has a quota in the International Monetary Fund of \$4.1 billion. This can be drawn upon if necessary and our access to the Fund's resources must be regarded as part of our international reserves.

Finally, beyond its liquid international reserves, the Government and citizens of the United States hold large assets abroad. Western European countries whose currencies are now strong owe us long-term governmental debts of \$2.9 billion. Our private short-term assets abroad now are estimated at \$4½ billion. Our long-term private investments in foreign countries—including both plants owned directly by American companies and securities of foreign business and governments owned by Americans—total over \$44 billion, exceeding foreign investments in the U.S. economy by some \$28 billion. In any reckoning of international assets and liabilities, the United States has a strong solvent position.

In short, powerful resources stand behind the dollar. Our gold and monetary reserves are large; so are the physical and monetary assets we hold throughout the world. And, in the years ahead, if the program I previously outlined is pursued, the dollar will have the added strength of the reviving power of the American economy itself.

Certain firm conclusions follow:

1. The United States official dollar price of gold can and will be maintained at \$35 an ounce. Exchange controls over trade and investment will not be invoked. Our national security and economic assistance programs will be carried forward. Those who fear weakness in the dollar will find their fears unfounded. Those who hope

for speculative reasons for an increase in the price of gold will find their hopes in vain.

2. We must now gain control of our balance-of-payments position so that we can achieve overall equilibrium in our international payments. This means that any sustained future outflow of dollars into the monetary reserves of other countries should come about only as the result of considered judgments as to the appropriate needs for dollar reserves.

3. In seeking overall equilibrium we must place maximum emphasis on expanding our exports. Our costs and prices must therefore be kept low; and the Government must play a more vigorous part in helping to enlarge foreign markets for American goods and services.

4. A return to protectionism is not a solution. Such a course would provoke retaliation; and the balance of trade, which is now substantially in our favor, could be turned against us with disastrous effects to the dollar.

5. The flow of resources from the industrialized countries to the developing countries must be increased. In all that we do to strengthen our balance of payments, we must be especially mindful that the less-developed countries remain in a weak financial position. Help from the industrialized countries is more important than ever; we cannot strengthen our balance of payments at the expense of the developing countries without incurring even greater dangers to our national security.

6. The United States must take the lead in harmonizing the financial and economic policies for growth and stability of those industrialized nations of the world whose economic behavior significantly influences the course of the world economy and the trend of international payments.

To carry forward these policies I propose a program for action, which may be divided into two parts. The first part describes those measures which will improve domestic monetary arrangements and strengthen international cooperation in economic and monetary policy. These measures will help us better to meet short-term demands on reserves such as those of recent years. The measures in the second group are designed to correct the persisting basic deficit in our balance of payments.

I. Measures To Ease the Short-Term Demand Problem

1. Measures to improve international monetary institutions

Increasing international monetary reserves will be required to support the ever-growing volume of trade, services, and capital movements among the countries of the free world. Until now the free nations have relied upon increased gold production and continued growth in holdings of dollars and pounds sterling. In the future, it may not always be desirable or appropriate to rely entirely on these sources. We must now, in co-operation with other lending countries, begin to consider ways in which international monetary institutions—especially the International Monetary Fund—can be strengthened and more effectively utilized, both in furnishing needed increases in reserves, and in providing the flexibility required to support a healthy and growing world economy. I am therefore directing that studies to this end be initiated promptly by the Secretary of the Treasury.

2. Use of U.S. drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund

The United States has never made use of its drawing rights under the International Monetary Fund to meet deficits in its balance of payments. If and when appropriate, these rights should and will be exercised within the framework of Fund policies. The United States will also support continued efforts in the Fund to facilitate drawings by other members in the currencies of industrialized countries whose payments positions are in surplus and whose reserves are large. This will help to reduce the burden now borne by the dollar.

3. Special interest rates for dollar holdings by foreign governments and monetary authorities

(a) The Federal Reserve Act should now be amended to permit the Federal Reserve System to establish separate maximums for rates of interest paid by member banks on time and savings deposits held in this country by foreign governments or monetary authorities (sec. 19, par. 14). This authority, when exercised, would enable American banks to make a maximum competitive effort to attract and hold dollar balances which might otherwise be converted into gold. At the same

time domestic rates, when desirable for reasons of domestic policy, could be held at a lower level. I will shortly send to the Congress a draft of the needed legislation.

(b) I have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to use, whenever it appears desirable, the authority already extended to him by the Second Liberty Bond Act to issue securities, at special rates of interest, for subscription and holding exclusively by foreign governments or monetary authorities. The exercise of this authority could provide an additional inducement to hold foreign official balances in dollars.

(c) As a final means of holding or attracting foreign dollars, the Congress should enact a measure designed to unify the tax treatment accorded the earning assets of foreign central banks. At present, income derived by foreign central banks of issue from bankers acceptances and bank deposits is exempt from tax under section 861 of the code. Income from U.S. Government securities, however, is taxable to foreign central banks in the absence of applicable tax treaty provisions or a special ruling exempting a particular bank from taxation under particular circumstances. Suggested legislation will shortly be forthcoming.

4. Prohibition on holding of gold abroad by Americans

The recent Executive order⁴ forbidding the holding of gold abroad by Americans will be maintained. It was fully justified on grounds of equity. It will also help to prevent speculation in the gold market. I am directing the Secretary of the Treasury to keep me advised on steps being taken for effective enforcement. I place everyone on notice that those few American citizens who are tempted to speculate against the dollar will not profit in this manner.

II. Measures To Correct the Basic Payments Deficit and Achieve Longer Term Equilibrium

1. Action by the Senate to approve the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

I earnestly request early action by the Senate approving U.S. membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.⁵

⁴ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 196.

⁵ For text of the OECD convention, see *ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1961, p. 11.

The OECD, in which the industrialized countries of Western Europe, the United States, and Canada will be joined, is of vital importance for assisting, on a cooperative basis, the developing countries of the free world. It will also provide a solid framework within which we can carry out intensive and frequent international consultations on the financial and monetary policies which must be pursued in order to achieve and maintain better balance in the international payments position.

2. Export promotion

The Department of Commerce will provide energetic leadership to American industry in a drive to develop export markets. Firms and industries will be encouraged to step up their efforts to develop exports and given every assistance in doing so. As American industry comes to realize the vital role of export earnings for our foreign policy, I have little doubt of its response.

We will promptly increase our commercial representatives and facilities abroad. This is a joint program of the Departments of Commerce and State which must proceed with drive and conviction in order to produce effective results. The budget which has already gone to Congress requests \$1,250,000 for the State Department to add 41 Foreign Service commercial attachés overseas, together with 48 experienced foreign nationals and supporting American staff.

The new budget requests will also allow an increase in oversea commercial facilities. The Commerce Department is doubling its trade mission program from 11 to 18 per year and will provide more useful information to our oversea posts. I am ordering rapid completion of our two new foreign trade centers at London and Bangkok and have requested the Departments to explore whether three more could be added next year in Africa, Latin America, and Europe.

3. Cost and price stabilization

Our export promotion efforts, no matter how well devised or energetically pursued, will not be effective unless American goods are competitively priced. Our domestic policies—of government, of business, and of labor—must be directed to maintaining competitive costs, improving productivity, and stabilizing or where possible lowering prices. Measures to achieve these ends which are important for the domestic economy are even more vital for our international competitive position. I

have already stated my intention of creating an Advisory Committee on Labor and Management Policy to encourage productivity gains, advance automation, and encourage sound wage policies and price stability.

4. Export guarantees and financing

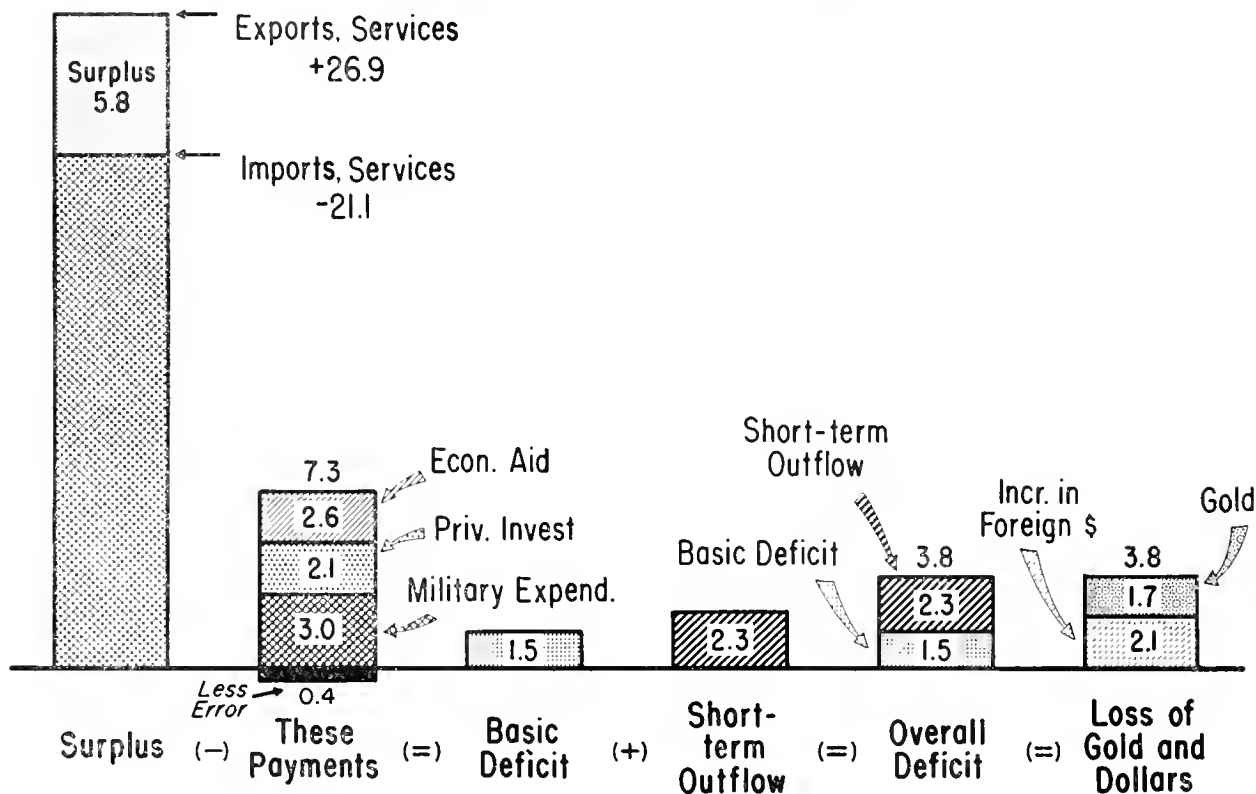
Our Export-Import Bank must play an increasingly important role in our export promotion efforts. Last year the Export-Import Bank announced a widening of the facilities which it offers for extending credit to American exporters. Despite the improvements made, these facilities are not yet adequate, nor are they comparable to those offered by foreign countries, especially those offered to small- and medium-sized exporting concerns and those offered for the financing of consumer goods. I am directing the President of the Export-Import Bank, by April 1, to prepare and submit to the Secretary of the Treasury, as Chairman of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, a new program under the Export-Import Bank to place our exporters on a basis of full equality with their competitors in other countries. Also, I have asked the Secretary of the Treasury to initiate and submit by the same date a study of methods through which private financial institutions can participate more broadly in providing export credit facilities.

5. Foreign travel to the United States

Foreign travel to the United States constitutes a large potential market hitherto virtually untapped. American travelers annually spend some \$2 billion in foreign countries. Foreign travelers only spend about \$1 billion in this country. Economic conditions in many foreign countries have improved to the point where a strong travel promotion effort by this country can be expected to yield significant results. The Department of Commerce, in cooperation with the Departments of State and Treasury, will announce shortly a major new program to encourage foreign travel in the United States along the lines envisaged in S. 3102, introduced by Senator [Warren G.] Magnuson at the last session of the Congress. This program will include the establishment of travel offices abroad; new advertising campaigns; action to simplify our visa and entry procedures for temporary visitors; and efforts to

U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 1960

\$ Billions



Office of the Secretary of the Treasury

FO-354

relax foreign restrictions on travel to the United States. The program will be energetically administered in the Department of Commerce. I am asking the Secretary of Commerce to report in full on plans and prospects by April 1.

6. Agricultural exports

Our agricultural industry, which is of unparalleled efficiency, must make its full contribution to our payments balance. I am directing the Secretary of Agriculture to report on all feasible and internationally desirable means of expanding our exports of farm products, and to emphasize the need for export expansion as a primary objective of our new farm programs.

7. Policy on economic assistance

Our foreign economic assistance programs are now being administered in such a way as to place

primary emphasis on the procurement of American goods. This assistance, accompanied as it is by the export of American products, does not therefore have a significantly adverse effect on our balance of payments. (Not more than 20 percent of the funds expended for economic grants, development loan assistance, technical assistance, and contributions to international organizations, which amounted to \$2.6 billion in 1960, is today available for expenditures outside the United States, and we intend to keep an even closer review of these items.) These restrictions will be maintained until reasonable overall equilibrium has been achieved. Then the United States will discuss with other capital-exporting countries the desirability of instituting common policies for worldwide procurement in the administration of economic development or assistance programs.

8. Tariffs, restrictions and discriminations against American exports

Quota discriminations against American exports have largely disappeared with the return of currency convertibility. We will press for prompt removal of the few restrictions that still exist, as well as for the maximum liberalization of remaining nondiscriminatory quotas in other industrialized countries, which apply mainly to agricultural exports. In the tariff negotiations now going forward under GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] we shall seek the fullest possible measure of tariff reduction by foreign countries to the benefit of our exports.

9. Promotion of foreign investment in the United States

We shall press those Western European countries with strong reserve positions to eliminate the restrictions they still maintain limiting the opportunities for their citizens to invest in the United States and other foreign countries. Also, we are initiating, through the Department of Commerce, a new program to bring investment opportunities in the United States to the attention of foreign investors in the industrialized countries.

10. Abuse of "tax havens." Taxation of American investment abroad

I shall recommend that the Congress enact legislation to prevent the abuse of foreign "tax havens" by American capital abroad as a means of tax avoidance. In addition, I have asked the Secretary of the Treasury to report by April 1 on whether present tax laws may be stimulating in undue amounts the flow of American capital to the industrial countries abroad through special preferential treatment, and to report further on what remedial action may be required. But we shall not penalize legitimate private investment abroad, which will strengthen our trade and currency in future years.

11. Foreign assistance contribution to the less-developed countries and the common defense

It is indispensable that the industrialized countries of the free world join in undertaking systematic budgetary contributions for economic assistance to the less-developed countries and the common defense. These contributions should be fully commensurate with their economic and fi-

ancial positions. Some countries are fulfilling this responsibility; it is a matter of disappointment that others have not yet undertaken to do so. Such actions are important in the short run to achieve a better balance in international trade and payments. Even more important, they are essential to the continuing and effective discharge of our common responsibilities for free world security, economic growth, and stability.

12. Reduction of customs exemption for returning American travelers

After World War II, as part of our efforts to relieve the dollar shortage which then plagued the world, Congress provided for two additional increases of \$300 and \$100 in the duty-free allowance for returning travelers, for a total of \$500. The primary purpose for this change having vanished, I am recommending legislation to withdraw this stimulus to American spending abroad and return to the historic basic duty-free allowance of \$100.

13. Centralized review of dollar outlays

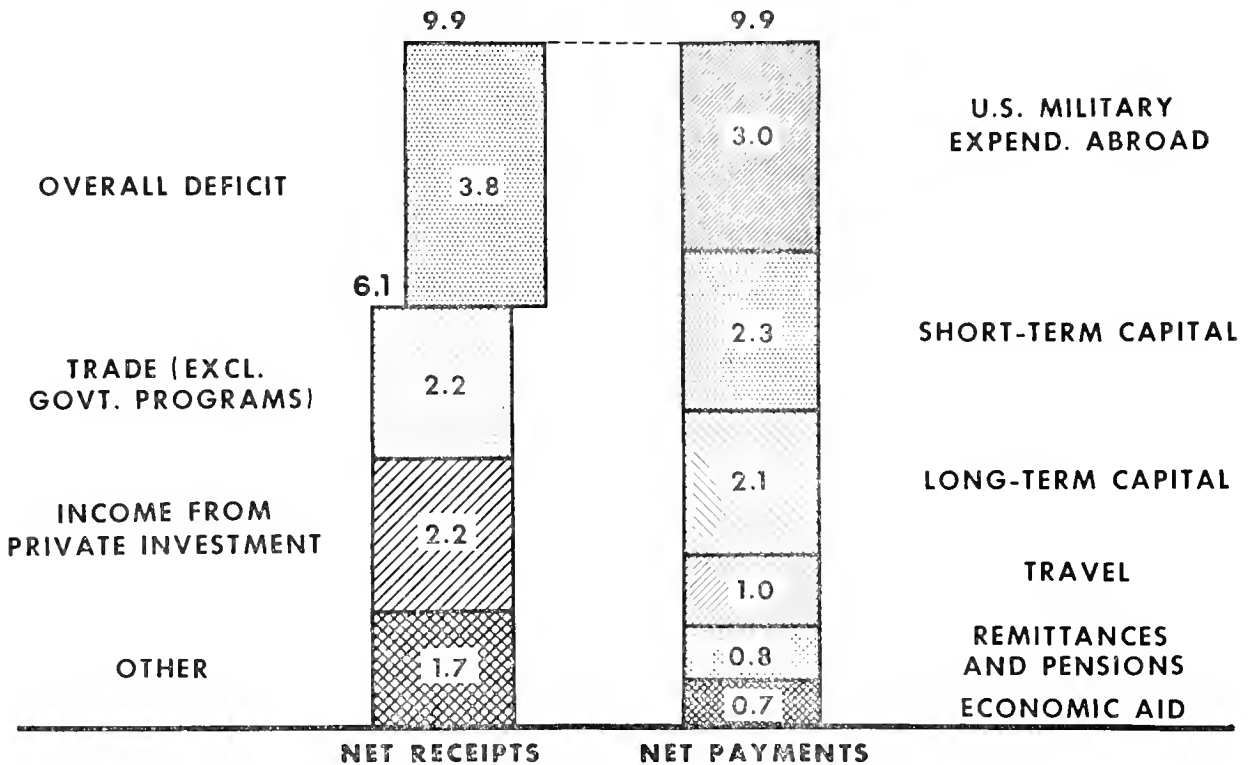
Through the Bureau of the Budget, it has long been our sound financial practice to centralize the review of total spending of the departments and agencies of the Government of the United States, including their spending abroad. Under present circumstances, foreign outlays must be examined in a new perspective. Accordingly, I am instructing the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury, to develop special procedures for analyzing that part of the requests of departments and agencies for spending authority which will involve oversea outlays to insure that our budgetary decisions will be taken with full understanding of their projected impact on the country's balance of payments.

14. U.S. military expenditures abroad

National security expenditures abroad constitute one of the largest items in the outflow of dollars, amounting to about \$3.0 billion a year. We must maintain a fully effective military force wherever necessary and for as long as needed. While it is clear that we must exercise maximum prudence in our dollar outlays abroad, it has become clear that the present limitation on dependents was not the best way to accomplish this savings, and that this limitation was seriously hurting morale and re-

HOW MAIN ITEMS IN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AFFECTED OUR DEFICIT IN 1960

\$ BILLIONS



NOTES:

Trade excludes exports under P.L.480, Export-Import Bank, ICA and DLF programs.

Economic aid covers offshore expenditures of ICA and DLF.

Other includes receipts on government debt, transportation, and misc. items.

Office of the Secretary of the Treasury

FO-353

recruitment in the Armed Forces. At the same time, the Secretary of Defense has informed me that equivalent dollar savings could be made through other measures, including limitations on expenditures abroad by military personnel for tourism and the purchase of durable consumer goods. Accordingly I have directed him to rescind the limitation on dependents and instead to put these measures into effect immediately.

I have also asked him to review the possibilities for savings in the logistic support of our forces, including the combined use of facilities with our allies. We shall also, where appropriate, urge the

purchase of the newer weapons and weapons systems by those of our allies who are financially capable of doing so. We shall continue the policy inaugurated last November⁶ of emphasizing U.S. procurement for our military forces abroad wherever practicable, even though some increased budgetary cost may be incurred. Since foreign procurement of this nature has amounted to almost \$1 billion a year, significant savings in dollar outflow can be expected—and I am asking the Secretary of Defense to report on these and the

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1960, p. 860.

other savings by no later than April 1, to see if further steps are needed then.

Conclusion

These measures, combined with increasing confidence in the dollar abroad and steady economic growth at home, can cure the basic long-term deficit in our balance of payments and check the outflow of gold. They symbolize a new dimension of this Nation's foreign and domestic economic policies—a new area of difficult problems—but they are problems which can be met by forceful and timely legislative and executive action.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 6, 1961.*

Assistant Secretary Williams Begins Trip to Africa

The Department of State announced on February 10 (press release 64) that G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, plans to depart Washington February 15 on a trip to Africa of about a month's duration. He will fly direct to Addis Ababa, where he hopes to have the opportunity to meet with the delegates attending the third session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. Thereafter he will visit Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Congo (Léopoldville), Congo (Brazzaville), Cameroun, Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, and, if possible, Upper Volta.

Mr. Williams will be accompanied by Mrs. Williams and two Department officers.

The purpose of the trip is to enable Mr. Williams to meet African leaders, to gain an acquaintanceship with the peoples of their countries, and to learn firsthand of their aspirations and problems. His principal concerns will be with political and economic relations between the United States and the countries concerned and with U.S. assistance programs, especially in the field of education. He will look into the status of our embassies and consulates in the new countries and will seek opportunities to meet with American educators, businessmen, and missionaries stationed in the areas visited.

February 27, 1961

President Exchanges Greetings With EEC Commission

White House press release dated February 4

The White House made public on February 4 the following exchange of telegrams between President Kennedy and Walter Hallstein, President of the Commission of the European Economic Community, Brussels.

President Kennedy to Dr. Hallstein

FEBRUARY 2, 1961

THE HONORABLE DR. WALTER HALLSTEIN,
*President of the Commission of the European Economic Community,
Brussels, Belgium*

DEAR DR. HALLSTEIN: I deeply appreciate the kind expression of good wishes extended on behalf of yourself and the Commission of the European Economic Community.

It is my sincere hope that the years to come will see further steady progress toward the goals envisaged by the Treaty of Rome, an objective to which the United States will continue to lend its steadfast support.

The Government of the United States looks forward to close collaboration with the Commission of the EEC, and to the development of relationships between the European Economic Community and the United States, as well as other countries, which will redound to the benefit of the entire free world.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Dr. Hallstein to President Kennedy

JANUARY 20, 1961

THE PRESIDENT
*The White House
Washington, D.C.*

On occasion of your assumption of office may I on my own behalf and on that of the Commission of the European Economic Community convey our warmest good wishes for the challenging years that lie ahead and for your success in tackling the manifold tasks that face us all. For our part, we look forward to a continuing, ever more fruitful friendship between the United States and the European Community.

WALTER HALLSTEIN

Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6

Press release 57 dated February 6

Secretary Rusk: I don't know whether to welcome you or to welcome me to my first press conference, because you are the veterans and I am the freshman here. But I have had occasion as a private citizen over the last few years to pay my respects to the press corps that is accredited here to the Department of State.

When one sees the various departments of Government look outside for panels of experts to talk about foreign policy questions, one sometimes forgets that there is here in Washington an accumulated experience which, over the years, develops a high degree of competence in such questions. One of those is in the committees of Congress. The other is in the press corps accredited to the White House and the Department of State.

Although you and we here in the Department have somewhat different responsibilities, we do have in common an obligation to do our best to keep the public informed about our foreign relations. And we want to do everything we can to carry our share of that responsibility.

I do hope to have frequent press conferences, and these, together with the President's press conferences, should be useful in keeping us informed. Mr. Tubby and Mr. White attend our regular morning meetings, with the Secretary. That means that they are able themselves to keep fully briefed on what is going on and are able to comment on policy and advise on policy from the point of view of press and public relations problems.

In addition to that there will be a considerable amount of printed background material for your information, as well as in such forms as congressional hearings, which are an invaluable source of information.

I do hope that if you find that you need some additional help, such as factual background, chronologies, or memoranda on the development of a situation which has become particularly im-

portant, you will feel free to make your wishes known to our press representatives, and, within the limits of staff time, we would be glad to be as helpful as possible.

We do plan not to rely just upon our press officers, competent as they are, but to arrange from time to time for those who are directly involved in policy to meet with the press to give them background briefings on one or another problem.

There will be times, of course, when, for good reasons—or good reasons as we see them—we may not be able to furnish detailed information on current negotiations or where valid security interests are concerned. But the duty of an alert press is to get the news, and there will be times when it will be our duty to be silent. I suppose that an inevitable, we hope a friendly, tug of war will ensue. But we shall, on our side, try not to abuse that silence, for there can be little doubt that our democracy works best when its leaders are candid.

I hope that those of you who are relative newcomers to the press corps here will feel encouraged to learn as much as you can about the operations of the Department—their range, their mass, their pace, and their complexity.

I have been told, for example, that the cable traffic of the Department of State exceeds every day the combined output of AP and UPI from Washington, D.C.

There are 12, 15, 20 international meetings going on somewhere in the world, at which the United States is represented every day throughout the year—every working day throughout the year. I gather today there are only 9, because this is somewhat of an off season. (Laughter.)

Keep your eyes on the Assistant Secretaries. They play a crucial role in the Department of State. They are the ones who are managing the affairs that are involved in our relations with vast parts of the world. They are the ones to whom information is funneled as it comes in from all

over the world. They are the ones who have to anticipate what has to be done about problems which appear on the horizon before they become critical in importance. They are the ones who have to perform some of the art of foreign policy in deciding which of these many problems need action, which of them need attention from higher authority, and which can be waited out for further developments.

You will, I hope, understand that at this stage of a new administration we are reviewing a great many questions, partly to bring individuals themselves up to date, who will be carrying responsibilities, partly because many of them are extremely complex and we need to consider whether there are any fresh approaches which ought to be brought to bear. So for these first few press conferences it is possible that I may have to answer a rather uncomfortable number of questions with the reply that, "That is under study."

I suppose that I shall have to say to some that, "I am not prepared to go into that today." That might be for a number of reasons. One of them is I may just not be prepared (laughter), and in others it may be unwise or impossible for me to enter into it at the particular point. But I pledge you that I shall do my best as we go forward.

Support for U.N. Efforts in the Congo

I should like to make a brief statement on the Congo, to try to let you get a little of the feel of what is going on and the discussions on that subject.

In his state of the Union message,¹ the President said, in regard to the Congo, that:

We shall continue to support the heroic efforts of the United Nations to restore peace and order—efforts which are now endangered by mounting tensions, unsolved problems, and decreasing support from many member states.

In recent days we have been consulting with the Secretary-General and a number of member governments to learn whether the present mandate of the United Nations can be clarified or strengthened in the hope that peace and order might return to the Congo. It would not be correct to say that we have proposed an American plan. What is needed is a United Nations plan which will bring peace, preserve the integrity of the nation, provide an opportunity for the Congolese to work

out their own constitutional and political arrangements, enlist the administrative and technical assistance needed for a viable system, and open the way for a resumption of the normal economic life of a once-productive country.

The details of these exchanges are not as important as the need for the members of the United Nations to address ourselves soberly to these central questions. The Secretary-General can do only what he is enabled to do by the responsible bodies of the United Nations which determine the basis of U.N. action. There are, as was to be expected, differences of view and approach among the members. We hope that renewed discussion can uncover elements of consensus out of which more satisfactory answers can be found.

The primary responsibility rests, of course, with President [Joseph] Kasavubu and other Congolese leaders; the United Nations is there to help. The object is an independent and united Congo, an object which cannot be achieved if disorder continues or if the Congo is drawn into rivalries which originate elsewhere. We believe that it is in the interest of the Congo as well as in the interest of other nations that the U.N. efforts succeed.

Cooperation With Latin America

Perhaps I might make a comment on our interest in development in Latin America. Because of the importance—and we shall have copies of these, I think, at the close—because of the importance we attach to Latin America, I should like to give you some of our thoughts on our approach to its problems. Perhaps my remarks will answer some of your questions about what we are trying to do in this field.

The problem in any consideration of Latin America is the tragedy exemplified by the recent history of Cuba; the earlier neglect of the aspirations of the Cuban people and the recent imposition of an alien ideology which is seeking to extend its dictatorial system to all of Latin America are parts of that tragedy. The peoples of Latin America have great and growing aspirations. I am confident that they realize, as we do, that their aspirations can best and most rapidly be fulfilled through a system based upon freedom. There can be no doubt that the Latin American nations wish to maintain their independence of foreign domination.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

Task Force To Coordinate Policies and Actions in Inter-American Area

On January 31 Lincoln White, Director of the Office of News, Department of State, announced that a new interdepartmental Task Force on Latin America, under the leadership of the Department of State, had been established to consider and coordinate policies and action with respect to measures for economic and social development, maintenance of peace, and handling of related matters in the inter-American area.

The membership of the Task Force is as follows:

Adolf A. Berle, *chairman*, Department of State
Theodore C. Achilles, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Department of State
Thomas C. Mann, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State
John M. Leddy, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of the Treasury
Lincoln Gordon, *consultant*, Harvard University
Haydn Williams, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs, Department of Defense

Representatives of other departments and agencies are to be added as specific situations require.

The orderly progress in the solution of the basic economic problems of the hemisphere will be enhanced by the growth in the American Republics of the type of institutions which flourish under representative democracy. We are prepared to cooperate actively with the other American states to end tyranny, whether of the left or right, and to strengthen the economic and social bases of democracy. We are encouraged by the growing realization of the dangers of accepting the alien answer and of the need for a cooperative approach to the issues. These are hemispheric problems, and they require a hemispheric solution.

The efforts of the Latin Americans to mobilize their own material and human resources are essential to the success of the cooperative effort called for under the far-reaching new commitments of the Act of Bogotá.² President Kennedy has recommended that the United States Congress appropriate \$500 million as evidence of the deep concern of the United States and a manifestation of our willingness to cooperate in this self-help effort of the Latin American Republics. More-

over, we will continue to assist the economic development efforts of our sister Republics of the hemisphere with technical assistance and capital investment.

The resources, both human and material, which the inter-American community can bring to bear on the development of this hemisphere are immense. While substantial amounts of what is commonly called "aid" will be necessary, we think of the problem less as one of aid than of accelerated development. What we are seeking is a major cooperative effort of all of the Americas to accelerate economic and social development to meet the legitimate aspirations of millions of people for opportunity to share in a better life—through mobilization of all resources, domestic and foreign, public and private, which can be made available for this purpose. Among the most promising activities is the growing scientific and technical exchange among the Latin American countries themselves.

We are in the fortunate position of having in existence a number of agencies already experienced in meeting various aspects of this problem. In addition to the international agencies, particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, our own Export-Import Bank, International Cooperation Administration, Development Loan Fund, Department of Agriculture, and other Federal agencies, as well as private foundations, voluntary groups, and business enterprises, are all making a substantial contribution toward the economic and social well-being of the hemisphere. However, in the new cooperative approach toward the self-help efforts called for by the Act of Bogotá, the uniquely inter-American agencies—the Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Pan American Sanitary [Health] Organization, and specialized agencies of the Organization of American States—are expected to play an increasingly important role. Full and coordinated use must be made of the knowledge, experience, and facilities of all of the agencies available.

The importance which this administration attaches to these and other hemispheric problems is reflected by the establishment of the special interdepartmental Task Force under the leadership of Mr. Adolf Berle. It will be the work of this especially well-qualified group to give intensive attention to the problems of the area in order that

² For text, see *ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1960, p. 537.

they can be translated into opportunities for constructive action.

And of course our efforts in this area are affected by the work which is now going on to consider ways and means of reorganizing and rationalizing our various aid and investment programs in the interest of maximum effective efficiency.

Nuclear Test Negotiations

One final comment before we turn to questions. You have been informed that the Government of the Soviet Union has agreed to the proposed date of March 21 for the resumption of negotiations on nuclear testing.³ We are glad to be able to say that we shall have the assistance of Mr. Arthur H. Dean as our principal negotiator. Mr. Dean is well known to you and to the public as a distinguished lawyer and as an able and experienced negotiator. His most recent contribution in this role was in connection with the Law of the Sea Conference. He will join Mr. McCloy⁴ and his group to prepare himself for the forthcoming talks.

We were very privileged this morning to have the President drop in on the Secretary's morning staff meeting in order that he could become acquainted with the Assistant Secretaries and become familiar with the procedures which we use to establish coordination and joint action in the Department of State.

We had an interesting and lively discussion, and we in this Department were very grateful that he took the interest and came over to sit with us. I believe that this is the first time that that has happened in the State Department.

Now, gentlemen, your questions, please.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in the course of your efforts to find a solution or a plan for handling the Congo problem, have you consulted with the representatives of the Soviet Union? If so, what kind of response have you had, cooperative or otherwise?

³ On Feb. 4 Lincoln White, Director of the Office of News, told correspondents that the subject of a note handed to American Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson at Moscow on that day by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko was an agreement by the Soviet Union to a suggestion by the U.S. Government that the Geneva nuclear test ban negotiations be postponed from Feb. 7 to Mar. 21.

⁴ John J. McCloy, Adviser to the President on Disarmament.

A. We have not consulted directly as between governments through normal channels, but there will of course be some consultation at the seat of the United Nations, where this matter is now under consideration by the Security Council. I have nothing further to add on that.

The Crisis in Laos

Q. Mr. Secretary, with respect to these problems that you can't discuss in detail, I'm wondering, however, if, since the crisis in Laos seems to be getting no better, if you could give us some idea of the lines along which your administration is working on this problem?

A. At the present time the parliamentary situation is that a proposal has been made to the Soviet Union for a reconstitution of the International Control Commission, the sort that was envisaged under the Geneva accords.⁵ I gather that the Soviets have not yet replied to that proposal. We must therefore be thinking about alternatives. And this we are doing in consultation with other governments concerned.

We are concerned both about a political means for demonstrating that Laos can be and should be independent, peaceful, without commitments in any direction, but at the same time to hope that the situation on the ground will become sufficiently stable to permit a degree of real stability in that area. One of the problems is, of course, that when we talk about a word like "independence" or "neutrality" these words don't seem to mean the same thing to all parties. So we must take care to insure that the arrangements will make it possible for the Laotian people to work out their own arrangements in peace without hostile interference.

Q. Mr. Secretary, a related question—

A. Yes?

Q. Communist arms have been introduced both into the Laotian situation and into the Congolese situation by various other means. United States arms also have been introduced in those two areas. Now, how do you view this struggle, as an East-West conflict for the Asian subcontinent, for the continent of Africa, and is it possible, do you believe in your long-range thinking, to avoid such East-West struggle?

⁵ For background, see BULLETIN of Aug. 2, 1954, p. 162.

A. Well, there are elements in both situations of an East-West struggle. The assistance which we have given in Laos has been channeled through the arrangements which were set up under the Geneva accords. The International Control Commission, as you know, has not been there for some time, but those arrangements have been clear and the public has known of the military assistance and financial assistance which we have been giving to Laos.

We do believe that arrangements about the future of Laos should be alert to the problem of unauthorized supply of arms that would be available for causing trouble, and we think that that should be under international supervision of some sort which will make it equally applicable to all sides.

In the Congo this is primarily a problem to be worked out through the United Nations. As you know, we have insisted that assistance to the Congo be channeled through the United Nations. [The United States has sent no arms to the Congo.] Of course, there has been assistance put in there through other channels. We would hope that the United Nations could find itself in a position to take charge of that problem and to insure that outside assistance is used as the United Nations itself would direct. We would hope that it will be possible to save some of these parts of the world that are primarily interested in the development of their own resources and the well-being of their own people from being caught up in the turbulence of some of the larger problems outside. We would hope that that will be possible in Africa. One of the reasons why we are supporting the United Nations effort there is because we believe that that might be the best way to prevent that kind of embroilment. That is also one of the reasons why we think the newly independent states themselves have a very special and specific interest in the success of the United Nations effort in a place like the Congo.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on Laos, how much time do you think the West has to find a political settlement there? In short, how urgent is the situation?

A. I would not be able to specify the time in terms of weeks or months, but the situation is sufficiently urgent to require us to work at it and work at it hard, and we should not suppose that

coasting along would be to the advantage of anyone concerned.

Q. The President this morning has sent his message on the balance of payments to the Congress.⁶ Does the administration regard the proposal of Germany, which has been arrived at over 2 months of negotiations, adequate help in solving this problem?

A. I think that my best comment on that would simply be to say that we are continuing our discussions with the Germans and that we hope to be in touch with them further about it.

Techniques in Diplomacy

Q. Mr. Secretary—

A. Yes?

Q. You have said that this administration does not intend to deprive itself of any diplomatic means for achieving its ends. I wonder if you could discuss with us today the idea of heads-of-government meetings as a technique in diplomacy. When should they be engaged in? How should they be prepared for? And when should they not be used?

A. Well, this question has become a little tangled because of a personal interest which I took in it before I became a public official. I think perhaps one thing that happened was that, in trying to put one or two things into context and without a chance to discuss it in somewhat broader terms, this matter got a little bit out of perspective.

You recall that there was considerable interest not so long ago in the report that Ambassador [Llewellyn E.] Thompson had then been consulting with high officials in Moscow. We tried to say then that we wanted to use regular diplomatic channels and in using them it would not be possible for us to fill in the public or the press on the details of those talks. Now I depart from that particular instance and remind you that there are times when the content of talks, the possibility of reaching any result in such talks, can be frustrated by premature publicity. Indeed, I can recall a few instances in the past, in the distant past (and I would not expect to specify those instances), when the very existence of talks led to the collapse of the discussions under way.

⁶ See p. 287.

When that clarification was made of Mr. Thompson's discussions, there was a wide interpretation that this meant that we were getting ourselves rather fixed on this, and only this, technique, and so I tried to suggest that this would be too dogmatic and narrow a view, that all of the techniques of diplomacy are available and have to be considered by a government with as large interests and as wide-ranging relationships as the Government of the United States. That comment was interpreted to mean a reversal and that we were taking off in another direction.

Could we not leave it that in these complex relationships among governments there is a variety of techniques and that these have to be considered in relation to the job to be done? I don't believe that we ought to generalize or philosophize unduly about choices among techniques at this point. From time to time you will see an emphasis on one. From time to time you will see the use of another. And I would hope that we would not find ourselves caught up in a policy with respect to method, because the method is the handmaiden of policy and we should be prepared to do what has to be done or needs to be done in the national interest.

Responsibility for Neglect of Cuban Aspirations

Q. In your opening statement, Mr. Secretary, regarding Latin America, you spoke of the tragedy of Cuba and the neglect of the aspirations of the Cuban people. Can you fix the responsibility for this neglect?

A. I think you will recall that I said "the earlier neglect of the aspirations of the Cuban people," and of course that neglect is present there now. But the Cuban episode illustrates the importance of attention to the economic and social improvement of the peoples of these various countries. The primary responsibility, of course, goes to these previous regimes in Cuba. I think that the rest of us in the inter-American system might have worked harder to point that and other governments in the direction of economic and social reform. This is not something which can be done from the outside or even largely from the outside. This requires a recognition of goals and purposes and aspirations by the governments and indeed by the people themselves.

I don't know whether any of you grew up in our own Southland and recall some of the early days of development there. Development requires advance on a broad front: education, health, increased productivity, capital investment. Obviously, these are not things which can be brought in from the outside and given to people. They have to be a part of a total national effort under vigorous leadership which instills an interest in these problems on the part of the people concerned. For example, in some countries that are struggling with development, unless you find a popular interest it is very difficult to get the improved techniques or the improved seeds or the opportunities for improved sanitation and health into the hands of the people that count, because there is a widespread conservatism on the part of people all over, including our own country, to accept changes too rapidly.

Well, what's needed is inspirational leadership and an activation of the development forces that are coming from beneath in order that an advance can be made on a broad front. And our need is to find those particular points, sometimes relatively minor points, where our contribution can be critical—whether it's in assisting in the development of new varieties of basic food crops, or whether it's training individuals in public administration to assist in the development of a ministry of finance, or whether it is helping to build up a good department and a good university, or whether it's capital investment in a particularly urgent project from which an important yield can come. These are the things which we can do to help the basic effort from within the countries themselves.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you give us an idea of your thinking about when the proper time might be to include Communist China in any disarmament talks and particularly with reference to nuclear testing talks?

A. That is a very serious and relevant problem which is, of course, under study by the disarmament group. It will not be easy to achieve any realistic or effective disarmament unless all those countries that are capable of producing and maintaining large armed forces are brought within the system. But I would not be able to comment further at this time about means or timing or methods.

Relations With the Soviet Union

Q. Mr. Secretary, in light of the release of the RB-47 fliers, could you put into perspective for us your own view of the prospect for improved working relations with the Soviet Union on some of the specifics which now face us, in the Congo, on Laos, on some of the others around the globe?

A. The release of the RB-47 fliers removed some of the problems between us and the Soviet Union and did indeed help to remove one of the obstacles to normal communication. But we should not suppose that the assumption of responsibility by a new administration in Washington or by any changed mood in the words which are used on either side, however slight that change of mood might be, means that serious problems have suddenly disappeared.

There is a lot of work to do to find out whether it is possible to find a constructive relationship, step by step, issue by issue, with the Soviet Union and indeed with others. We shall, in the weeks and months ahead, be in the process of finding out. But I would hope that we would not be unduly optimistic that relationships have basically changed just because of the events of the last, say, few weeks. One still has the manifesto of the Communist summit to read. One still has Mr. Khrushchev's January 6th speech to study. There are still such problems as Laos, Cuba, Congo, and a wide range of others. We do hope that it will be possible, perhaps on some of the lesser questions, to make some step forward. But there are some serious days ahead and some hard work ahead.

There was a question in here—

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Vice President said in New York yesterday [February 5] that he hoped that a reduction of arms in the Near East would quickly come. I wonder, sir, if you have had time to give this problem any consideration and whether you plan any steps to bring such a thing about?

A. I don't believe that there is anything that I could profitably say on that question today. This

⁷ President Kennedy on Jan. 25 announced that Capt. Freeman B. Olmstead and Capt. John R. McKone, members of a USAF RB-47 crew, who had been detained by Soviet authorities since July 1, 1960, had been released by the Soviet Government; for background on the RB-47 incident, see BULLETIN of Aug. 1, 1960, p. 163; Aug. 8, 1960, pp. 209 and 211; Aug. 15, 1960, p. 235; Aug. 22, 1960, p. 274.

is, I think, one of the fields where preliminary or premature public comment would not be helpful. We are thinking about it very hard, of course.

Q. I have a question about nuclear testing. It has been 27 months now since the United States has tested, and several people are getting anxious about the Soviet Union possibly testing secretly. How much longer do you think we can observe the moratorium as we go into the new negotiations next month?

A. That is a question which will have to be faced in connection with the progress made in the plans for the nuclear test negotiations. President Kennedy had some comments to make on that during the campaign, and of course this is one of the very important elements in the problem. But I would not wish to talk about time factors today.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you tell us in a little more detail what program you have in mind generally to meet this Cuban situation, which the President has said requires the attention of all of the hemisphere nations, and you have said the same thing here a moment ago? I wonder if we are going into the OAS with any specific program on Cuba?

A. We shall, of course, be consulting with other members of the American system, but I don't believe that it would be profitable for me to comment on specific steps that might be under contemplation at this time in that very complicated situation.

U.S. Position on Berlin Unchanged

Q. Mr. Secretary, in the enumeration of crises points you have again omitted Berlin. Can we assume that the attention of the new administration has shifted its focus toward the East, perhaps from your or the President's mentioning of Poland so prominently in his speech?

A. I mentioned the particular crises because they were the ones that were most in the daily headlines at the present time. I did not suppose that I would exhaust the list in doing so nor recount all of the serious problems ahead of us. It is not to be understood that the attitude of the United States or of President Kennedy about Berlin has changed. We are deeply concerned about the security and the safety of the people of that city, and the President has himself declared that and there has been no change in the position.

Q. Mr. Secretary, over the weekend apparently the Cuban Government intervened with the company which controls the water supply for the Guantanamo Base. Would you give us your assessment of that move and, in particular, tell us what, if anything, it portends?

A. I have no immediate information on that problem except the report that the water supply has continued. This is, of course, something we will be looking into.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in the larger question of East-West relations, over the period that you expect to be in office do you believe it is possible for the American Government to come to what might be called "settlements" with the Soviet Union and its Communist allies, or is the most that can be expected to find a modus vivendi, or a peaceful co-existence, or whatever phrase you choose, short of firm settlements of a long-term nature?

A. I wouldn't, I think, wish to generalize about that problem. It is made up of so many large and smaller things. Our necessity will be to work at them, both the larger ones and the smaller ones, as we can, to reach settlement of specific issues where we can, to see whether it is possible to reduce tension, and to find any basis for a more constructive relationship. But I would not wish to predict in general terms about the longer range aspects of that problem.

Q. Mr. Secretary, a few moments ago you mentioned the words "independence" and "neutrality" meaning different things to different countries. Our policy in Laos has been criticized for asking that Laos be both neutral and friendly toward the West. What is your view of the word "neutral"?

A. I think "neutral" means—to me—first, independence, without the kind of commitments to either side, if there are only two sides in the situation, which would cause that country to become a battleground of contending forces and which would not jeopardize its own independence and right to work out its own institutions. But I hesitate again to offer that as a comprehensive definition. Let's say that that is simply a passing comment.

Q. Mr. Secretary, again on Laos. Earlier you spoke of the need to find political means for demonstrating Laos neutrality; and later you referred

to the desirability, as I understand it, of establishing some form of international supervision to restrict the flow of foreign arms into Laos. I wonder if we might draw from these statements the inference that you are leaning toward an international conference to establish some new terms for Laos which would limit the United States' own contributions of arms to Laos, as well as the flow of arms across the border?

A. I would not myself draw that inference from the remarks that I made. But, of course, that is one of many alternatives which would have to be considered about Laos.

Red China and the U.N.

Q. Mr. Secretary, since the confirmation of various high officials in the State Department, it would appear that there is a trend of thought that perhaps the admission of Red China to the United Nations is inevitable. First: Is there such a trend of thought in the Department of State at the present time, and, if there is, what is your view on it?

A. I think the comments on that question were made rather extensively before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by several of us who were questioned about it. I think that it would be unnecessary for me to repeat those comments seriatim. But I would not want to embroider them.

The essence of the problem is that we have strong commitments to our ally, the Government of the people of Formosa: the National Government of China. That commitment is firm, and, of course, the other side looks upon that as a major obstacle. I think we could leave it there for further study.

There is in addition to that, of course, the highly complicated parliamentary situation in the United Nations, on which I will not wish to comment today.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you please discuss with us what you are thinking about the necessary revamping of NATO?

A. There have been a number of proposals made publicly to strengthen the NATO system. There are a number of proposals, as you know, before governments now.

We are making an intensive study of these pro-

posals and others at the present time and hope to be able to join with the other members of NATO to help unify and strengthen that critical instrument of the North Atlantic Community. I do not believe that it would be possible for me to go into detail on that today.

Appointments of New Ambassadors

Q. Mr. Secretary, the appointments of new ambassadors by this administration have been rather slow so far, but I assume there will be some further announcements shortly. Could you tell us though what is the philosophy behind these appointments in the light of the continuing argument over the years as to the merits of having career ambassadors as against political appointees? What is the direction in which the thinking is going on this point?

A. The general hope is to find highly qualified men for all posts and to make full use of not only our able Foreign Service officers but others who might be qualified from outside. The timing of the announcements has turned somewhat upon the procedures involved.

As you gentlemen know, it is very difficult to hold privately prospective names for ambassadorial posts abroad. On the other hand, this creates problems in our relations with the governments to whom we might wish to send ambassadors. Until we have asked for the *agrément*, until we have consulted them about whether they would be willing to receive a particular person as ambassador, it is difficult for them and embarrassing to both of us if those names are matters of public speculation. Again, I would not wish to cite cases, but there have been times in the past when governments have made it known that it would be extremely difficult for them to receive a person who was being actively discussed before the formal approach had been made.

Now that has something to do with the timing. There will be a very considerable number of ambassadors asked to stay in their posts, and most of those have been informed. There will be other appointments announced in the days ahead.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in view of the fact that there are three different countries, whether legal or illegal, operating in the Congo today, do you feel that perhaps a federation-type setup might be the best for the Congo? And in connection with this,

do you think that perhaps Mr. [Patrice] Lumumba should be released from prison shortly and even be permitted to take a high place?

A. Of course, we in this country instinctively think of a federal structure as one of the means by which one can resolve differences over a considerable area about political organization and governmental operations. These are questions, however, which have to be worked out on the ground with the various Congolese leaders—with the help of the United Nations, undoubtedly. We don't know whether the present conciliation commission out there will have any success in bringing Congolese leaders together. But these are essentially problems to be sorted out there rather than back here.

I would not wish to comment on the very difficult problem of release of political prisoners. There are a considerable number of them being held.

But that is the situation on the ground, which has to be worked at with those who are in position to do something about it and under the circumstances which would make it possible to act upon it. But that is not for us here today.

Q. Mr. Secretary, how do you look upon the suggestion that the next NATO Council meeting be a heads-of-government meeting in order that President Kennedy might meet the other heads of government in the Alliance?

A. That is a question for which there is no conclusion as far as we are concerned. This and other suggestions of that sort are, of course, under study.

Q. Thank you, sir.

U.K. Prime Minister To Visit U.S. for Talks With President Kennedy

White House press release dated February 9

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, accompanied by Lady Dorothy Macmillan, will arrive at Washington from the federation of The West Indies on April 4. The President and the Prime Minister will meet for informal talks on April 5 and 6. The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, will arrive at Washington on April 3 and will have preliminary discussions with the Secretary of State.

Secretary Rusk Interviewed on "Today" Show

Secretary Rusk was interviewed on the NBC television Dave Garroway "Today" show by Mr. Garroway and Martin Agronsky, Washington correspondent of the National Broadcasting Company. The interview was videotaped on February 9 and broadcast over the NBC television network on February 10. Following is the text of the transcript.

Press release 63 dated February 10

Mr. Rusk: I cherish the hope—a hope shared, I'm sure, by all Americans—that the Department of State can work effectively during the coming years to promote the cause of peace.

Mr. Garroway: That was the Honorable Dean Rusk, the new Secretary of State, the fifth member of the President's Cabinet. We shall have the honor of talking to him shortly after a station break.

And now we are able to meet our new Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Rusk, who is the fifth member of the President's Cabinet to appear on our "Today" Cabinet series. In Mr. Rusk's case the fifth becomes the first, for in terms of protocol and power the Secretary of State takes precedence over all other members in any Cabinet.

The critical problems on which the Secretary of State must advise the President are the most immense which face our Nation. In his state of the Union message,¹ the President defined them like this:

Our greatest challenge is still the world that lies beyond the cold war—but the first great obstacle is still our relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China. We must never be lulled into believing that either power has yielded its ambitions for world domination—ambitions which they forcefully restated only a short time ago. On the contrary, our task is to convince them that aggression and subversion will not be profitable routes to pursue these ends. Open and peaceful competition—for prestige, for markets, for scientific achievement, even for men's minds—is something else again. For if freedom and communism were to compete for man's allegiance in a world at peace, I would look to the future with ever-increasing confidence.

To meet this array of challenges—to fulfill the role we cannot avoid on the world scene—we must reexamine and revise our whole arsenal of tools: military, economic, and political.

One must not overshadow the other. On the Presidential coat of arms, the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left he holds a bundle of arrows. We intend to give equal attention to both.

As the President notes, this Nation faces a challenge in leadership which it cannot avoid, nor can he as President. The man he looks to most constantly to help him meet that challenge is his Secretary of State. The world crisis is a burden of the Secretary of State, which he shares with the President. The seal of the office and the immense responsibility that it entails are in the hands of the veteran 52-year old diplomat, Dean Rusk.

Secretary Rusk and our correspondent in Washington, Martin Agronsky, are waiting to discuss our foreign policy right now. Good morning, Mr. Secretary, and Martin.

Mr. Agronsky: Good morning, Dave.

Mr. Rusk: Good morning.

Mr. Agronsky: Mr. Secretary, there has been a lot of talk about a remarkable coincidence between a symbol that you used in a collegiate thesis that you wrote and one that President Kennedy used in his state of the Union message—the symbol of the American eagle on the Presidential coat of arms. It holds in its right hand a branch of peace and in its left hand a bundle of arrows. Was this the first fruit of your collaboration with the President of the United States, sir?

Mr. Rusk: Well, I had long since forgotten that I ever drew attention to this figure of speech. I think I read it for the first time some time ago in the press. I suppose an enterprising reporter dug this out of one of my professors at some stage. I did not suggest this to the President for the inaugural. I do believe that it is an apt figure of speech because America needs both strength and a willingness to make peace wherever possible.

Mr. Agronsky: We "arm to parley" in Mr. Churchill's words.

Mr. Rusk: Quite right.

Mr. Agronsky: Mr. Secretary, the former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, recently commented in a very interesting way on how he was offered the post of Secretary of State by former President Harry Truman—

Mr. Rusk: Yes.

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

Mr. Agronsky:—how he felt about it when he was offered the job and how long it took him to decide to accept it. I wonder, sir, could you tell us anything about that particular, extremely interesting sequence in your relationship with the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy?

Mr. Rusk: As is by now well known, I had not had the privilege of knowing Senator Kennedy in those earlier days. I actually was asked to undertake this post in our second meeting, in our second conversation.

Mr. Agronsky: Well, for historical records, sir, when was that?

Mr. Rusk: December 12th, thereabouts.

Mr. Agronsky: Yes.

Mr. Rusk: On a Sunday evening.

Mr. Agronsky: How did you feel when it was offered to you?

Mr. Rusk: This is a very sobering moment in anyone's life. The responsibility is very heavy. The privilege of serving the President in this role is, of course, very great, but the burdens which are carried by the President of the United States are such that any citizen who is asked to undertake this responsibility is under a very compelling duty to do his best to do so.

Mr. Agronsky: Did you accept it immediately?

Mr. Rusk: I accepted it when the President asked me to do it.

Mr. Agronsky: At that moment?

Mr. Rusk: Right.

Mr. Agronsky: Unlike Dean Acheson, who said that he slept on it?

Mr. Rusk: There had been some speculation earlier to which I had attributed no importance whatever about this subject, and I had had one conversation with the President about the general nature of our responsibilities in the foreign policy field, so that I did not come to that second meeting completely unprepared for that discussion.

Mr. Agronsky: Mr. Secretary, you noted once that Harry Truman had defined the President's relation to foreign policy in five words. He said, "The President makes foreign policy." What

does the Secretary of State make? What is the function of your job? How do you see it?

Mr. Rusk: The primary responsibility of the Secretary of State is to help the President carry one of the most awesome responsibilities that is known to man. That means that the Secretary of State must be a principal, perhaps the primary, adviser to the President on foreign policy, but it also means that the Secretary must administer and lead the Department of State so that a great department can be of maximum help to the President. It means that the Secretary must help to represent the administration's point of view with the Congress and with congressional leaders and also help explain to the country what we are trying to do in foreign policy. Because, although the Constitution gives very heavy responsibilities to the President, our Constitution also gives the President a license to lead, and, in exercising that leadership in a country which moves by consent, the President must have the help of a great many others, including his principal Cabinet officers. The Secretary of State's role is to help in every way possible the President carry out his far-reaching and extremely complicated and difficult responsibilities in the foreign policy field.

Mr. Agronsky: Mr. Truman was right; the President makes foreign policy.

Mr. Rusk: The President leads the Nation in our relations with other nations. Now it is true that there is an inevitable and necessary partnership between the President and the Congress, but even there the President's leadership is crucial in the elaboration and the directions of our foreign policy.

Mr. Agronsky: Dave?

Mr. Garroway: Mr. Secretary, would you say there is a fundamental difference between the approach of President Kennedy and yourself toward foreign policy and that which was followed by President Eisenhower and his two Secretaries of State?

Mr. Rusk: I think perhaps the principal difference is that President Kennedy and his new administration take seriously the underlying fact that what the United States does or what the United States does not do in the world in which we live makes a great deal of difference to what happens in this turbulent, tempestuous period in which we are now living. There are great revolu-

tionary forces going on in the world. Older empires are breaking to pieces. New international organizations are coming into being. There is a great revolution of expectations in which people all over the world are trying to find a more decent life for themselves. New political situations, both national and regional, are coming into being.

Now the United States can make an enormous difference to the shape of the world to come by taking an active and interested and sympathetic and constructive role in these activities. And I do believe that President Kennedy's leadership will give us a new involvement and concern with, and effect upon, these great tides of history which will determine the future of not only ourselves but our children and grandchildren in the years to come.

Mr. Garroway: Sir, you have defined the central problem of our foreign policy and of our time as the maintenance of peace. How would you define the central problem of maintaining that peace?

Mr. Rusk: In the first instance, it seems to me that those who are interested in maintaining the peace and in organizing a world community in a way that will permit us to settle our disputes by peaceful means must themselves be strong. We must not offer temptations to those who would upset the peace by letting them feel that they can upset the peace with impunity.

But, reaching far beyond that, it is important for us to keep our eyes on the world that might lie beyond the cold war, because we must let our own people and people abroad know what our long-range aspirations are, a world which can live in peace and in decency and with justice and under the rules of law, so that we can have a tolerable international community in which these passing disputes can be handled without upsetting the peace of the world.

Mr. Garroway: That leads me, sir, to ask you how you define the problem of negotiating with Russia.

Mr. Rusk: We have with the Soviet Union relatively few directly bilateral problems. Most of our problems arise over the nature of the world to come and the ability of the international community to organize itself for peace and stability.

Now we have some large issues with the Soviet Union, but we have many smaller possibilities of

working out a constructive relationship. We must deal with the large ones with integrity and assurance and confidence, but we must also try to find those smaller points through which we can find joint constructive action and a common interest which will improve the general atmosphere in which the larger questions can be better dealt with.

Mr. Garroway: Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Martin?

Mr. Agronsky: Mr. Secretary, Mr. Kennedy has said repeatedly that he is going to try to bring a new look to our democracy, our foreign policy, and you have said the same. You have indicated that you intend to accentuate the positive in our dealings with the Soviet Union, that is, instead of concentrating on the things on which we differ with Russia, to find the things that we hold in common. Now what's the one fundamental thing that we have in common with the Soviet Union? Is there such a thing?

Mr. Rusk: I suppose that we and the Soviet Union, at least we the American people and the people of the Soviet Union, have in common a genuine desire to avoid a major nuclear war. That, I think, we would not dispute. But I think we also have in the offing a great many lesser matters on which we can find constructive cooperation.

President Kennedy referred in his state of the Union message to matters on which nature itself makes natural allies of us all, such matters as the control of viruses or the control of wheat rust or the control of potato blights, or such questions as the safety of life at sea and in the air. There are many other possibilities for day-by-day cooperation in the work of the world which is going on and being nurtured by small, little-known, unnoticed international meetings going on all over the world every day. These are not at the moment earthshaking. These are not decisive. But they are building up an underpinning of confidence and mutual interest which will help in the longer run. Where smaller agreements are enforced by the practical advantage which each side gets from compliance, this experience is good and wholesome, although it may not as yet be decisive.

Mr. Agronsky: Well, Mr. Secretary, I feel from what you have said that you would share with Khrushchev at least this much of a conclusion, that coexistence with the Soviet Union is a possibility,

that coexistence between our two opposed systems is possible, that we need not have a war.

Mr. Rusk: That is something that must be tested out in the months and years to come. There are words like "coexistence" and "peace" and "democracy" which mean different things to different people. And in terms of civility and concentrated effort and in terms of clarity of thinking on our own side, we should find out in the months and years ahead whether the prospects for peace can be strengthened by real understanding in this relationship.

Mr. Agronsky: Dave?

Mr. Garroway: Sir, you wrote about a year ago that in principle you're against summitry, that is, foreign policy negotiations on the chiefs-of-government level. You quoted the advice, I remember you gave, of a 15th-century diplomat who said, "Two great princes who wish to establish great personal relations should never meet face-to-face but should communicate between good and wise Ambassadors." Mr. Secretary, why did you say that then, and do you still feel the same way?

Mr. Rusk: In that article to which you refer, Mr. Garroway, I was trying to point out why there has been considerable reluctance on the part of American leaders to take up summit diplomacy as a regular technique of the conduct of our foreign affairs. There are very great strains imposed upon our constitutional system if the President of the United States is away from his post for long periods of time. And I think, by and large, without reference to individuals concerned, the long history of summit diplomacy has not suggested that that is the most fruitful method of diplomacy over the years. We believe, some of us, that the ordinary channels of diplomacy should be used to their limit.

But, on the other hand, we should not be dogmatic about it. All of the instruments of diplomacy should be available in order to protect the national interest and to serve our Nation. As I have said in an earlier press conference,² method is the handmaiden of policy, and our job is to get on with a wise and sound policy, and we shall adapt our methods to that end.

Mr. Agronsky: May I follow up Dave's question this way, Mr. Secretary: In this business of dealing with Russia, former President Eisenhower and your chief Russian expert, Ambassador Charles Bohlen, have both said in effect that if you want to negotiate with the Soviet Union you must talk to Mr. Khrushchev. Now Mr. Khrushchev has said repeatedly that, as far as he is concerned, when he negotiates with any other country, he wants to talk with his opposite number, with number one. Now under those circumstances, when we negotiate with Russia, what good is it to deal with anyone but Khrushchev?

Mr. Rusk: We are not convinced that relations between great states turn always on relations between individuals. In the long-range history of diplomacy, techniques have been evolved and formalities have been developed for the purpose of removing from the relations between great states the accidental impacts of personality. Now it may be that from time to time it is useful and important for leading men to get together and talk over these things directly and personally. But the great mass of business of diplomacy cannot be handled this way.

I have been told, for example, that the cable output of the Department of State each day exceeds the combined output of our press services from Washington, D.C. There is an enormous amount of business, and much of that involves the great powers. We do transact business at lower levels, and we must develop the techniques for transacting as much business as we can in whatever channel is most effective. I would not subscribe, and I don't think any of the other great powers would subscribe, to the notion that diplomacy can be conducted only at the top. Every day we act in just the contrary direction.

Mr. Garroway: Mr. Secretary, we are asking this question of each member of the President's Cabinet: In his inaugural address the President said to Americans, "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." I'm sure you recall that.

Mr. Rusk: Yes.

Mr. Garroway: What meaning do you read into those words, sir?

Mr. Rusk: In the foreign policy field there is an enormous amount which individual citizens

² See p. 296.

can do. I think the first thing they should remember is that we need not and cannot hide behind the alibi of helplessness. Citizens can take an interest in foreign affairs. They can volunteer for service both here and abroad when asked to do so. But they can also conduct themselves in their own communities to create the quality of life in this country which demonstrates to the rest of the world what we mean by democracy and the dignity of the individual and human rights and social and economic progress. We can serve our country in the mood and the understanding with which we travel abroad.

We can serve it by the hospitality and the tact with which we receive visitors from abroad. We can serve it by discovering the talents of young people who need an opportunity to move to roles of leadership which are waiting for them in the conduct of our foreign affairs and in the rest of our national life. There is a great deal which private citizens can do, beginning with our own community and reaching into national service, either in uniform or in civilian life.

Mr. Garroway: Thank you, sir. Martin, we have time for one more question.

Mr. Agronsky: Very quickly then, Mr. Secretary, in your first news conference you pointed out that you felt disarmament talks could not be held realistically without the inclusion of Communist China. Can perhaps one of the major innovations in the foreign policy of this administration be, in the light of recognition that Communist China must be included in this major issue, that eventually we will end in recognizing the Chinese Communists?

Mr. Rusk: I have said before the Senate [Foreign Relations] Committee and otherwise that I do not see any prospect that recognition of Communist China is a realistic possibility or desirability. It is true that in such a field as disarmament, if we go into a nuclear weapons test-ban situation, this would make no sense unless all those who might be in a position to develop nuclear weapons were a member of the party or, if we were in a general disarmament arrangement involving conventional forces, that such an arrangement would not be realistic unless it included all of those who had powerful armed forces at their disposal. But these are matters for the future which I cannot go into in any detail.

Mr. Agronsky: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. Garroway: Thank you both very much. Peace.

President Outlines Measures for Aiding Cuban Refugees

Statement by President Kennedy

White House press release dated February 3

I have conferred with Secretary Abraham Ribicoff concerning the Secretary's on-the-spot investigation made at my direction on the problems of Cuban refugees in southern Florida.¹

Secretary Ribicoff paid tribute to the refugees as a proud and resourceful people, whose courage and fortitude in the face of tragic disruption of their lives is magnificent.

At the same time he reported that many of the refugees are now in serious need. They are living in extremely crowded quarters. Their resources have been exhausted or greatly depleted. Health and educational facilities are badly overtaxed.

Secretary Ribicoff praised the exceptional efforts of voluntary welfare agencies, and State and local officials, to cope with the problems which have been created by the influx of refugees from oppression in their homeland. But he emphasized that the increasing number of refugees, and the personal circumstances of many of them, had become more onerous than private and local agencies could any longer bear alone.

The Secretary said that immigration authorities estimated there are already 66,000 Cubans in this country, with at least 32,000 in the Miami area. To meet their minimal needs the personal resources of many of the refugees have been exhausted and the available resources of voluntary and local authorities badly overstrained.

As a result of the conference this afternoon I have directed Secretary Ribicoff to take the following actions on behalf of the United States Government:

1. Provide all possible assistance to voluntary relief agencies in providing daily necessities for

¹ Mr. Ribicoff is Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 20, 1961, p. 256.

many of the refugees, for resettling as many of them as possible, and for securing jobs for them.

2. Obtain the assistance of both private and governmental agencies to provide useful employment opportunities for displaced Cubans, consistent with the overall employment situation prevailing in Florida.

3. Provide supplemental funds for the resettlement of refugees in other areas, including transportation and adjustment costs to the new communities and for their eventual return to Miami for repatriation to their homeland as soon as that is again possible.

4. Furnish financial assistance to meet basic maintenance requirements of needy Cuban refugee families in the Miami area as required in communities of resettlement, administered through Federal, State, and local channels and based on standards used in the community involved.

5. Provide for essential health services through the financial assistance program supplemented by child health, public health services, and other arrangements as needed.

6. Furnish Federal assistance for local public school operating costs related to the unforeseen impact of Cuban refugee children on local teaching facilities.

7. Initiate needed measures to augment training and educational opportunities for Cuban refugees, including physicians, teachers, and those with other professional backgrounds.

8. Provide financial aid for the care and protection of unaccompanied children—the most defenseless and troubled group among the refugee population.

9. Undertake a surplus food distribution program to be administered by the county welfare department, with surplus foods distributed by public and voluntary agencies to needy refugees.

I hope that these measures will be understood as an immediate expression of the firm desire of the people of the United States to be of tangible assistance to the refugees until such time as better circumstances enable them to return to their permanent homes in health, in confidence, and with unimpaired pride.

I am particularly interested in Secretary Ribicoff's proposal to make effective use of the faculty of the University of Habana, three-fourths of

which are reported to be in south Florida at the present time. I have asked Secretary Ribicoff to examine how this community of scholars could be most effectively used to keep alive the cultural and liberal traditions for which this faculty has been justly noted. It represents a great inter-American asset, for their own people, for this country, and for the entire hemisphere. I have asked the Secretary to report by March 1st on how these great intellectual abilities can be most effectively employed.

I also want to commend Secretary Ribicoff for the constructive, humanitarian, and immediate program proposed to assist the Cuban refugees. He said that he hoped that it would be considered first and foremost an essential humanitarian act by this country. But he also wanted it to indicate the resolve of this Nation to help those in need who stand with the United States for personal freedom and against Communist penetration of the Western Hemisphere.

I have consulted with Budget Director David E. Bell on means for financing these interim measures, which are expected to cost about \$4 million through the remainder of this fiscal year.

Presidents of U.S. and Mexico Exchange Greetings

White House press release dated February 10

The White House on February 10 made public the following exchange of telegrams between President Kennedy and Adolfo López Mateos, President of the United Mexican States.

President Kennedy to President López Mateos

FEBRUARY 2, 1961

His Excellency

ADOLFO LÓPEZ MATEOS

*President of the United Mexican States
México, D.F.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I received with great pleasure your thoughtful and cordial message of January twentieth on the occasion of my inauguration. It is my earnest determination to strive for increasing cooperation between our two Governments as well as with the other democratic governments of the world.

Mexico will always have a warm place in American hearts as it has in my own. I assure you I reciprocate your expressions of personal happiness and I wish you continued success in your high office. The close ties of friendship that bind our two countries will, I know, be strengthened in the coming years as we approach ever closer to our common goals of a just peace and prosperity for all men.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

President López Mateos to President Kennedy

JANUARY 20, 1961

THE PRESIDENT
The White House

On the occasion of your inauguration as President of the United States of America, I take pleasure in expressing, in the name of the Mexican Government and people, heartfelt wishes for the greatness and prosperity of your country and for the continuation of the excellent relations that happily exist between our peoples and Governments.

I likewise take pleasure in sending you my warm congratulations and my best wishes for your personal happiness, and may the success of your administration be such as to achieve, in the international field, the peace with dignity and justice that all nations earnestly desire.

ADOLFO LÓPEZ MATEOS
President of the United Mexican States

Delegation Named to Final Stage of Talks on West Indies Bases

White House press release dated February 6

The White House announced on February 6 the appointment by President Kennedy of a delegation to the final stage of the negotiations concerning defense areas in The West Indies.¹ The chairman of the delegation will be John Hay Whitney, former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, who led the earlier negotiations on this subject at London and in The West Indies.

The other members of the delegation will be: George L. P. Weaver, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor; Hector Garcia, a distinguished American who has long been interested in the Caribbean area; Ivan B. White, Deputy As-

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1960, p. 822, and Jan. 9, 1961, p. 42.

sistant Secretary of State; and William E. Lang, Director of the Office of Foreign Military Rights Affairs, Department of Defense. The American consuls general at Port-of-Spain and Kingston will also be members of the delegation, and other representatives of the Departments of State and Defense will accompany the delegation as advisers.

The negotiations will concern the future use of specified defense areas in the Caribbean formerly operated under terms of the 1941 Leased Bases and other agreements. The U.S. naval station at Chaguaramas, Trinidad, is the principal facility involved even though there are other defense areas in the island territories of Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia, Antigua, Jamaica, Turks, Caicos, and Barbados which will come under discussion by the delegation.

Latin American Educators Attend Seminar in Puerto Rico

Press release 62 dated February 10

The ninth semiannual education workshop for Latin American teachers and school administrators will be conducted at San Juan, P.R., from February 13 to March 10, 1961.

Thirty-nine educators from six Central and South American Republics will participate in a special seminar designed to acquaint them with the methods and philosophy of the educational systems of the United States. The seminar, which is held twice each year under the auspices of the educational exchange program of the Department of State, will be conducted by the University of Puerto Rico with the cooperation of the U.S. Office of Education.

The seminar is held in Puerto Rico so that the Spanish-speaking participants can observe the practical application of U.S. educational theory within a linguistic and cultural setting similar to their own. At the conclusion of the workshop the educators will fly to Washington, D.C., to begin a 2-week visit to the eastern region of the United States.

The countries to be represented at the seminar are Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama. The group will include several high-ranking administrators in the edu-

cational systems of the six countries. All of the participants will receive grants authorized under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts.

Food for Peace

MISSIONS TO VISIT LATIN AMERICA

White House press release dated February 8

President Kennedy announced on February 8 that George McGovern, Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, accompanied by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., of the White House staff, would leave on February 13 for Argentina and Brazil to discuss with those governments matters of immediate interest in the Food-for-Peace Program.

Argentina is the largest exporter in Latin America of some of the products which the United States has in abundant supply, and the Food-for-Peace Program wishes to take the interests of such exporters into account in formulating its own programs. Brazil is the biggest consumer in Latin America of food products of both Argentina and the United States.

At the same time a mission at the technical level, headed by James Symington, Deputy Director, Food-for-Peace Program, and Stephen Raushenbush of the food-for-peace staff, will leave for discussions in most of the Latin American countries. They will be accompanied by experts from the Department of State, the Department of Agriculture, and the International Cooperation Administration. The purpose of this group will be to explore new ways in which the abundance of food and fiber can be brought to bear to meet the problems of improving nutrition in those countries and promoting economic development. At a later date Mr. McGovern will be ready to meet with officials of these governments to follow up opportunities that may be developed.

EDIBLE OILS TO BE DISTRIBUTED OVERSEAS

White House press release dated February 8

The White House announced on February 8 that under the Food-for-Peace Program edible vegetable oil will be made available to nonprofit voluntary agencies for distribution to needy people overseas. First purchases of oil will be made by

the Department of Agriculture for transfer to the voluntary agencies during March. Up to 100 million pounds of refined vegetable oils, including peanut oil, will be made available for this purpose during the calendar year 1961.

KENYA TO RECEIVE CORN

White House press release dated February 8

President Kennedy announced on February 8 that the United States is responding to an appeal of the Kenya Government for 9,000 tons of corn because of severe drought and prospective famine there this year.

Donations of food from our surplus stocks to meet emergencies such as those in Kenya and in the Congo, for which the President on January 25 announced a stepped-up program,¹ indicate an earnest determination to use this country's abundant supply of food for peace.

DEPARTURE OF FOOD SUPPLIES FOR CONGO

White House press release dated February 10

The White House announced on February 10 that a shipside ceremony would be held on February 12 at Pier 4, Locust Point, Baltimore and Ohio Terminal, Baltimore, Md., to mark the impending departure of the ship, *African Pilot*, carrying relief food supplies to the Congo.

Scheduled to participate in the ceremony are George McGovern, Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Food-for-Peace Program; Robert C. Tetro of the Foreign Agricultural Service; Herbert J. Waters, Special Assistant to the Director of the International Cooperation Administration; and Edgar G. Emrich, a farmer from Thurmont, Md.

The freighter will take on 700 tons of cornmeal at Baltimore, then proceed to Norfolk to take on 700 tons of rice before leaving for Africa. The shipment is part of a larger consignment of food supplies (10,000 tons of rice, 10,000 tons of cornmeal, 2,000 tons of nonfat dried milk) that the U.S. Government is providing through the United Nations to help avert famine in the Congo. The supplies are scheduled to be off-loaded at Matadi, which is a few miles up the Congo River, then

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 13, 1961, p. 218.

transshipped by rail and river boat to Kasai Province for distribution among famine-stricken Baluba tribesmen. Earlier shipments to the Congo under the Food-for-Peace Program were scheduled for arrival there this week. The shipments are being made under title II of Public Law 480 and are being drawn from the abundant supplies that have accumulated in the United States.

Grain Sent to Libya To Relieve Shortages Created by Drought

Press release 46 dated February 2

The U.S. Government has made available 22,000 tons of grain to Libya for free distribution in the drought-stricken areas of that country. The grain was donated in response to a request from the Government of Libya.

The grant, comprising 17,000 tons of barley and 5,000 tons of wheat, is for the relief of needy persons in the Libyan provinces. Some of the grain will be used as livestock feed. A critical shortage of grain developed as a result of severe drought conditions which have prevailed for nearly 3 years.

The grain will be transferred by the International Cooperation Administration from the U.S. Government-owned surplus commodities stock.

Libyan Ambassador Dr. Mohieddine Fekini, on behalf of his Government, accepted the grant of food and feed, which was made under authority of title II, Public Law 480 (Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act).

During 1959 and 1960 other grants of feed and wheat amounting to 121,000 tons were made available to Libya to relieve shortages created by drought.

President Decides Not To Increase Restrictions on Twine Imports

White House press release dated February 6

The President announced on February 6 that he had accepted as the findings of the Tariff Commission in two cases involving binding twines and cordage and other twines the findings of the two

Commissioners who decided that the imposition of increased restrictions upon imports of the twines was not warranted under section 7, the escape-clause provision, of the Trade Agreements Extension Act.

The President's decision was taken after consultation with interested departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

The two cases were submitted by the Tariff Commission on December 9, 1960. Two Commissioners participating in these cases recommended that the duty on hard fiber cords and twines be increased; two Commissioners recommended no increase; and two Commissioners did not participate. In cases where the Tariff Commission is equally divided the President is authorized to accept the findings of either group of Tariff Commissioners as the findings of the Commission.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

87th Congress, 1st Session

- Study of Foreign Policy. Report to accompany S. Res. 41. S. Rept. 3. January 13, 1961. 3 pp.
- United States Participation in International Atomic Energy Agency, 1959. Message from the President transmitting the third annual report. H. Doc. 45. January 12, 1961. 38 pp.
- Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program for the Fiscal Year 1960. H. Doc. 50. January 17, 1961. 117 pp.
- Proposed Nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson as United States Representative to the United Nations. Hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. January 18, 1961. 33 pp.
- Economic Report of the President. H. Doc. 28. January 18, 1961. 214 pp.
- Nomination of Chester Bowles, Under Secretary of State-Designate. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. January 19, 1961. 56 pp.
- Nomination of Murat W. Williams, George W. Ball, Roger W. Jones, and G. Mennen Williams. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the nomination of Murat W. Williams as Ambassador to El Salvador, George W. Ball as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Roger W. Jones as Deputy Secretary of State for Administration, and G. Mennen Williams as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. January 24, 1961. 101 pp.
- Reception of Foreign Dignitaries. Report to accompany S. Res. 40. S. Rept. 7. January 26, 1961. 2 pp.
- Study of U.S. Foreign Policy. Report to accompany S. Res. 41. S. Rept. 8. January 26, 1961. 2 pp.
- The State of the Union. Address of President Kennedy before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives. H. Doc. 73. January 30, 1961. 11 pp.

Developments in U.S. Foreign Trade During 1960

*Statement by Eugene M. Braderman*¹

The Committee on Trade has special significance for me. It has become like an old friend. I look forward to each of its meetings just as I look forward to renewing the friendships which I have made over the years of my participation in the work of this Committee and its predecessors.

Over the years I have seen this Committee become more and more meaningful and profitable for all of us. If any proof is needed there is no more eloquent testimony than the increasingly important commercial ties which have developed and become more firmly established among all the countries of the ECAFE region. We are indebted to the secretariat for attaching an annex to its letter of invitation listing all the meetings held to this date and the main subjects considered. That document underlines the fact that the work of this Committee has been varied. Yet its objective has been constant—to improve commercial relations and expand mutually profitable trade.

We are further indebted to the secretariat for its *Review of Developments in Trade and Trade Policies*. It is of the high quality which we have learned to expect from the secretariat.

We learn from the report that, with only two exceptions, all countries and territories of the region increased their export earnings in 1959 and 1960. Despite a rise in imports there was a

¹ Made on Jan. 19 at the Fourth Meeting of the Committee on Trade of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which met at Bangkok, Thailand, Jan. 17-24. Mr. Braderman, who is Director of the Far Eastern Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce, was U.S. representative at the meeting.

reduction in the deficit on merchandise account. The total gold and foreign exchange assets of most countries of the region rose, and several countries, in the words of the report, "increased their assets appreciably." We congratulate you and join with you in the hope that 1961 will see even greater achievements.

We would also hope that further progress would result in an acceleration of the much-welcomed steps taken last year to relax import restrictions. More particularly we are anticipating that 1961 will mark the end of discrimination against dollar imports.

Main Developments in Trade

I should like to review briefly the developments in U.S. foreign trade during 1960. The salient feature of our trade was the restoration once more of an excess of exports over imports large enough to contribute importantly to meeting our international commitments, including foreign economic aid. In 1959 our trade surplus had fallen to \$1.1 billion based on merchandise exports of \$16.3 billion and imports of \$15.2 billion. (By "billion" we mean 1,000 million.) I am happy to report that in 1960 we expect to record a trade surplus of about \$4.6 billion, arising mainly from an increase in exports to \$19.5 billion and only a slight decline in imports to \$14.9 billion. Total U.S. trade was at the highest level ever reached.

So much for our global trade situation. Now to the main developments in U.S. trade with countries in this region. Since our report to this Committee at its last meeting there has been a

notable uptrend in our trade with regional members of ECAFE. While U.S. imports from most areas of the world remained either steady or declined moderately, imports from this region registered a sizable increase. Trade statistics for the first 9 months of 1960 indicate that U.S. imports from ECAFE countries for the year will reach a new high, exceeding even the record \$2.25 billion achieved in 1959.

And ECAFE countries, taken as a whole, have significantly improved their position in the U.S. market. Two years ago about 13 percent of our imports came from Asian countries. Although full-year data were unavailable when we left Washington, statistics for the first 9 months of 1960 suggested that the proportion had risen to almost 17 percent.

United States exports to the ECAFE countries last year substantially exceeded the 1959 level of \$2.26 billion. By the end of September 1960 our exports had already exceeded the 1959 total. The sharp rise in the flow of U.S. goods to this area last year is due to the larger foreign exchange availabilities of the countries of the region, which, as I have already noted, are reported in the secretariat paper, and to increased U.S. assistance.

All of us are deeply concerned about the trade policies which we, individually and collectively, pursue. My country continues to adhere to liberal trade policies. Even in this current period, when we have been running a balance-of-payments deficit, my Government has *not* resorted to large-scale measures to control and restrict imports from other countries. Similarly, we have not reduced our assistance programs because we recognize the importance these programs have had and will continue to have in assisting in the economic development of other countries and in raising standards of living. Nor, again, have we sought to restrict the travel of Americans abroad, a factor which has been of increasing importance to countries in this region in terms of foreign exchange earnings.

Export Expansion Program

In order to maintain these programs and our liberal trade policies, which means, in balance-of-payments terms, continuing to spend at high levels, we have had to seek ways of earning more. In this connection our Government has instituted

a national export expansion program.² It is aimed at enlarging U.S. exports, which we hope, in addition to easing our immediate problem, will also lead to increasingly higher levels of world trade, an objective which I know is favored by all of you.

The export expansion program is without doubt giving new impetus to our export trade. In concert with private industry the U.S. Department of Commerce and other Government agencies initiated a many-sided program to further this aim. In particular Government-industry committees were formed on both a national and regional basis to alert the business community to new overseas export opportunities and to Government facilities to help business sell goods abroad. The impact of these various measures is already being felt. We expect that the year 1961 will see a widening of the beneficial results of these measures and of the continuing increase in our trade.

All of you are aware that following World War II the United States initiated and continued, through the Marshall plan and other programs, an unprecedented series of moves calculated to help rebuild the war-devastated nations of Europe and Asia. During the years of rebuilding, the United States, through various means, placed dollars in the hands of other nations so that they might be able in the process of their rebuilding to buy the services and goods which, in the period immediately after the war, only the United States could provide.

We realized that these nations would need to increase their exports in order to eliminate their dependence on the United States and that this would involve competition with the United States in world markets. The initiative and drive of other nations, aided by our economic programs, had the desired results. The restoration and rebuilding of the European economies and that of Japan has been completed. These once war-devastated nations have now become fully competitive with the United States in world markets.

We in the United States recognize the continuing need for assistance to our friends in the earlier stages of economic development. It is our firm hope that the fully recovered and strong economies

² BULLETIN of Apr. 11, 1960, p. 560.

of Western Europe and Japan will share the responsibility of meeting those needs with us.

U.S. Balance-of-Payments Situation

The record surplus in our merchandise trade in 1960, to which I have already called your attention, is indeed encouraging. However, this surplus has not closed the gap in our international accounts which has been running a deficit of \$3 billion to \$4 billion annually and is currently estimated at an annual rate of \$3.7 billion.

This continuing deficit is due in no small measure to our desire to continue to provide assistance in the form of essential foodstuffs, raw materials, and capital goods to the developing countries in the ECAFE region and elsewhere. We do not wish to jeopardize our ability to fulfill our international economic programs, to continue as a strong partner in the future growth of the free world and contribute to the maintenance of our mutual security. To insure that we can continue to pursue these objectives a definite improvement in our balance-of-payments position is essential. And this need is urgent. For, as you know, U.S. currency serves a double purpose. The dollar not only meets our domestic needs, but it has also become an essential cornerstone in the international financial system of the free world.

Thus, while we are seeking additional earnings from exports and a sharing of the burden by those able to do so, corrective measures have been taken to bring these accounts into balance. Some of these steps have received much publicity and have been the subject of widespread discussion and some concern—concern that the United States is planning to withdraw from its international obligations and commitments. Let me reiterate that this is *not* the case.

We have taken a number of steps to reduce the imbalance in our external payments position. The major sacrifices have been imposed on our own citizens. We are cutting down on unnecessary expenditures abroad by the United States and, in certain instances and under certain circumstances, substituting in our economic and military aid programs American-made products for goods formerly purchased abroad, a practice normally followed by almost every other country. We have stepped up our efforts to obtain, at the earliest

possible time, the removal of trade barriers by other countries against American goods. Other measures taken include sponsorship of the International Development Association as an adjunct of the World Bank and leadership in the establishment of the Development Assistance Group, both of which have the same objective of getting the economically strong countries to share the aid burden with us. We have also put into effect an export-financing and guaranty program to encourage the export of U.S.-made goods.

Cooperating To Expand International Trade

We believe that all of us must work toward the common objective of a further expansion of international trade. We are convinced that this can best be achieved through the time-tested principles of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]. The possibility of achieving our objectives will be enhanced if our work is closely coordinated with that multilateral trade organization. Those ECAFE members who participated in the recent meetings of the GATT, especially Committees II and III, know of the special emphasis being given to the trade of the less developed countries. My delegation is interested in the views of this Committee on their various trade problems. I assure you that these and any proposals and views expressed at this meeting will be given careful consideration by the new administration, which is almost at this very moment taking office in my country. The U.S. Government is constantly seeking ways and means of improving the trade prospects of the developing countries, and it is our hope that other governments, particularly those of Western Europe, will also continue to give priority to this very important matter.

We in the United States have noted a significant increase in the number of American businessmen visiting the ECAFE area and in the number of Asian businessmen who have been coming to our country with the objective of expanding commercial relations. Such face-to-face meetings will not only contribute to a better two-way understanding of existing problems and points of view but will undoubtedly stimulate the flow of trade and investment. Based on this conviction the U.S. Government has sought to facilitate these person-to-

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. Done at Washington January 15, 1944. Entered into force November 30, 1944. 58 Stat. 1169. *Signature:* Paraguay, January 10, 1961.

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: Venezuela, February 1, 1961.
Signature: Paraguay, January 10, 1961.

Health

Constitution of the World Health Organization. Opened for signature at New York July 22, 1946. Entered into force April 7, 1948. TIAS 1808.

Acceptance deposited: Chad, January 1, 1961.

Law of the Sea

Convention on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.¹

Accession deposited: Malaya, December 21, 1960.

Convention on the high seas. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.¹

Accession deposited: Malaya, December 21, 1960.

Convention on fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.¹

Accession deposited: Malaya, December 21, 1960.

Convention on the continental shelf. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.¹

Accession deposited: Malaya, December 21, 1960.

Shipping

International load line convention. Signed at London July 5, 1930. Entered into force January 1, 1933. 47 Stat. 2228.

Accession deposited: Haiti, December 2, 1960.

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Chad, February 2, 1961.

BILATERAL

Afghanistan

Agreement amending the agreement of April 29 and May 29, 1954 (TIAS 3030), relating to duty-free entry and defrayment of inland transportation charges on relief supplies and packages to Afghanistan. Effected by exchange of notes at Kabul December 27, 1960, and January 12, 1961. Entered into force January 12, 1961.

¹ Not in force.

person contacts through our trade missions program. In 1960 U.S. trade missions visited Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Japan. One is now visiting Ceylon and will soon arrive in Singapore and Malaya. Another will go to Japan this spring. These missions, as many of you know, are composed almost entirely of businessmen and are an example of cooperative Government-industry programs in our country.

The U.S. Government is also facilitating greater participation by U.S. business firms in trade fairs in the ECAFE region and elsewhere. The U.S. participated in many of the trade fairs held in the Asian area last year. Plans are now under way to broaden our participation in 1961 by not only exhibiting at regularly scheduled trade fairs and special events but also by holding "solo" exhibitions of U.S. products where no international trade fairs or exhibitions are scheduled. Included in our plans are exhibits in Afghanistan, Australia, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Japan, New Zealand, and Viet-Nam.

The secretariat paper to which I alluded earlier contains a section on tourism. This brings to mind that the 2-year study jointly made by the U.S. Government and the Pacific Area Travel Association is soon to be published. I am sure you all remember that the purpose of this study was to assist the countries of the region in the development of plans and programs for the promotion of tourism. The year 1960 was a "Visit the U.S.A. Year." We are pleased to note the emphasis which Far Eastern countries are placing on tourism by the launching in 1961 of a "Visit the Orient Year" program. We hope our success will be equaled or exceeded by the ECAFE region. I also hope that during 1961 you will be able to attract more American businessmen and further enhance the already important two-way commercial relations between the United States and the Far East.

In conclusion, on behalf of my delegation, let me assure you of our fullest cooperation in carrying forward the work of this important Committee. I am sure that I reflect the views of all of us when I say that only through a full and frank discussion of our problems, our experiences, our hopes, and our aspirations can we realize the vast potentials for an expansion of mutually profitable trade and commercial relations and in so doing enhance the well-being of all of us.

Brazil

Agreement extending the agreement of October 14, 1950, as amended and extended (TIAS 2475, 3055, 3292, and 4584), relating to a cooperative vocational education program. Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro December 31, 1960. Entered into force December 31, 1960.

Agreement extending the special services program agreement of May 30, 1953. Effected by exchange of notes at Rio de Janeiro December 31, 1960. Entered into force provisionally December 31, 1960. Enters into force definitely on the date the United States is notified that the agreement has been ratified.

Chile

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 memorandum of understanding and exchange of notes. Signed at Santiago November 8, 1960. Entered into force November 8, 1960.

China

Agreement for the loan of an additional naval vessel to China. Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei January 18, 1961. Entered into force January 18, 1961.

Honduras

Agreement terminating, beginning February 28, 1961, articles 1, 11, 14, and 15, together with references to article V contained in article XVI, of the reciprocal trade agreement of December 18, 1935 (49 Stat. 3851). Effected by exchange of notes at Tegucigalpa January 18, 1961. Entered into force January 18, 1961.

Hong Kong

Parcel post agreement and detailed regulations. Signed at Hong Kong January 18 and at Washington February 2, 1961. Enters into force on a date to be determined by mutual agreement.

Italy

Agreement amending and extending the agreement of June 28, 1954, as amended (TIAS 3150 and 4392), for a technical cooperation program for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. Effected by exchange of notes at Rome June 30, 1960. Entered into force June 30, 1960.

Pakistan

Treaty of friendship and commerce. Signed at Washington November 12, 1959. Entered into force February 12, 1961.

Proclaimed by the President: February 1, 1961.

United Arab Republic

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of August 1, 1960 (TIAS 4542). Effected by exchange of notes at Cairo January 16, 1961. Entered into force January 16, 1961.

United Kingdom

Agreement providing for the establishment and operation of space-vehicle tracking and communications stations in the United Kingdom. Effected by exchange of notes at London January 20, 1961. Entered into force January 20, 1961.

Designations

A. Guy Hope as Director and James N. Cortada as Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Regional Affairs, effective February 5.

Confirmations

The Senate on February 6 confirmed the following nominations:

Maurice M. Bernbaum to be Ambassador to Ecuador.

W. Wendell Blanche to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador to the Republic of Chad, the Central African Republic, and the Gabon Republic.

Abram Chayes to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 56 dated February 9.)

Frank M. Coffin to be Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated January 25.)

W. Averell Harriman to be Ambassador at Large. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 67 dated February 13.)

Philip M. Klutznick to be a representative of the United States on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 60 dated February 10.)

Joseph Palmer 2d to be Ambassador to the Federation of Nigeria.

R. Borden Reams to be Ambassador to the Republic of Ivory Coast and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador to the Republic of Dahomey and the Republic of Niger.

Francis H. Russell to be Ambassador to the Republic of Ghana.

Henry S. Villard to be Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

Thomas K. Wright to be Ambassador to the Republic of Mali.

Appointments

Roger Hilsman as Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, effective February 6. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 53 dated February 7.)

Africa. Assistant Secretary Williams Begins Trip to Africa 295

Agriculture. Food for Peace 312

American Republics

Food for Peace 312

Latin American Educators Attend Seminar in Puerto Rico 311

Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

Task Force To Coordinate Policies and Actions in Inter-American Area 298

Argentina. Food for Peace 312

Asia. Developments in U.S. Foreign Trade During 1960 (Braderman) 314

Brazil. Food for Peace 312

China, Communist. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

Congo, Republic of the

Food for Peace 312

Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

Congress, The

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy 313

U.S. Balance of Payments and Gold Outflow From the United States (Kennedy) 287

Cuba

President Outlines Measures for Aiding Cuban Refugees 309

Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

Department and Foreign Service

Appointments (Hilsman) 318

Confirmations (Bernbaum, Blancke, Chayes, Coffin, Harriman, Klutznick, Palmer, Reams, Russell, Villard, Wright) 318

Designations (Cortada, Hope) 318

Disarmament. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

Economic Affairs

President Decides Not To Increase Restrictions on Twine Imports 313

U.S. Balance of Payments and Gold Outflow From the United States (Kennedy) 287

Educational and Cultural Affairs. Latin American Educators Attend Seminar in Puerto Rico 311

Europe. President Exchanges Greetings With EEC Commission (Hallstein, Kennedy) 295

International Organizations and Conferences. Developments in U.S. Foreign Trade During 1960 (Braderman) 314

Kenya. Food for Peace 312

Laos. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

Libya. Grain Sent to Libya To Relieve Shortages Created by Drought 313

Mexico. Presidents of U.S. and Mexico Exchange Greetings (Kennedy, López Mateos) 310

Mutual Security

Food for Peace 312

Grain Sent to Libya To Relieve Shortages Created by Drought 313

Presidential Documents

President Exchanges Greetings With EEC Commission 295

President Outlines Measures for Aiding Cuban Refugees 309

Presidents of U.S. and Mexico Exchange Greetings 310

U.S. Balance of Payments and Gold Outflow From the United States 287

Public Affairs. Secretary Rusk Interviewed on "Today" Show 305

Refugees. President Outlines Measures for Aiding Cuban Refugees 309

Treaty Information

Current Actions 317

Delegation Named to Final Stage of Talks on West Indies Bases 311

U.S.S.R. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

United Kingdom. U.K. Prime Minister To Visit U.S. for Talks With President Kennedy 304

United Nations. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of February 6 296

West Indies, The. Delegation Named to Final Stage of Talks on West Indies Bases 311

Name Index

Agronsky, Martin 305

Bernbaum, Maurice M 318

Blancke, W. Wendell 318

Braderman, Eugene M 314

Chayes, Abram 318

Coffin, Frank M 318

Cortada, James N 318

Garroway, Dave 305

Hallstein, Walter 295

Harriman, W. Averell 318

Hilsman, Roger 318

Hope, A. Guy 318

Kennedy, President 287, 295, 309, 310

Klutznick, Philip M 318

López Mateos, Adolfo 311

Palmer, Joseph 2d 318

Reams, R. Borden 318

Rusk, Secretary 296, 305

Russell, Francis H 318

Villard, Henry S 318

Wright, Thomas K 318

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: February 6-12

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Release issued prior to February 6 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 46 dated February 2.

No.	Date	Subject
*53	2/7	Hilsman appointed Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research (biographic details).
*54	2/7	Cultural exchange (Bulgaria).
*55	2/8	Waters appointed Special Assistant to Director of International Cooperation Administration (biographic details).
*56	2/9	Chayes sworn in as Legal Adviser (biographic details).
57	2/6	Rusk: news conference.
†58	2/6	Consulate at Aruba closed.
*59	2/9	Burgess resigns as U.S. Representative to NATO and European Regional Organizations.
*60	2/10	Klutznick sworn in as U.S. Representative in the U.N. Economic and Social Council (biographic details).
†61	2/10	Berle: World Affairs Council, Los Angeles, Calif.
62	2/10	Latin American educators hold seminar in Puerto Rico.
63	2/10	Rusk: interview on Dave Garroway "Today" show.
64	2/10	Williams: trip to Africa (rewrite).
*65	2/10	Wiens appointed ICA representative in the Congo (biographic details).

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



BERLIN

City Between Two Worlds

This 22-page illustrated pamphlet, a revised *Background*, traces the political development of the Berlin question from 1952 up to the abortive summit meeting of May 1960, and includes a brief statement of the legal basis of Western rights in Berlin.

Publication 7089

20 cents

Department

of

State

The Record on Korean

Unification—1943-1960

This volume, consisting of a narrative summary and a collection of documents, presents the record on Korean unification as shown by the policies and actions of the United Nations, the United States, the Republic of Korea, and the countries of the Communist bloc during the period 1943 to 1960. The narrative covers the major developments relating to Korea in this period but gives primary attention to the continuing efforts of the United Nations and the United States to achieve the unification of Korea in accordance with fundamental principles endorsed by the great majority of the members of the world organization.

Publication 7084

65 cents

Order Form

Please send me copies of—

Berlin, City Between Two Worlds.

The Record on Korean Unification—1943-1960.

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

Enclosed find:

\$.....

(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1132

March 6, 1961

THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT ● *Address by Secretary Rusk* 323

ADMINISTRATION URGES RATIFICATION OF OECD CONVENTION ● *Statements by Under Secretary Ball and Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon* 326

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS ● *Remarks by Secretary Rusk* 334

A WORLD DIVIDED ● *by Eleanor Lansing Dulles* 336

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS ● *by Adolf A. Berle* 342

For index see inside back cover

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
THE UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1132 • PUBLICATION 7149

March 6, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (Jan. 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Address by Secretary Rusk¹

I greatly appreciate this opportunity to meet with America's business leadership at this early stage of the new administration. I hope that it will be only the first of a number of such opportunities. What happens in our relations with the rest of the world is of critical moment to you; the success of your own enterprises determines to a large extent whether our Nation can be prosperous and safe and find the right course through the troubled waters ahead. In these brief get-acquainted remarks I could not hope to cover the wide range of American foreign policy. Indeed, considerable segments of that policy are under review, and detailed comments by me would be untimely.

It is apparent that our predecessors have been generous in leaving an interesting agenda for us to handle. I have no doubt their predecessors did the same for them. Boredom is not to be one of our problems. It is our privilege to live in a revolutionary epoch in which the world is going through vast and far-reaching transformations. We in America have a responsibility corresponding to our enormous capacity to shape the course of events. We are makers of history in a period when the future of man for decades to come is being decided. We can be passive and take our chances—but I would suppose that, in that case, the chances for the survival of free institutions would be slim indeed. We can exert ourselves and do everything we can to help build a world environment in which free institutions can flourish. This is the choice which President Kennedy is asking us to make.

Our way of life was born in struggle; it has

survived appalling events and has been strengthened by them; it demands no less of us today than when we ourselves were throwing off our own forms of tyranny. Those who would bury us are moving with energy, speed, and sophistication. We cannot compete by consulting our comforts nor by nourishing our illusions. The contest in which we are engaged will involve every aspect of our national life; our readiness to look to our arms, the development of our talents, the productivity of our economy, our competitive position in world trade, our mobilization of our wisdom and intellect, the quality of life in our own communities—the total fabric of our national life is engaged and is at stake.

The Day-to-Day Aspects of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is not the spectacular episode of today's headline but is the total business of our relationships beyond our borders. Headlines there will continue to be; the place names will change as attention moves from one troubled spot to another. Some problems will be solved, others will take their place; some will simply endure. But the main business of foreign policy will receive little attention. The future of the world will turn not so much upon a succession of crises as upon our effectiveness in dealing with the mass and complexity of our day-to-day work—the work which anticipates difficulties before they become unmanageable, the work which spins the infinity of threads of common interest and agreement which bind peace together. You know in your own affairs that large things are often made up of a lot of little things. I believe that the broad lines of our policy are shaped by the nature of our society and the course of events around us. But I believe that we can greatly improve our position

¹Made before the Government-Industry Conference sponsored by the National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., at Washington, D.C., on Feb. 13 (press release 66).

by imaginative and prospective attention to the innumerable little things which escape wide public attention.

Nor am I talking about matters which are all that little. For example, I believe that you and we can work much more effectively and vigorously together to improve our trading position in the rest of the world. We on our side, through the Departments of State and Commerce, can put new energy into our representation of American economic interests abroad—in our search for and reporting of trade opportunities, in efforts to remove barriers to American trade, and by action to improve the climate for American investment and trade. We can also be helpful to you in reporting back points at which you yourselves seem to be in a weak competitive position in given markets or in distant situations, where more attention to sales, specially adapted products, spare parts, service, and other elements of an effective trading position need attention. We shall welcome a vigorous partnership and shall do what we can to do our part.

One of the steps we hope to take to join with the free peoples of Europe and Canada to meet jointly some of the crucial economic problems confronting us will come before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee tomorrow morning.

After nearly a year of negotiations my colleague, Secretary Dillon, signed on behalf of the United States last December 14 a convention establishing the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, commonly referred to as the OECD.² We consider the establishment of the OECD as potentially a historic step in our economic relations with our friends of the Western World.

The initial members of the OECD will be the six countries of the Common Market (France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy) and the Outer Seven (United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland), as well as Ireland, Iceland, Greece, Turkey, Spain, and the two North American countries, Canada and the United States.

The OECD will not be wholly new, nor will it simply be an extension of the past. Some 13½ years ago my distinguished predecessor, General George C. Marshall, issued a call for mutual cooperation among the war-torn European nations

to achieve recovery with the help of the United States.³ From this call flowed the Marshall plan and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. The OEEC thus came into being to administer United States assistance, but it quickly became the forum for European cooperation in a multitude of economic tasks, not the least of which was the reduction of trade barriers.

The basic objectives of the OEEC have been achieved. The industrialized nations of Europe have not merely recovered but have achieved unprecedented economic vigor. At the same time, in fact partly as a consequence, the economies of Europe and North America alike have become increasingly interdependent. It is no longer simply a case of "When the United States sneezes, all of Europe contracts influenza." We are all susceptible to the contagion of economic maladjustments. It was in recognition of this increasing interdependence that the United States took the initiative in proposing the OECD to supersede the OEEC.

One type of maladjustment which has been widely publicized in recent months is the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. This is not merely of concern to us but to our European friends as well. Why is this so? Are they simply being asked to worry about our difficulty because we once worried about theirs? There is more to it than that. What happens to the dollar has a direct effect upon the European economies. The dollar is a world currency and shares with gold and sterling the burden of providing reserves for international trade. The bulk of the dollars held abroad on official account are held by the European countries. Hence they share with us the desire and will to maintain the value of the dollar, which this Government is, of course, determined to do.

Furthermore the U.S. deficit is only one side of the equation. There is also a surplus—the surplus of Germany and other countries—which equally presents long-run problems. It is not sufficient that we, alone, take action to eliminate the U.S. deficit. It is equally important that those countries enjoying substantial surpluses adopt appropriate economic policies. Otherwise we would be merely passing our deficit on to some other country and aggravating its balance-of-payments problems

² For text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1961, p. 11.

³ For text of General Marshall's address, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1947, p. 1159.

and would start down the path of shrinking rather than expanding economies.

It is clear, I think, that we must attack both aspects—the deficit and the surplus—of the imbalance in the payments situation. But can the OECD itself take action to cure this problem? Literally, it cannot, of course. It is an organization of independent nations who must make their own decisions. But the OECD provides a framework where these nations can consult about their policies to assure that each country, in making its decisions, is aware of the implications of its policies for other countries. We do not expect or desire all countries to follow the same policies, but we want to assure that the policies are, so far as possible, harmonious and help to achieve our common goals.

Goals and Functions of the OECD

Some of these goals are stated clearly in the OECD convention. The first aim of the Organization is the promotion of policies designed to attain and to maintain the highest sustainable rate of economic growth and employment. This includes the need to achieve a rising standard of living. If we are to achieve such a rise and at the same time contribute to world security, our economies must expand at a high rate.

The second goal—which is at the same time the principal new feature of the OECD as compared to the OEEC—is the expansion and improvement of our financial and technical assistance to peoples in other areas of the world. If we are to meet the critical needs of these peoples for the help which can only come from the outside, we must form a partnership with the other free, industrialized countries of the world, many of which are becoming more aware of their responsibilities.

The problem of assisting less developed countries is so urgent that we decided not to wait until the new Organization was established. Accordingly, the Development Assistance Group was established in January 1960, when the negotiations for the OECD were initiated.⁴

The DAG consists of those countries which are providing a substantial amount of bilateral long-term assistance to less developed countries—namely, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, the United

Kingdom, the United States, Japan, and the Commission of the European Economic Community. The DAG has had three meetings at which information on aid programs has been exchanged and the adequacy of each country's aid programs and of the terms on which it is given have been reviewed.⁵ These discussions are gradually beginning to bear fruit. Some of the European countries are increasing their aid programs, are now making budgetary provision for such assistance, and are now making grants as well as loans and providing long-term development credits as well as short-term export credits.

Much remains to be done, but an encouraging beginning has been made. Upon the inception of the OECD the DAG will be reconstituted as its Development Assistance Committee.

Finally, the convention calls for the promotion of policies to expand world trade on a multi-lateral nondiscriminatory basis. I can state unequivocally that the OECD will not assume broad trade functions. It will not cut tariffs. It will not assume any of the functions which had been planned for the Organization for Trade Cooperation. Nor will the OECD in any way infringe upon or control the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade].

I am informed that the Congress is being bombarded by letters and telegrams opposing approval of the OECD—but on false grounds. I deeply regret that there is apparently an attempt to misinform the public and to engender needless fear. Essentially these communications state that the OECD will take the tariffmaking and commercial policy functions away from the Congress and will cost workers their jobs. The facts, of course, are: The OECD will have nothing to do with tariffmaking. It carefully recognizes the constitutional requirements in the United States. It is designed to expand economic activity, including U.S. export markets, not to contract it. It is an essential instrument in our efforts to develop the strength and cohesion of the entire free world.

But it will have a Trade Committee with carefully delineated functions. The first of these functions is the confrontation of general trade policies, an essential adjunct of the review of the economic policies of the members. This will provide the United States with another forum in

⁵ For texts of communiques issued at the close of the first and third meetings, see *ibid.*, Apr. 11, 1960, p. 577, and Oct. 24, 1960, p. 645.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

which to press those countries which still maintain restrictions on our exports, particularly our agricultural exports. The second function is primarily designed for the airing of complaints about trade practices which particularly infringe upon other OECD countries. The third deserves a word or two of explanation.

At the end of 1958, after long and intensive negotiation, the project for a European-wide free trade area collapsed. Contrary to the hopes of some European countries, the basis for a resumption of negotiations has not yet been found. If such negotiations were to be resumed, they would take place in the Trade Committee of the OECD. We shall therefore have the opportunity of being present at such negotiations and thus assuring that any agreements reached fully take account of the trading interests of the United States or other countries.

I have mentioned the major functions of the OECD. There will also be a number of other activities related to these principal aims. What

is perhaps more important than specific activities is the spirit of cooperation which has guided the work of the OEEC and which we hope to see carried forward into the OECD. By building upon this spirit we hope to create a forum in which, by consultation and cooperation, we can join with our friends in meeting the growing challenges of the sixties.

Our aim is admittedly ambitious and therefore worthy of our best efforts: to reach new heights of prosperity and to bring a part of the large resources of the West to bear at critical points as the peoples of other continents move to improve their condition. We believe they can do so in freedom; we do not believe that systems acting by compulsion rather than by consent need have a competitive advantage. But it will mean that we must put ourselves in position to act promptly and vigorously to demonstrate that free institutions can combat misery, ignorance, and disease as well as maintaining the dignity which, too, is a universal human aspiration.

Administration Urges Ratification of OECD Convention

Following are statements made by Under Secretary of State George W. Ball and Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on February 14.

STATEMENT BY MR. BALL

Press release 68 dated February 14

Mr. Chairman, I appear here this morning to support the ratification of the convention establishing the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.¹ As the President has clearly stated, this proposed organization—the OECD—can play a significant role in strengthening the economies of the major industrial powers of the free world, including the United States. At

the same time it can assist them in carrying out their common responsibilities toward the newly developing nations in an effective and equitable manner.

This morning I intend to outline the main features of this convention. Before doing so, however, I think it may be useful to recall briefly the events that led to the conception and negotiation of the convention to create the OECD.

At the end of the Second World War the economic strength of the West was concentrated to a very large degree in the United States. The nations of Europe, with few exceptions, were facing the gargantuan task of rebuilding their shattered economies and restoring the torn fabric of their social and political life. In 1947 General [George C.] Marshall made his historic speech at Harvard. Thereafter, the representatives of 16 European nations met in Paris to draw up a schedule of the resources needed for the restoration of the Euro-

¹ For background and text of convention, see BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1961, p. 8.

pean economy. The following year, as the Marshall plan first began to operate, these nations undertook to give more permanent form to their experiment in united effort by creating the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

The OEEC, as it was popularly called, was founded on the premise, which events were constantly demonstrating, that the national economies of the major European states were interdependent. No one state could easily recover unless its neighbors made substantial progress toward recovery. But by combining their efforts, by coordinating their policies, they could greatly accelerate the painful process of economic rehabilitation.

The interdependence that existed among the European nations did not at that time, however, extend across the Atlantic. The nations of Europe were dependent upon the United States for their economic recovery. But the United States economy was affected to a much lesser degree by what happened in Europe. During the immediate postwar years the United States was a kind of towering economic Mt. Everest among the nations of the free world and our economic prosperity was in large measure independent of the economic policies pursued by our European friends.

In the process of European recovery the OEEC played a significant role. Through agreements reached within the framework of the OEEC, the member nations brought about the progressive elimination of quantitative restrictions that inhibited their trade with one another—restrictions which individual nations had imposed largely for balance-of-payments reasons. In addition they were able greatly to increase the level of intra-European trade by the creation of the European Payments Union, a system of clearing balances. With the help of the Marshall plan and through the cooperative efforts made possible by the OEEC, Europe had recovered to a sufficient extent by 1958 for the major OEEC members to achieve currency convertibility.

Economic Interdependence

Today the process of rehabilitation has long since been completed and the major European nations have reached new high levels of activity. As a result the positions of relative economic strength in the free world have radically changed. The United States, while in absolute terms much more

powerful than in the immediate postwar years, is no longer the single dominant economic power. We are still, of course, the preeminent giant among the nations of the free world. But other nations have become giants as well.

The rapid development of the economic strength of our friends and allies is, of course, altogether in our interest. The prosperity of the United States is enhanced because our friends are strong. The whole free world is the stronger for it. But at the same time the change in the relationship of economic power imposes new imperatives on the industrialized sector of the free world. The postwar dependence of Europe upon the United States economic policy has now become an interdependence between Europe and the United States. Europe is no longer so affected by our own economic policies as in the early prewar days, but at the same time the United States is far more affected by the economic policies pursued by European countries.

This fact has lately been dramatized by the deteriorating position of our overall balance of payments. As was made clear in the President's message,² we should not attempt to eliminate the deficit in our basic balance of payments merely by actions which we take unilaterally. We should at the same time seek to reach an agreement on broad lines of economic policy with the other major industrial powers. Otherwise we may succeed in curing our own balance-of-payments deficit only by creating deficits for other countries less able than we to live with them. Our purpose must be to concert with the other major industrialized powers on common measures of solution. This will necessarily involve some adjustments on the part of those countries with persistent balance-of-payment surpluses.

The new relationship of economic interdependence, underscored by our balance-of-payments and reserve problems, led the United States to take the initiative late in 1959 in proposing the reconstitution of the OEEC into the 20-nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, with Canada and the United States as full members.³ The OECD will include all the NATO powers, plus Austria, Ireland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1961, p. 287.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

Aims of the OECD

Secretary Dillon, who directed the negotiations to bring about the OECD, can describe in detail the steps leading to the drafting of the convention. The aims of the OECD are set forth in article 1 of the convention.

Stated simply, these aims are threefold:

First, to achieve and maintain the highest sustainable rate of economic growth in the industrial nations of the Atlantic Community;

Second, to increase and improve economic and technical assistance from the industrial powers to the newly developing areas of the free world;

Third, to promote policies in the field of trade which will contribute to free-world growth and prosperity.

The free world today faces problems of enormous dimensions—problems which make special demands upon the major industrialized countries that are associated in the OECD. To solve those problems we and the other countries of the OECD must achieve a steady and high rate of economic growth.

The OECD should greatly assist in achieving this objective by providing a forum where member countries can forge harmonious policies enabling them to move in step toward the common goal of adequate economic expansion. The organ of the OECD for this purpose will be the Economic Policy Committee.

The second of the OECD's aims, as provided in article 1 of the convention, is to promote policies designed to contribute to sound economic expansion in the underdeveloped countries. In pursuit of this goal article 2(e) states that member countries will individually and jointly contribute to the growth of less developed countries by increasing the flow of capital to them, providing them with more technical assistance, and helping them develop expanding export markets.

The main OECD body for carrying out these objectives will be the Development Assistance Committee. This Committee will provide an informal forum for frank discussion and coordination of policies designed to increase the magnitude of assistance to the less developed countries. Equally important, it will seek to make assistance available on terms that reflect the development needs of recipient countries rather than merely the commercial advantages of the donor countries.

I want to emphasize that in pursuing these objectives the member governments will take fully into account the political and social realities of the newly developing areas. The Development Assistance Committee will not operate as a monolithic "creditors' club" to impose conditions upon recipient countries. Nor will it administer aid programs. Its purpose will be to mobilize increased resources to help the developing areas.

The needs of the less developed countries are varied and enormous. Most of their needs can be satisfied only by their own efforts. However, until they can make a start toward self-sustaining growth, they will continue to require help from the outside.

No single OECD member could possibly provide the assistance needed. But the combined capabilities of the 500 million citizens of the OECD countries, with their vast reservoir of economic resources, technical skills, and intellectual talents, can contribute greatly to helping the peoples of the newly developing lands help themselves.

The Atlantic Community's goal of stimulating its own economic growth and of providing increased assistance to the free world's less privileged peoples cannot be realized without considering broad trade policies in an international context. Therefore the third aim of the OECD, as set forth in article 1 of the convention, is to promote policies designed "to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations."

The phrase "in accordance with international obligations" was included to make it clear that the members of the OECD are not expected, by virtue of the OECD convention, to take actions inconsistent with their international obligations. The inclusion of this phrase in the convention neither strengthens nor weakens their international obligations nor in any way commits the members to continue them.

The OECD will neither establish nor administer trade rules nor have any authority regarding the trade rules of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]. The OECD will not conduct tariff negotiations.

On the other hand, the OECD will provide a forum for: (a) a frank discussion of general trade policies and practices, (b) the examination of

specific trade problems primarily of interest to members, and (c) the consideration of any unsettled trade problems between the six countries of the European Economic Community⁴ and the seven countries of the European Free Trade Association.⁵ These discussions of trade policies and practices will be conducted in a Trade Committee.

The trade function of the OECD offers an opportunity to deal with problems involving the European Economic Community, or the "Six," and the European Free Trade Association, or the "Seven." It is our purpose to work with both the Six and the Seven to reduce trade difficulties between them and with other countries, to avoid new discrimination against our own exports, and to encourage them to reduce tariffs affecting United States goods on a most-favored-nation basis.

These three broad aims of the OECD attest to the determination of the Atlantic community of nations to meet the pressing economic challenges of the sixties. We have indeed come a long way from the days when the OEEC was established as a purely regional organization concerned primarily with the recovery of Europe. The main emphasis of the new OECD will be on fulfilling the worldwide responsibilities of its member nations, not only by accelerating their own growth but by taking collective action to stimulate the growth of the developing countries, whose future course may well determine the shape of the world of the seventies.

How the Convention Will Operate

Perhaps it may be helpful if I describe briefly how the convention will operate.

The OECD will be governed by a Council, composed of all members, as provided in article 7. The Council is authorized in article 9 to establish those subsidiary bodies necessary for the achievement of the OECD's aims. There will be an international secretariat, headed by a Secretary General, as provided in articles 10 and 11.

Normally the affairs of the Organization will be

⁴ Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

⁵ Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

handled as follows: A proposed course of action will be discussed by the appropriate subsidiary body, which, with the help of the secretariat, will prepare recommendations for the Council's consideration. After due deliberation the Council will decide on the disposition of the proposal by mutual agreement of all the members. This might take one of a variety of forms. For example, the Council could by unanimous agreement: (a) take note of the recommendation of the subsidiary body, (b) instruct the subsidiary body to continue its consideration of the matter, (c) agree to a recommendation to the member governments, or (d) agree to a decision binding on member governments, subject to approval in accordance with their constitutional processes.

As provided in article 6, decisions or recommendations require unanimous agreement of all members. A member government may, however, abstain from voting on a decision or recommendation, and, if it does, that decision or recommendation will not apply to it. Thus there is no situation in which any decision or recommendation can be applicable to a member country without its consent. Furthermore, article 6(3) provides that no decision shall be binding on any member until it has complied with the requirements of its own constitutional procedures. It is clear, therefore, that the convention does not modify or supersede any United States law—Federal or State.

Gentlemen, the convention you are examining is a good convention. It is a short, flexible instrument. It is specific enough to provide for an effective organization to deal with the main economic challenges confronting ourselves and our allies. Yet it is general enough to allow the OECD to adapt as required to meet changing circumstances.

In urging your favorable consideration of the convention, let me remind you that the OECD grew out of an American initiative. Hence it will probably not come into being until the United States has ratified the agreement. Some other nations will delay their legislative processes until the new organization has been assured of United States support. Even before the OECD comes into being, however, we can begin to transform the OEEC and utilize it to deal with the pressing problems of today. To do this effectively we must demonstrate our intention of playing a continuing part in the work of economic cooperation with our allies.

I urge that we demonstrate that intention by ratifying the convention.

STATEMENT BY MR. DILLON

I am glad to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee to urge Senate approval of the convention for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. When I last appeared before the committee on this subject, we were in the middle of the negotiations, and, while the main outlines of the OECD convention were already clear, many details remained to be ironed out. Now the convention has been signed and is before the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

The concept of the OECD reflects an historic change in our relations with Western Europe and in the relations between the industrialized and developing countries. The OECD would be the main instrumentality for welding stronger links between the countries of North America and Western Europe in meeting the enormous challenge they face in advancing the cause of economic growth and freedom throughout the free world. Only through working together can we bring our tremendous economic resources, technical competence, and scientific ability fully to bear on the problems of today's revolutionary world.

Before indicating in more detail the kind of cooperation through the OECD of major concern to the Treasury Department, I should like to mention briefly the origins of the OECD convention, with which I was closely associated as Under Secretary of State.

The OECD was an American proposal put forward by President Eisenhower late in 1959. It was an initiative to which the Western European countries and Canada quickly and enthusiastically responded.

The old Organization for European Economic Cooperation, originally established in 1948 to assist in carrying out the Marshall plan, had completed the task it was designed to fulfill. Western Europe had been restored to vigorous health. Discriminatory trade quotas were rapidly disappearing. Convertibility of the major European currencies had been reestablished. This era of transatlantic relations had drawn to a close.

In this earlier period the United States and Canada were associated with the Europeans in their efforts through the OEEC but were not full partners. This was proper, for the job to be done required a breakthrough in intra-European cooperation, with the United States and Canada cast in the role of providing material and moral support for this great cooperative effort of Europe to help itself.

A New Era of Partnership

Now we are entered upon a new era and face new challenges. In this era intra-European cooperation remains important and must be preserved. But, beyond this, the industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America must henceforth work in full partnership to strengthen the economy of the entire free world and to provide the developing countries with the resources they so sorely need if freedom is to be preserved.

In the fall of 1959 Western Europe, newly strong and confident, appeared ready to share fully with us the responsibilities we had shouldered virtually alone through most of the postwar period. Accordingly, President Eisenhower in his meetings in Paris in December of that year⁶ with President de Gaulle, Chancellor Adenauer, and Prime Minister Macmillan suggested that the time had come to reorganize and revitalize transatlantic relations so as to redirect the energies of the industrialized countries toward the economic improvement of the free world as a whole.

Out of these four-power talks emerged consultations and negotiations among all 18 of the member countries of the OEEC, the United States, and Canada.

A group of four experts was created to draft the charter of a successor organization to the OEEC which the United States and Canada could join as full members. After consulting representatives of the 20 interested governments, as well as a number of individuals and international organizations, the group of four experts submitted their draft in April 1960. Intensive intergovernmental negotiations on the OECD then began in May and continued almost without break until December 14, when representatives of the 20 governments signed the OECD convention.

The result of this work is the convention before

⁶ For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 43.

you. It provides a solid foundation for the OECD. It clearly states the basis on which the industrialized nations of North America and Western Europe are joining together and the reasons why they are doing so. It provides the means for converting common policy objectives into effective action. Yet it does not restrict or impinge upon the sovereign rights which each of the member countries is determined to preserve. In short, the convention provides a simple, sturdy platform from which the OECD countries can launch cooperative and constructive action to meet the major economic problems facing us today.

Coordinating International Economic Policies

The Treasury Department is especially concerned with two types of measures to which the functions of the OECD would be relevant: those that will invigorate our economy and those that will improve our balance-of-payments position. Such measures are now closely interrelated. For the first time in over 30 years, and to a larger extent than ever before in our history, our success in pursuing these objectives is dependent on the understanding and cooperation of the industrialized countries of Western Europe. In turn their economies are heavily influenced by our actions here at home. We must take into account the international repercussions of actions which we take here at home, since the reactions they may provoke abroad could easily frustrate our objectives. The only answer is close, continuing consultation and cooperation with Canada and the countries of Western Europe. The OECD is designed to provide the forum for this consultation and cooperation.

As an example, the effectiveness of the program just announced by the President to improve our balance of payments will depend to a considerable degree on the extent to which the major Western European countries pursue compatible policies. It is in this connection that we in the Treasury Department think the OECD will be especially useful. In the OECD we shall be able to have informal and frank consultations with policymaking officials from our partner countries. Such consultations should enable the OECD countries to move in harmony toward the common objective of economic growth. Also such consultations should result in measures to contribute to the solu-

tion of the United States balance-of-payments problem.

The President, in his message to Congress on balance of payments and gold, set forth our program to ease the problem of short-term funds as well as to correct the basic payments deficit and achieve longer term equilibrium. Most of the measures described by the President will be more effective if complementary policies are followed by the major OECD countries. Some of the measures can be effective only in cooperation with these countries.

To illustrate the need for better international coordination of economic and financial policies I would like to refer to last year's movements of international short-term capital.

During the first half of 1960 our balance-of-payments deficit on an annual basis was \$2.7 billion—down markedly from the level of \$3.8 billion in 1959. Last spring our Federal Reserve discount rate was at 4 percent, the German Bundesbank rate was 4 percent, and the Bank of England rate was 5 percent. In other words, all those rates were close together. Then, as business began to slow in the United States, our Federal Reserve began to ease credit and reduced its rate first to 3½ percent and later to 3 percent. Meanwhile the German Bundesbank, with its eye on the domestic boom in Germany and with the objective of controlling inflation at home, increased its discount rate to 5 percent in June. The Bank of England promptly followed suit and upped its rate to 6 percent.

These actions brought about a sharp imbalance in short-term interest rates. The results were bad for all concerned. A flood of short-term funds left New York seeking the higher return in Frankfurt and London. This sharply increased our balance-of-payments deficit from an annual rate of \$2.9 billion in the first 6 months to a rate of \$4.7 billion in the second 6 months. This sudden and sharp increase shook confidence in the dollar, and the result was a substantial increase in the outflow of gold. This in turn brought on the speculative outbreak in the private gold market in London last October, when for a day or two gold sold at \$40 an ounce. Meanwhile the large inflow of American funds frustrated the efforts of the German authorities to tighten up on investment in Germany. When

this became clear the German and British authorities cut back their discount rates, the flow of short-term capital slowed, and confidence was gradually restored.

The lesson to be learned by all this is that in these days of convertible currencies there must be close cooperation and coordination between our financial and monetary authorities and those of the major industrialized countries of Western Europe. This is now recognized on all sides. The OECD is the forum in which this coordination can be worked out and through which we can avoid similar episodes in the future. As such it is a vitally important element in our drive to right our payments deficit without infringing on the actions that must be taken to reinvigorate our economy at home.

Economic Growth in Less Developed Countries

The OECD will also provide an especially important mechanism for the industrialized countries of North America and Western Europe to work in concert to contribute to sound economic growth in the less developed countries. The extreme poverty of these countries cannot be allowed to continue. The gap between standards of living in the industrialized OECD countries and those in the less developed countries is large and widening.

To narrow this gap will require great effort and considerable resources. Economic development requires the formation of capital on a large scale. While the greatest portion of this capital must be derived from savings on the part of the less developed countries, these countries also need large help from the industrialized countries. By fostering consultation and coordination among member countries, the OECD can contribute greatly to increasing and improving the economic, technical, and educational assistance extended to the less developed countries. It can help to insure that all the industrialized countries carry their full and fair share of the burden, including those which up to now have not fully met their responsibilities in this field. In this respect also we in the Treasury Department look on the OECD as an essential instrument of financial policy.

To summarize the role of the OECD, in terms of tasks which the President has stressed in his message on balance of payments and gold

—It will be a major forum for efforts to harmonize the financial and economic policies for growth and stability of most of those industrialized nations of the world whose economic behavior significantly influences the course of the world economy and trend of international payments;

—It will provide a solid framework for intensive and frequent international consultations on the financial and monetary policies which must be pursued in order to achieve and maintain better balance in the international payments position;

—Finally, it will bring into being an organization of vital importance for assisting, on a cooperative basis, the developing countries of the free world.

President Emphasizes U.S. Support for United Nations in the Congo

*Statement by President Kennedy*¹

Ambassador Stevenson in the Security Council today [February 15] has expressed fully and clearly the attitude of the United States Government toward the attempts to undermine the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization. The United States can take care of itself, but the United Nations system exists so that every nation can have the assurance of security. Any attempt to destroy this system is a blow aimed directly at the independence and security of every nation, large and small.

I am also, however, seriously concerned at what appears to be a threat of unilateral intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Congo. I find it difficult to believe that any government is really planning to take so dangerous and irresponsible a step. Nevertheless, I feel it important that there should be no misunderstanding of the position of the United States in such an eventuality. The United States has supported and will continue to support the United Nations' presence in the Congo. The United States considers that the only legal authority entitled to speak for the Congo as a whole is a government established under the Chief of State, President [Joseph] Kasavubu, who has been seated in the

¹ Read at the President's news conference on Feb. 15.

General Assembly of the United Nations by a majority vote of its members.² The broadening of the government under President Kasavubu is a quite legitimate subject of discussion, and such discussions have been going on in Léopoldville and in New York, but the purported recognition of Congolese factions as so-called governments in other parts of that divided country can only confuse and make more difficult the task of securing Congolese independence and unity.

The United Nations offers the best, if not the only, possibility for the restoration of conditions of stability and order in the Congo.

The press reports this afternoon that Prime Minister Nehru has stated, "If the United Nations goes out of the Congo, it will be a disaster." I strongly agree with this view. Only by the presence of the United Nations in the Congo can peace be kept in Africa.

I would conceive it to be the duty of the United States and, indeed, all members of the United Nations to defend the charter of the United Nations by opposing any attempt by any government to intervene unilaterally in the Congo.

President Pledges United States Support of NATO

Following is the text of a message from President Kennedy to the North Atlantic Council which was delivered on February 15.

White House press release dated February 15

In my Inaugural Address¹ I pledged to the members of this great organization "the loyalty of faithful friends."

In the three weeks since I became President I have been increasingly impressed by the magnitude of the perils which confront the United States and free nations everywhere. But I have also been increasingly convinced that we can face down those perils, if we mobilize the unified strength and will of the nations of the Atlantic Community.

We of the Atlantic Community are the single most effective obstacle between tyranny and its de-

sire to dominate the world. Our historic bonds of friendship have been strengthened by common values and a common goal—the creation of a world where free men can live at peace and in dignity, liberated from the bonds of hunger, poverty and ignorance. If we act together, this goal is within our grasp. If we falter, then freedom itself will be in mortal danger.

Therefore I pledge the United States, and my own unremitting efforts, to the support of the principles which guide our effort, to the basic concept of unity which gives us strength, and to the institutions we have created to give working life to our common intent.

Effective collective defense is the first mission of our great alliance in NATO. Our task here is to convince any aggressor that an attack on the territory of NATO members would be met with swift and punishing resistance. While relying also on the growing strength of all, the United States will continue its full participation in the common defense effort. I am convinced that the maintenance of U.S. military strength in Europe is essential to the security of the Atlantic Community and the free world as a whole. Strength in Europe, like strength here in the United States, is an essential condition of peace.

But the interests of NATO, and the Atlantic Community as a whole, are not military alone. The dangers to our security and the challenges to our enterprise take many forms—economic, ideological and political. Through its various instruments the Atlantic Community must equip itself to respond with speed and unity of purpose on every front—by improving our processes of consultation—by expanding the area of our cooperation to include common problems of trade and money, and by uniting in the effort to construct a sound, growing economy for the entire non-communist world.

This last undertaking—the task of economic development—is vital to the preservation of freedom in the turbulent, emerging continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America; it is also a duty which the strong owe to the weak. It is an undertaking unmatched in scope, in difficulty, and in nobility of purpose.

It is an important and heartening fact that the adventure of assisting the underdeveloped areas has captured the imagination and the idealism of

² For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1960, p. 904.

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

the young on both sides of the Atlantic. This undertaking will require the efforts of all of us—and other nations too. In accomplishing all our economic tasks we must work together in a new intimacy in the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development],² and I hope that through the OECD we shall come firmly to grips with this fundamental problem of aid.

Although the technical task here is economic, our ultimate purpose transcends material considerations. The challenge is to create a new partnership between the old nations in the north and the new nations to the south. In the end, we must build that partnership not merely on a common interest in economic growth, but on a common commitment to the principles of political freedom.

The United States, because of its larger resources, is prepared to bear a heavy share of this burden. But I am confident that the nations of Western Europe will wish to commit an equitable proportion of their own growing resources to the common effort of economic development, as well as to the tasks of the common defense. Without that willingness our effort will surely fail. In all our common enterprises we must establish principles, clearly understood by our governments and our peoples, on which burden-sharing can be based.

We shall also continue to support and encourage the movement toward European integration. This movement is a powerful and unifying force which can multiply free Europe's strength and prestige, can assure increased security and progress for European peoples, and can contribute greatly to meeting the goals of the broader Atlantic Community.

The years ahead will be difficult and dangerous for the friends of freedom. There will be setbacks as well as gains. But if we face candidly the agenda that confronts us, our national differences will fade and assume tolerable proportions. If we summon to the real tasks we face our resources of mind and will and material strength—if we never lose sight of our common goals—then we will have carried forward in our time the old task of our community: to preserve and extend the values of a civilization which has lighted man's way for more than 2,500 years.

² See pp. 323 and 326.

Secretary Rusk To Attend SEATO Council of Ministers Meeting

Statement by President Kennedy

White House press release dated February 16

I am highly pleased that the Secretary of State, despite his crowded calendar, has decided to attend the SEATO Council of Ministers meeting at Bangkok on March 27.

The Council meeting will afford the Secretary his first opportunity to meet personally with the Foreign Ministers of the member states of this important Organization. This meeting will also provide the Secretary with a far-reaching opportunity to participate in and contribute to SEATO's vital work of promoting peace, stability, and regional solidarity in the face of the threat now posed to southeast Asia by the continuing Communist pressures. One of the subjects the Secretary expects to discuss with his colleagues in SEATO will be the most effective way to conduct the future business of that Organization.

Details of Mr. Rusk's itinerary as well as the composition of the delegation will be announced later by the Department of State. I understand that the Secretary's time is severely limited and that his route to Bangkok will necessarily be as direct as possible.

German-American Relations

Remarks by Secretary Rusk¹

We do hope that you will have in this important conference a fruitful discussion. You have here a combination which should guarantee a good discussion. You have private citizens who can enjoy the soar of wings of imagination, and you have officials who can provide the stabilizers and the rudders of responsibility.

You will be discussing relations between peoples. These relations are superficially easy, but in fact they are rather difficult and complicated because on the surface we seem to think that we

¹ Made at Washington, D.C., on Feb. 16 at an American-German conference sponsored by the American Council on Germany and its German counterpart, the Atlantic Bridge (press release 70).

are all about the same. We are people, we are families, we are men and women who seem to have the same aspirations, the same daily needs, the same ambitions, the same habits. But at crucial moments we discover, alas, that we turn out to be strangers to each other.

We discover that understanding is not a matter of passing amiability but is a matter of deep and real and precise knowledge about each other's basic ideas. And it is because of this that some of us welcome the attention which this meeting expects to give to our educational systems in our two countries and the relationships between them, for it is important that we know which are the ideas that make a difference and which are those which are simply beautifully woven notions with little reality behind them.

For example, our friends from across the Atlantic would do well to give some thought to a notion which was articulated in the late 18th century in one of our basic documents. That is, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. This is a notion which has caused many philosophers a certain gentle amusement. It is a notion which has led others to express cynicism as they see the obvious exceptions in our conduct. It is a notion which some have put away simply as a slogan of a revolutionary period. But there are others who suspect that these simple words may be a sort of scarlet thread of the long-range attitudes of the American people in their relationships with problems in other parts of the world.

It helps to explain our instinctual reaction to such an issue as colonialism—the colonialism in Eastern Europe, the colonialism in other parts of the world—that makes us a little uneasy about some of the company we keep even in our close associations and gives us problems of conscience in some of the practices which we still endure within our own political system.

You will be talking about relations between governments, and there you will be involved with a problem of context, because these are not merely bilateral relations. They are relations between two governments who in turn are involved with complete universes of relations. What you and we do together will set up tangling reactions throughout the entire remainder of our relationships with the rest of the world, and we need to consider in what respects we can work together

and consolidate, fortify, unify the total relationships which you and we have in common.

For most of our problems between Germany and the United States will turn out, I suspect, to be common problems. Most of them are not bilateral but arise out of our membership in a larger community.

When I was a student in Germany many years ago, I lived in Neue Babelsberg, and I had a canoe, and I used that canoe as often as possible in the lakes that surrounded Neue Babelsberg, near Potsdam. One day I pulled the canoe up on the bank and went into a restaurant for lunch. When I came back the canoe was gone. I reported it to the water police, and they with their boats scouted around for a while. And then after a while they came back with the canoe and said, "We have found your canoe and have caught the thief, and he will be punished, but you yourself will be fined five marks for tempting thieves." My German friends with legal background have vociferously denied that there has been a crime in Neue Babelsberg called "tempting thieves" and that I perhaps was the victim of an ambitious police officer.

But nevertheless the lesson has been worth many times more than the five marks to me, because I believe that we in our democracies are confronted with the fundamental problem of how we avoid tempting thieves. Our problem is how to pursue the human, the long-term, the civilized purposes of democratic societies and yet maintain the resolution and the strength to make it clear that thieves shall not have their way.

Well, this is only one of the many questions which you and we have in common, for we must consult both about ideas and about method and we shall find that there is enough unfinished business ahead of us to keep us busy for a long time. As you take stock of German-American relations and the context of the responsibilities which our two countries must now bear in the future, I am certain that you will reach the conclusion that, while much has been accomplished to realize our goals, much remains to be achieved.

While a free democratic society has been achieved in the Federal Republic, 17 million Germans continue to be deprived of personal freedom and the right of self-determination. While the security and freedom of West Berlin have been preserved, Berlin remains a capital without a

country through the unnatural division of Germany, a situation which can only be righted through reunification and peace and freedom.

While great strides have been made to realize the great potentialities of the North Atlantic Community, much remains to be done in the areas of mutual defense and political and economic cooperation. And while the members of the Western Alliance are in complete agreement as to the need for supplying economic assistance to the developing countries, we have yet to agree on the manner in which this burden is to be shared.

These are perhaps the most important areas

where great problems and opportunities confront us, and, although there are many others, these seem to be central.

In consonance with President Kennedy's inaugural remarks, I believe that we must counsel together to determine "what together we can do for the freedom of man," and if the deliberations and exchanges of this conference are conducted in that spirit, I am certain that they will prove most productive.

I am happy to extend you my best wishes, and I will look forward with eagerness to the results of your talks.

A World Divided

by Eleanor Lansing Dulles

*Special Assistant to the Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research*¹

Two Kinds of Worlds

In 1960 I made two voyages of discovery. Thanks to the airplane I was able to cover some 100,000 miles and visit 40 underdeveloped countries. This was a wonderful and perhaps unique experience.

The purpose of these travels was not simply to view the scene. It was to study on a comparative basis in a short timespan, and with the help of the diplomatic representatives living in the countries visited, the nature of the problems for the United States growing out of the division of the world into some 30 or 40 highly industrialized and perhaps 50 or 60 nonindustrialized or underdeveloped areas. The problems, if not solved, can be the source of considerable danger to the security of the United States.

Such a study, as a practical matter, must be based on the assembly and interpretation of many views. The opinions of the diplomatic representatives, of chiefs of state, and of other observers have

been the raw material for a number of conclusions. The result of this survey was not encouraging for the short run. It showed that the world is called on to make a tremendous effort to bridge the increasing gap. It underscored the multiplicity of needs already known. These needs, growing out of illiteracy, poverty, and insecurity, are already generally recognized, but the imminent dangers to all of us arising from these facts have perhaps been underestimated.

It is widely known that the differences between these more- and less-developed areas have increased rather than diminished in the past 100 years. This has occurred in spite of the increasing accessibility of the more remote corners of the world. Science has made possible a refinement and an elaboration of living in many countries, while the peoples of the jungles and mountains have not changed their way of life significantly for centuries. The Westerner comes with his walkie-talkie to a land where the drum is still the basic means of communication. Jets are crossing impenetrable rain forests to land near the mud walls of the desert villages. We have learned

¹ Address made before the Rye Forum at Rye, N.Y., on Feb. 19 (press release 73 dated Feb. 17).

to bounce messages off the moon, but several hundred million people in Asia and Africa cannot read or write the simplest words.

Suddenly, since World War II, the latent demands of millions have come to the fore. The pressure of one type of civilization on another has broken some of the barriers and restrictions. The world cannot continue to accept these contrasts in silence. The needs are known and must be met.

Because of this new awareness of the wide differences in living and capability, the new forces are straining our international relations. Change, insecurity, and conflict are threatening to disrupt orderly progress toward peace and prosperity. The nature of the dangers confronting us can be seen by examining the causes behind the troubles in Africa, in Asia, and elsewhere. These causal factors are both psychological and material. Even if someone wished to isolate the more primitive economies from those that are rich in goods and money, it would be impossible.

Even if some were to fear the dangers of "a little knowledge," the hunger for education would have to be met. The plane overhead, the thousands of students already going to Moscow, Paris, London, and New York, the sights and sounds of civilization are competing with color and rhythm of primitive societies. Some of the people who live at a subsistence level do not yet know exactly what they want, but they know that they must have "equality," "independence," and hope of a better life.

The danger and the challenge in this situation arise in part out of the easy promises and excessive expectations being put before millions of people by those nations within the Communist orbit and in the new instruments of power now in the hands of leaders in dealing with other countries, which can confuse and delude many as to where their interests lie. If Communist China, while its people are starving, sends aid to Madagascar and Zanzibar, one can well question the ability of the political leaders of Africa and Asia to choose a course consistent with their peoples' long-range interests. Soviets are promising large gifts and loans in Africa. In fact they have said to a number of leaders they can have all the aid they need. The fact is that there is a new awareness of need in the less developed countries and those who appear ready to meet every need gain

an immediate advantage. This situation has potentials for good and ill which affect all our policy.

The countries which I have visited differ from each other more in their economic conditions than they do in their attitudes to the rest of the world. Their point of view is strikingly similar, and in this unanimity of view as to their needs and requirements lies the urgency of the problem. Their economic conditions, in contrast to this, vary widely. While all are poor in terms of money income, some are overpopulated and some are underpopulated. Some are dependent on a single crop and some have varied products. Some have virtually no dependable water resources and others have heavy rainfall, rivers, and lakes. Some will remain poor for decades and can only progress through assistance from without; others have rich resources. Some have an easy, simple life; some struggle for a bare subsistence.

All, in greater or less degree, have recently become aware of a contrast, however; there is a gap which they recognize and which must somehow be filled. One can generalize the difference by saying that it consists in large measure of an inability to control, even in part, natural phenomena and that the countries can neither prevent nor compensate for the vagaries of nature. Thus they remain close to the subsistence level. All are fighting for a place in the sun. Everywhere there is a sense of injustice, a readiness to revolt against restriction, and a search for allies who understand their problems.

Visits to New Lands

Last March I flew into Bali, Indonesia, a few hours from Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia. This is an island paradise where the villagers live together in a cooperative fashion. They have one of their main harvests in the lagoon, where at low tide they all work together to gather their many shellfish, snails, seaweeds, and many-colored fish and then return to their villages, where all the produce is shared in common. Their cooperation is a natural and spontaneous form of communism.

In April I flew over the mountains to Nepal, past Mt. Everest and the many rugged valleys where the people herd their sheep on the edge of glaciers and live by primitive agriculture, scarcely knowing where their country begins and ends or who

their rulers are. Here the climate is vigorous, the soil is difficult, and travel for a few miles an adventurous, arduous undertaking.

More recently I was in Zanzibar. This is a beautiful, tradition-bound island trading post where Indians, Arabs, Greeks, and English cross paths as they trade in east Africa. Here the average peasant builds his hut of palm fronds. Many get their main food from coconuts that fall to be gathered freely before the trees are stripped for harvest. Others, earning cash wages from cloves or coconuts, buy their simple necessities for a subsistence living or are engaged in varied minor trades.

In December I was in Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo. Here the contrast I saw was more on a political level. The President received 12 other chiefs of state at a splendid dinner with hundreds dancing to "high life" music and eating their festive meal under colored lights. The honor guard stood with spears, stiff and handsome in white and scarlet, rigidly at attention. In an inner room of the palace I met the ancient King Makoko with several of his young wives seated beside him on a couch. He looked at me with calm and dignity through a spectacular green mask. The beautifully furnished room in the former palace of the French Governor General was bright with rich carpets and leopard skins.

A little later in December I went north to the edge of the Sahara. Here in Kano I visited the ancient Muslim city of the emirs. The old city surrounded by high mud walls was active with the noisy traffic of the camels and the mules, a crowded marketplace, and its people dipping their clothes in brilliant dye pits to make the garments the deep blue so typical in Nigeria. Here I went with the chief official, wearing long robes and a turban with a bib covering most of his face, to see the United States Mercury project, one of the tracking stations for the future man in space. The Mocadin with his several followers in their striped and flowing robes peered with intense interest at the instruments which will measure the breathing and heartbeat of the astronaut and bring back messages from hundreds of miles up in outer space.

During this survey trip I visited our embassies and saw the heads of government in Afghanistan, Burma, Mozambique, the Congo, Ghana, Mali, and 30 other countries.

The conversations were directed to a number of specific questions, and even the visits to national shrines and remote villages were mainly to observe economic and social conditions. I do not think you want me to give a travelog. If you did I should refer you to the ample and interesting literature on this subject. All the brightness of the landscape, the clamor of the markets, the variety and charm of the people have been well detailed by other travelers. There is no doubt, however, that the beauty and the strangeness of what I saw heightened the interest in the political questions under consideration, but the reason for my travels lay not in these aspects of a real adventure but in the urgent aspects of economic and diplomatic policy which underlie the striking contrasts of sound and color and manner of living.

Insecurity and Misunderstanding

Few would question that the psychological pressure on our economic and political resources resulting from these different peoples and societies has become irresistible and calls for positive reaction on our part. The opportunities and dangers are incalculable. If we do not understand what is happening in these worlds, we shall suffer almost irreparable loss because others, with different ideologies and purposes, will seize the opportunities and exploit the material and human resources in these lands. They can be used against us in a struggle to wipe out our ideals, eliminate our standards of justice, and in an attempt to destroy our economic and political system.

While it is not possible to divide the world into clear-cut categories on any basis, the nature and problems of the less developed nonindustrialized countries can be recognized and described. The areas which fall into this category contain more than half the world's population, and they inhabit a large part of the world's surface. If we turn our attention to the half who are relatively unaffected by industrialization and advanced forms of government we find there are a host of problems which challenge us by their immediacy. Moreover, there is an evident unwillingness on the part of the articulate leaders in these countries to remain the victims of the forces of nature or suffer from backward economic and governmental relations.

There is a widespread sense of injustice because

of the awareness of poverty in a world of almost limitless economic potential and a readiness to build power on false foundations wherever an offer for quick aid promises to afford the glittering prospects of increasing prestige. Sometimes, though not always, the aim of the leaders is linked with the welfare of the people. Always it is related to a sense of resentment that the part of the world which they know and rule has been deprived, for whatever reason, of resources and capacity to live in equality of status and material well-being with other nations.

Even if there were a desire to underestimate the significance of illiteracy, poverty, and disease, the political dangers in this divided world cannot be ignored. There is an imminent danger of local intrigue. The international struggle for world domination, Communist materialism, and the desire to control the underdeveloped resources will feed on the needs, the emotions, and the sense of inferiority in these areas.

Thus the free nations of the West, which have endeavored to support the true independence of a score of new countries, could, through ignorance and misunderstanding, lose not only the friends and allies in these new lands but also lose the balance of advantage now available to us in people and resources.

There is now no possibility of slowing the speed with which these problems are upon us. The contacts between countries are multiplying daily. Thousands of students from the underdeveloped countries who have gone to the U.S.S.R., Red China, France, Great Britain, and the United States will further alter the conditions and attitudes in the next 2 or 3 years. Leaders from countries whose names were scarcely known a few weeks ago appear in Washington and London, in Belgrade and Delhi. Their words are headlines; their needs and intentions command consideration. Anyone with a plane ticket can reach the heart of Asia or of Africa in 1 day's time or can leave these places with the same ease for a foreign capital. Every statesman is traveling. While this helps to build up a sense of self-confidence and a feeling of participation in the minds of the leaders in even the small countries, it also adds greatly to the complexity of the problems facing world leaders. There are, for instance, more than a score of new countries in Africa alone voting

in the United Nations and engaging in serious negotiation without the benefit of long experience and, sometimes, with no predictable line of international conduct.

The contacts, and in fact the collisions, of views and interests become, at this time, of prime importance because there has been for a decade or so a vacuum which inevitably becomes filled from some quarter. We who are dedicated to a world of peace and prosperity must turn our thoughts into action, not only by giving material help when it is appropriate but in every area and country providing that type of intellectual and moral support which will create the forces and expand the capacity to build and to develop these nations at a tempo suited to the will and capacity of free men and their available resources.

Political Dangers

The reason for the political vacuum which has developed in a number of areas, particularly in Africa and Asia, can best be understood if one examines the characteristics of those countries which are less industrialized and, in some cases, newly independent. The problems which come to the forefront in any consideration of recent activities, statements, or programs by the leaders of these countries are manifestly based on a number of psychological factors growing out of age-old traditions, tribal differences, and, in many cases, racial prejudices or feelings of conflict. Religion, superstition, and a sense of the hostility of natural forces all lie behind the sense of insecurity which dominates the populations under consideration.

The approach to economic problems is from a different standpoint from that which has been developed in the Anglo-Saxon world in the last few hundred years. In Africa even more than elsewhere, preoccupation with the sources of power predominates over economic considerations. While it was always true to some extent that those who govern must give first attention to maintaining sufficient support to assure their ability to act, in many of the less developed countries economic planning and the increase of resources has not been held to be a prime factor in securing such support. The idea that work by average people can largely control and limit natural forces is not prevalent. The chief on the other hand has a large role and a mystical power.

For these reasons the present-day leadership in some African and Asian countries confronted with new situations appear mainly concerned with maintenance of personal power and prestige in the national as well as local spheres to this leadership. There is, in fact, little evidence that the standard of living is a main preoccupation although there are some signs of growing concern with the well-being of the average person. There is so little expectation that material improvement can be achieved. There is danger that the heads of state may act recklessly in the political sphere in efforts to strengthen their position. These special dangers, which beset new nations in dealing with the older powers, have already become evident in Africa. There have been in some cases efforts to break down useful working associations with Europe. There have also been separatist tendencies along tribal lines which go against the economic and political interests of areas involved.

Because of the importance of prestige and a sense of "belonging" it is fortunate that the United Nations has provided a forum where, as President Kennedy said in his report to the Congress on the state of the Union,² each country could have a vote without regard for wealth or size on an equality with every nation however large or small. This fact gives a possibility, if it can be properly developed, for meeting some of the psychological needs of new nations as well as of older nations and can help combat a widespread sense of injustice among leaders which can otherwise embitter and distort international relations.

Combined with action in the diplomatic and political fields of a general nature, there is an evident need, recognized in many quarters, for support to strengthen administrative and executive action. This need is felt in terms of various alliances and the tools that are associated with power, including airplanes and arms. Education of various types has assumed a major importance. When there is little assurance that the leaders can develop a government apparatus of reliable nature, they are more likely to let their feelings of resentment for the past and insecurities for the future lead them into international alliances which are not in their true interest. Attacks on the more well developed and prosperous countries are the

result of centuries of remoteness and lack of information and therefore are understandable. They can, however, hold disturbing prospects for peace-loving nations.

The acknowledged weakness in the political field is caused by economic want and lack of experience as well as a high degree of illiteracy. Because of these conditions there is virtually no press or other dissemination of information in many of the less developed countries. There are in fact few means of communication—by telephone, roads, rail, or plane. The radio, sometimes from Peking and Moscow, is a more widely effective source of information and propaganda than the less sophisticated means one might expect in this early transitional period.

Literacy—an ingredient of effective democracy—in the less developed countries varies from about 5 percent to 25 or 30 percent, with no one able to vouch for the accuracy of either the population figures or the educational status.

Elections, when held, must be confined to the simplest procedures. There can be little development of the democratic process until the means of communication and the level of education are raised. Thus a one-party government, if showing signs of strength and prestige in comparison with neighbor governments, is acceptable to the large majority within the country because it gives freer play to intrigue and manipulation in the international world of power politics. These dangers, while they may diminish if conditions improve, are elements of major concern in developing broad programs of assistance.

Economic Needs

The economic needs of less developed countries are almost by definition major aspects of their problems. Similarly, the more developed countries by the nature of the case bear substantial responsibilities. Theirs is the task not only of working for a balanced economic development to meet obvious needs, but they must also consider seriously, for political and psychological reasons, what the leaders of these countries think they need.

It is unwise to consider the material conditions as separate from, or as more urgent than, these less tangible elements of the situation.

² BULLETIN of Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

As indicated already, for example, the lack of communication and education are both hampering the healthy development of good government. The failure to possess certain manifestations of modern civilization such as roads, dams, steel mills, and airplanes accentuates the feverish maneuvering for power and may actually hamper the creation of governments with constructive economic and political programs. It is because of the compelling desire on the part of the newly developing countries to take a significant place among nations that many of the leaders are eager to accept the first offers made to them, frequently coming from the Communist bloc, before they enter on the more time-consuming studies of financial conditions, engineering requirements, or long-range needs.

Many doubt whether the non-Communist world has become fully aware of the speed needed in dealing with countries intent on making progress in one decade, which might be more than equivalent to that of the United States in the past 200 years.

If a midground can be found between the rash promises and unwarranted projects on the one hand and the slow development of comprehensive and soundly based programs on the other, there is still urgent need for action on communication equipment, roads, airfields, water development, power, and many-sided health and educational programs.

It is difficult to describe in a few words the manner in which hundreds of millions are living and working in the forests, the bush, the mountain regions, and the desert wastes that characterize a large part of the surface of the globe. The efforts to meet these problems and to raise the standard of living are probably of major concern to all peoples living under more favorable conditions. The efforts to create the instruments and make available the resources to accomplish this task at a tempo which will meet the political as well as economic requirements obviously tax the capacities of every nation, the more- and the less-developed. The general nature of the problem is clear, but the specific elements, the time sequences, and the coordination of activities are difficult and almost impossible to plan. Nevertheless the work is going forward, and the challenge is bringing to the forefront new capac-

ities in all fields. In this work the success achieved will depend in very large measure on the understanding and proper use of human resources, combined with the obvious willingness to divert material wealth into new channels.

Doors of Opportunity To Be Opened

While the miracle of universal development in a few years, the conquest of disease, want, and ignorance cannot be expected, the means for a sound beginning and a cumulative rate of progress are at hand. The immense poverty and the widespread lack of economic incentive, skills, and equipment need not bring paralysis. There are now everywhere stirrings of a new hope and a new determination. Moreover most of the people are friendly to us.

With respect to the less developed countries there are considerable differences between the newer countries of Africa and the older countries of Asia. It is not useful to say that the areas differ, but it is important to recognize that there are in Asia, and in a few cases in Africa, a number of ancient civilizations on which have been built more modern structures of governmental apparatus. Where this is characteristic there is a nucleus of trained civil servants, a body of experience, and a sophisticated outlook which affects the prospect of development. In some cases the ability to plan is so notable that both the economic and the political outlook differ markedly from those of more primitive societies. In these instances aid of various types and diplomatic relations of a constructive nature can be anticipated in the near future and in some cases are already exercising a constructive influence.

Differences in economic and political conditions will continue to exist, and many of them will be troublesome. If, however, the doors are open for men to enter and the expectation of progress may be realized, the worst dangers can be avoided. The new world we are trying to create will, in any case, have considerable diversity. If our policies are successful there will be different levels of living in many places, but abounding opportunity. If we can meet the present challenge no one will be shut away from freedom to work, to live, to participate in government in a manner consistent with the resources and potential which are there to be developed.

Alliance for Progress

by Adolf A. Berle

Chairman, Task Force on Latin America¹

Many of us have long urged the importance to the United States of Latin America and the inter-American world. That importance is now receiving full recognition from President Kennedy and the new administration in Washington. In his inaugural address,² as also in his message on the state of the Union,³ he made clear that Latin American problems were very much on his mind and heart. The *alianza para progreso* is a logical development of President Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, on whose base, indeed, the new policy is founded.

In discussing the position of the United States in the inter-American world, let me reject one attitude which finds too easy acceptance in some quarters. I believe, and will presently suggest, that opportunities have been missed. Unquestionably mistakes have been made. Yet, taken as a whole and in the context of history, the United States is entitled to be proud of its record toward its 20 American neighbors.

The United States has held unquestioned superiority in military power. Since the close of World War II it has been one of the two greatest military powers in the world. Economically it is beyond question the most productive. It has so distributed its wealth that its people enjoy the highest standard of living known to history.

For the past generation this country has lived with its 20 American neighbor countries in peace. None of them have had the slightest fear that

American military force would be used to coerce or oppress them. Never, perhaps, in history did a situation exist in which weak or unarmed nations lived next door to a great nation with such absolute security that its greater power would not be used against them. This redeemed one of President Roosevelt's great pledges—freedom from fear.

On the economic side, the historical record is remarkable. Many of us have thought (and I myself have written) that the United States could and should have done more than it did and that, by comparison with what was done elsewhere in the past few years, its economic program did not give adequate recognition to the importance and needs of Latin America. As an American I can say this to other Americans. Despite that, the fact is that never before in history has a great power offered its resources to its neighbor countries to the extent that the United States has afforded economic help to its neighbors. Actually, never in history did a great power, victorious in war, help other countries, victors and vanquished, as did the United States.

As history goes, the record is one of restraint, respect for the rights of peoples, and generosity. I have no patience with some who seem to think the United States should beat its breast or develop a guilt complex because it has been strong and has been productive. Our task is not that. Rather, it is to consider how we can make better use of our opportunities and be of more assistance in a hemisphere bound together by geography, by history, and by a magnificent common heritage.

It is well to be explicit. As the cold war progresses, the United States is under continuous attack by hostile propagandists in Latin America

¹ Address made before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, at Los Angeles, Calif., on Feb. 10 (press release 61).

² For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

and to some extent in the United States. Practically all of this stems, of course, from Communist sources, though some is carried on by groups who do not know its ultimate source. There is, and should be, no reason for those who are not Communists to accept unthinkingly the propaganda phrases.

"Yankee imperialism," for example, is obviously a slander and a lie. For more than a century every country in the Americas has been completely secure. Each has been as free to determine its destiny, its government, and its social system as countries can be in this vast and interdependent world. Attempts to insist that expansion of American trade has been "imperialist" are either silly or malicious. Americans have traded with countries which wished to trade with them. American investment was wanted. In many cases it was eagerly sought. It has played its part in the growing industrialization of a number of Latin American countries. For the generation past, the American companies which set up enterprises abroad in the main have done their work honorably and well. The United States in return gave access to its markets and shared its techniques. Whatever the problems, they were not those of imperialism.

Population Growth and Economic Development

Having said that much, let me now observe that problems do exist in all directions. They are not peculiar to Latin America. But between the United States and the other American Republics there exists a close and intimate relationship. We consequently discuss them more freely and deal with them more directly. They stem from two essential facts.

The first and greatest fact is that the populations of these countries, which increase faster than that of the United States, have more than doubled in the past 30 years. When I visited Brazil in 1936, its population was slightly over 30 millions. Today it is probably 70 millions. Remembering that the United States, when I was in school, had 90 millions of population and was industrially developed only a little more than Brazil is now, one sees that country on the road to becoming a great power. In varying degree the same is true of many other countries in the region.

These new populations are coming into a world

which does not, as did the 19th century world, accept poverty and misery as the inevitable condition of most of mankind. They demand greater production in their countries, and they also demand a better distribution of income and of wealth. The population of the United States demanded very similar social reforms in the first three decades of this century.

The second fact is that the Latin American countries with one or two exceptions have emerged in the past few years into the 20th century industrial world. Their technical capacity is great, as anyone familiar with the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, or Mexico City knows very well. These cities rival the famous capitals of the Old World in population, in construction, in capacity. In a word, these countries can produce if social organization is adequate. Naturally, therefore, the Latin American world expects, and is anxious, to accelerate its economic development, intending that its productivity and standard of living shall be equal to those of its advanced countries. They are seeking, as the United States sought 50 years ago, to speed up development along every line.

In the idiom of Latin America, movements of this kind are frequently called "revolutionary." Where governments are responsive to the will of the peoples, changes can be made through normal political processes. Where the people are deprived of their sovereignty, the word "revolution" more nearly describes the actual process.

The ferment occasioned by this desire for more rapid progress and for a better distribution of wealth is one which we in the United States ought to understand very well indeed. We have been doing it ourselves under our own system for a century and a half.

Movements of this kind are not new in the American Hemisphere. Of historical interest is the fact that they have always been in advance of similar movements in Europe. Our Revolution in the United States preceded the French Revolution by 14 years. The Revolution of 1910 in Mexico preceded the revolution in the Soviet Union by 7 years. The revolution in Bolivia preceded the current attempt to export a Russian or Chinese type of totalitarianism to Cuba. During all this period all the peoples of the hemisphere have been agreed on one policy: They intended the American nations to be master of their own destiny.

Attempts at Outside Interference

From time to time attempts have been made from outside the hemisphere to determine its fate. Such an attempt by the so-called Holy Alliance led to the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. Again, during and after the American Civil War, the Dominican Republic went back under Spanish rule, while Napoleon III established the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico. Both attempts failed. I am clear that the same failure will befall any attempt made by powers outside the American Continent today. In any event, such interference would merely be an obstacle to the main task placed before all our countries.

We do have enemies in Latin America. They are these: ignorance, disease, poverty, and fear. I am clear these can be conquered by men of good will working together. Propagandists who seek to make trouble are merely an added hindrance in this conquest. A great Cuban patriot, [José] Martí, once observed that those who sow hatred in the inter-American world are enemies not merely of those they traduce but of their own countries and countrymen. The world we seek to create will not be built on hatred. The production needed cannot be set up by armed men. The friendship of peoples does not emerge from a framework of lies, distortions of history, or cheap slogans.

Peoples, businessmen, governments, universities, technicians working together by taking cool and careful account of fact, by recognizing conditions and seeking to make them better, by mobilizing resources, by creating situations where the best of technique can be brought to bear, by working toward necessary reforms—social, agrarian, and economic—can and will win this endless battle against the age-old enemy which in Spanish is called *miseria*.

The task of creating these conditions, of helping to liberate the great resources of talent that Latin Americans have, of learning from them, even while we offer them what we may have to share, is the real work of statesmen in this hemisphere. There are young men in every country—I know a great many of them—whose capacities, once liberated, are equal to the task. There are older men whose abilities are already devoted to it.

So I suggest we begin by refusing to accept the silly slogans of division. Let us brush aside the follies of propaganda. We can test men by their willingness to seek the best for their peoples rather

than their personal power. From the youth and from the teachers, from the writers and from the scientists, from the agronomists and the technical experts, from the doctors and the pioneers of health, from the responsible trades union leaders, from the scholars and the poets, from the pioneers in agrarian reform and from the organizers of markets, we can create the general staff for the “alliance for progress.”

President Announces Recognition of Government of El Salvador

*Statement by President Kennedy*¹

I have a statement that we have today [February 15] recognized the Government of El Salvador. It has announced its determination to bring about free and democratic elections in that country, and it seeks solutions for the economic and social difficulties which that country has faced. These objectives are in consonance with our goal of a free and prosperous Latin America. Manifestoes of the Government and its agencies have indicated a clear determination to improve the standard of living of the people of that country, particularly those engaged in agriculture. We hope to be able to assist El Salvador in reaching these goals under the spirit of the Act of Bogotá.

Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1961

A PROCLAMATION²

WHEREAS on April 14, 1961, the peoples of the American Republics will honor the seventy-first anniversary of the founding of an organization for inter-American cooperation, now known as the Organization of American States; and

WHEREAS the people of the United States view with sympathy and urgency the aspirations of their good neighbors of this Hemisphere for a way of life which promises increased political, spiritual, cultural, and economic well-being; and

WHEREAS the ideals of peace, freedom, and human progress are again threatened by forces intent on subverting them, and a rededication of those determined to strengthen the inter-American system is required; and

WHEREAS the United States of America is proud to participate within the framework of the inter-American sys-

¹ Read by the President at his news conference on Feb. 15.

² No. 3392; 26 *Fed. Reg.* 1261.

tem in the formulation of new cooperative measures for social improvement and economic development to help meet the desires of the peoples of this Hemisphere for a better way of life and to preserve and strengthen the free and democratic institutions in the American Republics:

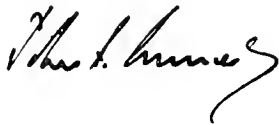
Now, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Friday, April 14, 1961, as Pan American Day, and the period from April 9 to April 15, 1961, as Pan American Week; and I invite the Governors of the States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and other areas 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, in testimony of the historical ties and friendly relations which unite the people of this country with the peoples of other American Republics.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this tenth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.

By the President:
DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State.



President Abolishes Operations Coordinating Board

White House press release dated February 19

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY

I am today [February 19] issuing an Executive order abolishing the Operations Coordinating Board. This Board was used in the last administration for work which we now plan to do in other ways. This action is part of our program for strengthening the responsibility of the individual departments.

First, we will center responsibility for much of the Board's work in the Secretary of State. He expects to rely particularly on the Assistant Secretaries in charge of regional bureaus, and they in turn will consult closely with other departments and agencies. This will be our ordinary rule for continuing coordination of our work in relation to a country or area.

Second, insofar as the OCB—as a descendant

of the old Psychological Strategy Board—was concerned with the impact of our actions on foreign opinion—our “image” abroad—we expect its work to be done in a number of ways: in my own office, in the State Department, under Mr. [Edward R.] Murrow of USIA [United States Information Agency], and by all who are concerned with the spirit and meaning of our actions in foreign policy. We believe that appropriate coordination can be assured here without extensive formal machinery.

Third, insofar as the OCB served as an instrument for insuring action at the President's direction, we plan to continue its work by maintaining direct communication with the responsible agencies, so that everyone will know what I have decided, while I in turn keep fully informed of the actions taken to carry out decisions. We of course expect that the policy of the White House will be the policy of the executive branch as a whole, and we shall take such steps as are needed to insure this result.

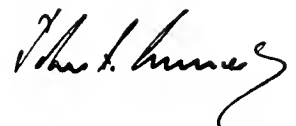
I expect that the senior officials who served as formal members of OCB will still keep in close and informal touch with each other on problems of common interest. Mr. Bromley Smith, who has been the Executive Officer of the OCB, will continue to work with my Special Assistant, Mr. McGeorge Bundy, in following up on White House decisions in the area of national security. In these varied ways we intend that the net result shall be a strengthening of the process by which our policies are effectively coordinated and carried out, throughout the executive branch.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10920¹

REVOKING EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 10700 OF FEBRUARY 25, 1957, AS AMENDED²

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States, it is ordered that Executive Order No. 10700 of February 25, 1957, entitled “Further Providing for the Operations Coordinating Board”, as amended, be, and it is hereby, revoked.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 18, 1961.



¹ 26 Fed. Reg. 1463.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Mar. 25, 1957, p. 504, and Oct. 5, 1959, p. 493.

U.S. Welcomes Actions of 10 Nations on Currency Convertibility

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT¹

Ten members of the International Monetary Fund today [February 15] announced the formal convertibility of their currencies within the meaning of the articles of agreement of the Fund. The 10 are the United Kingdom, the 6 members of the European Economic Community—that is, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—together with Sweden, Ireland, and Peru. These actions are heartily welcomed by the United States. They represent the culmination of the efforts of the 10 countries to achieve one of the major objectives set forth in the Fund articles. They constitute further evidence that the system of monetary cooperation embodied in the Fund is working successfully. Most of these countries announced the convertibility of their currencies for nonresidents some 2 years ago. Today they have confirmed their convertibility policy in a broader and more formal sense. This action means that the 10 countries have formally acknowledged their adherence to the permanent rules of the Fund that prohibit the imposition of exchange restrictions on current international payments without prior approval of the Fund. It also means that these currencies will have the same status as the U.S. dollar in Fund operations.

IMF ANNOUNCEMENT

The International Monetary Fund announced on February 15 that, effective that day, 10 member countries of the International Monetary Fund—Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, and the United Kingdom—were accepting the obligations of convertibility for their currencies, as set forth in article VIII of the Fund agreement.

This group of countries had previously availed themselves of article XIV of the agreement, under which members are permitted to maintain and adapt exchange restrictions without obtaining the prior approval of the Fund. Article VIII, on the

other hand, requires those members which are subject to its provisions to avoid restrictions on current payments, multiple exchange rates, and discriminatory currency practices. If these countries were ever again to resort to such measures, they would have to consult with the Fund and obtain its prior approval. The countries listed above have now joined the earlier article VIII group, consisting of 10 countries, all in the Western Hemisphere.

As a result of this action, practically all currencies used to finance international trade and payments are now convertible under article VIII. In this way an important step has been taken toward the realization of the multilateral system of payments envisaged in the Fund agreement, and the move gives added assurance that the convertibility of the major trading currencies will continue unimpaired and that the balanced growth of world trade will not be hampered by any unwarranted use of exchange restrictions.

The present move by the 10 countries to article VIII has become possible after years of effort by these countries to strengthen their internal economies and to achieve a sufficiently strong balance-of-payments and reserve position to enable them to remove restrictions on current international payments. The decisive step for the nine European countries concerned was taken in December 1958, when they established the external convertibility of their currencies; since then they have continued to improve their general economic positions and they have taken further measures to reduce restrictions and discriminations. The Fund has played a part in this return to convertibility by providing financial assistance to a number of the countries and by pressing for progress in the removal of restrictions in general statements of policy and in the regular consultations held annually with all article XIV countries.

The acceptance of the obligations of article VIII by these 10 countries has important implications for the Fund's general activities. The currencies of some of these countries have already been made available by the Fund to assist other member countries, but under the Fund's articles it has not been permissible to use those currencies in repayment to the Fund. The acceptance of article VIII generally removes this limitation and encourages the use of a larger number of currencies in Fund transactions.

¹ Read to news correspondents on Feb. 15 by Lincoln White, Director of the Office of News.

In anticipation of a move to article VIII by a number of countries, the Executive Directors of the Fund agreed last June that there was great merit in voluntary discussions with article VIII countries, ordinarily at intervals of about a year. In this way the Fund expects to be able to provide a more effective forum for the exchange of views on monetary and financial developments and thus to promote international monetary cooperation in a changing world.

International Bank Issues

6-Month Financial Statement

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development reported on February 19 that its reserves had risen by \$17.6 million in the first 6 months of the current financial year to a total of \$556.5 million.

The additions to reserves in the 6-month period ending December 31, 1960, are made up of net earnings of \$33.4 million which were placed in the supplemental reserve against losses on loans and guarantees and loan commissions of \$14.2 million which were credited to the special reserve. On December 31 the supplemental reserve totaled \$377.4 million and the special reserve was \$179.1 million.

Gross income, exclusive of loan commissions, was \$83.3 million. Expenses totaled \$49.9 million and included \$42.9 million for interest on the Bank's funded debt, bond issuance, and other financial expenses.

During the period the Bank made 12 loans totaling \$292.4 million—in Colombia, El Salvador, India (two loans), Israel, Japan (two loans), Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, and Peru. This brought the total number of loans to 277 in 54 countries and raised the gross total of loans signed to \$5,473 million. By December 31, as a result of cancellations, repayments, and sales of loans, the portion of loans signed still retained by the Bank had been reduced to \$4,062.5 million.

Disbursements on loans were \$180.2 million,

making total disbursements \$4,101.4 million on December 31.

The Bank sold or agreed to sell the equivalent of \$83 million principal amounts of loans. At December 31 the total amount of such sales was \$894 million, of which all except \$69 million was without the Bank's guarantee.

Repayments of principal received by the Bank amounted to \$48.6 million. Total principal repayments amounted to \$747.5 million on December 31; this included \$386.5 million repaid to the Bank and \$361 million repaid to the purchasers of borrowers' obligations sold by the Bank.

The funded debt of the Bank amounted to \$2,158.4 million on December 31, 1960, reflecting a net increase of \$85.4 million over the past 6 months. In this period new bond issues and private placements of Bank obligations amounted to the equivalent of \$167.8 million. They consisted of a public bond issue of Sw fr 60 million (\$14 million) and three private placements: a \$30 million 4% Three Year Note; \$100 million of 3½% Two Year Bonds; and \$23.8 million of 4½% Bonds of 1960, due 1968-72 (DM 100 million drawn down under arrangement made in August 1960 to borrow DM 500 million). Outstanding debt was increased a further \$32 million as the result of delivery of \$4.2 million of bonds which had been subject to delayed delivery arrangements, the drawing down of an additional \$23.8 million equivalent from the deutsche mark borrowing of December 1959, and the revaluation of outstanding Canadian Dollar Bond Issues by \$4 million. Funded debt maturing amounted to \$105 million, and sinking- and purchase-fund transactions amounted to \$9.4 million.

Pursuant to the increase in the authorized capital of the Bank from \$10 billion to \$21 billion on September 15, 1959, 60 members have doubled their subscriptions and 27 members have subscribed to \$1,359.9 million in addition to their 100 percent increase. In November and December 1960, Cuba and the Dominican Republic withdrew from membership in the Bank. The subscribed capital of the Bank amounted to \$19,902.2 million on December 31, 1960.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Scheduled March 1 Through May 31, 1961

U.N. Plenipotentiary Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities.	Vienna	Mar. 2-
IAEA Intergovernmental Committee on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage.	Vienna	Mar. 6-
FAO Committee of Government Experts on the Uses of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	Mar. 6-
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Mar. 6-
U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: 17th Session	New Delhi	Mar. 8-
U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 9th Session.	Geneva	Mar. 13-
U.N. ECE Inland Transport Committee: Working Party on Construction of Vehicles of the Subcommittee on Road Transport.	Geneva	Mar. 13-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on the Status of Women: 15th Session.	Geneva	Mar. 13-
ICAO Legal Committee: Subcommittee on Aerial Collisions	Paris	Mar. 14-
FAO European Commission for Control of Foot and Mouth Disease: 8th Session.	Rome	Mar. 14-
<i>Ad Hoc</i> Commission of the International Committee of Weights and Measures for the Revision of the Convention on the Meter.	Paris	Mar. 20-
FAO International Meeting on Fish Meal	Rome	Mar. 20-
International Lead and Zinc Study Group: 3d Session	México, D.F.	Mar. 20-
U.N. ECE Senior Economic Advisers	Geneva	Mar. 20-
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Mar. 21-
U.N. ECE Coal Trade Subcommittee	Geneva	Mar. 22-
U.N. ECE Coal Committee: 51st Session	Geneva	Mar. 23-
Development Assistance Group: 4th Meeting	London	Mar. 27-
SEATO Council: 7th Meeting	Bangkok	Mar. 27-
U.N. ECE Steel Committee: 25th Session	Geneva	Mar. 27-
U.N. ECOSOC Committee on Industrial Development	New York	Mar. 27-
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences: 6th Meeting of Technical Advisory Council.	Turrialba	March
Pan American Institute of Geography and History: 7th General Assembly.	Rio de Janeiro	Apr. 3-
9th Pan American Consultation on Cartography	Rio de Janeiro	Apr. 3-
6th Pan American Consultation on Geography	Rio de Janeiro	Apr. 3-
5th Pan American Consultation on History	Rio de Janeiro	Apr. 3-
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 31st Session	New York	Apr. 4-
IAEA Board of Governors: 21st Session	Vienna	Apr. 5-
IMCO Assembly: 2d Session	London	Apr. 5-
International Aviation Research and Development Symposium	Atlantic City	Apr. 10-
IADB Board of Governors: 2d Meeting	Rio de Janeiro	Apr. 10-
FAO Group on Cocoa: 4th Session	Accra	Apr. 10-*
FAO Program Committee: 5th Session	Rome	Apr. 10-
ILO Regional Conference of American States Members: 7th Session.	Buenos Aires	Apr. 10-
GATT Panel on Subsidies and State Trading	Geneva	Apr. 10-
U.N. Economic Commission for Europe: 16th Session	Geneva	Apr. 11-
WMO Commission for Hydrological Meteorology: 1st Session	Washington	Apr. 12-
Diplomatic Conference on Maritime Law	Brussels	Apr. 17-
GATT Balance-of-Payments Consultations	Geneva	Apr. 17-
U.N. Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories	New York	Apr. 17-
U.N. ECOSOC Social Commission: 13th Session	New York	Apr. 17-
Inter-American Commission of Women: 14th General Assembly	Lima	Apr. 17-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Feb. 16, 1961. Asterisks indicate tentative dates. Following is a list of abbreviations: CENTO, Central Treaty Organization; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IADB, Inter-American Development Bank; 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; UPU, Universal Postal Union; WMO World Meteorological Organization.

ICAO Panel on Origin-and-Destination Statistics: 3d Meeting . . .	Paris	Apr. 18-
FAO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Meeting on Jute	Rome	Apr. 19-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Narcotic Drugs: Committee on Illicit Traffic.	Geneva	Apr. 20-
ITU Administrative Council: 16th Session	Geneva	Apr. 22-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Narcotic Drugs: 16th Session. . .	Geneva	Apr. 24-
5th ICAO Divisional Meeting on Personnel Licensing/Aviation Medicine.	Montreal	Apr. 25-
CENTO Ministerial Council: 9th Meeting	Ankara	Apr. 27-
GATT Contracting Parties: 18th Session	Geneva	May 1-
U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America: 9th Session . . .	Caracas	May 1-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Commodity Trade: 9th Session . .	New York	May 1-
14th International Cannes Film Festival	Cannes	May 3-
ICEM Executive Committee: 17th Session	Geneva	May 3-
UPU Executive and Liaison Committee	Bern	May 4-
FAO/UNICEF Joint Policy Committee: 3d Session	Rome	May 8-
ILO Inland Transport Committee: 7th Session	Geneva	May 8-
NATO Ministerial Council.	Oslo	May 8-
Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission: 3d Meeting	Washington	May 9-
GATT Council of Representatives of the Contracting Parties . .	Geneva	May 10-
ICEM Council: 14th Session.	Geneva	May 11-
International Cotton Advisory Committee: 20th Plenary Meeting.	Tokyo	May 15-
PAHO Executive Committee: 43d Meeting	Washington	May 15-
FAO Group on Citrus Fruits: 2d Session.	Rome	May 18-
FAO Group on Grains: 6th Session	Rome	May 18-
FAO European Forestry Commission: 11th Session	Rome	May 22-
11th Inter-American Conference	Quito	May 24-
UNESCO Executive Board: 59th Session	Paris	May 25-
ITU European VHF/UHF Broadcasting Conference	Stockholm	May 26-
International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries: Scientific Committee.	Woods Hole, Mass.	May 29-
ILO Governing Body: 149th Session (and its committees)	Geneva	May 29-*
FAO Committee on Commodity Problems: 34th Session	Rome	May 30-
WMO Executive Committee: 13th Session	Geneva	May 30-

Current U.N. Documents:

A Selected Bibliography ¹

Security Council

- Letter of January 6, 1961, from the Secretary General of the Organization of American States to the Secretary-General transmitting a resolution adopted on January 4 by the OAS Council affecting the Dominican Republic. S/4628. January 16, 1961. 7 pp.
- Letter of January 14, 1961, from the President of the Republic of the Congo to the Secretary-General regarding the Bukavu incident and a reply dated January 15, 1961. S/4629, January 16, 1961, 5 pp.; and Add. 1, January 25, 1961, 4 pp.
- Letter of January 7, 1961, from the President of the Republic of the Congo to the special representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo concerning U.N. activities in the Congo and a reply dated January 14, 1961. S/4630. January 16, 1961. 12 pp.
- Report by the Secretary-General, under Security Council Resolution S/4300, concerning the Union of South Africa. S/4635. January 23, 1961. 3 pp.
- Note by the Secretary-General bringing to the attention of the Council several communications concerning the Congo. S/4637. January 23, 1961. 8 pp.
- Report by the Secretary-General on the intended withdrawals of certain contingents from the United Nations Force in the Congo. S/4640. January 26, 1961. 3 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.

General Assembly

- Report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds. A/4623. December 7, 1960. 21 pp.
- Question of Hungary. Letter of December 6, 1960, from the chairman of the Hungarian delegation to the General Assembly addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4627. December 7, 1960. 5 pp.
- Note verbale of December 7, 1960, from the permanent mission of Belgium addressed to the Secretary-General regarding the situation in the Republic of the Congo. A/4629. December 7, 1960. 11 pp.
- Letter of December 6, 1960, to the President of the General Assembly from the permanent representative of Guatemala to the United Nations. A/4631. December 8, 1960. 3 pp.
- Letter of December 7, 1960, from the President of Ghana to the Secretary-General regarding the situation in the Republic of the Congo. A/4669. December 17, 1960. 6 pp.
- Letter of December 18, 1960, from the chairman of the Hungarian delegation to the President of the General Assembly regarding the situation in the Republic of the Congo. A/4670. December 19, 1960. 5 pp.
- United Nations conference on diplomatic intercourse and immunities. Text of the draft articles adopted by the International Law Commission at its 10th session. A/CONF. 20/4. December 14, 1960. 16 pp.
- Budget estimates for the financial year 1961. Report of the Fifth Committee. A/4677. December 20, 1960. 40 pp.

Economic and Social Council

- Technical Assistance Committee. United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance. Report of the Secretary-General on programs of technical assistance financed by the regular budget. E/TAC/103. November 10, 1960. 78 pp.

World Economic Situation. Evaluation of Long-Term Economic Projections. Reply of Hungary to the questionnaire on long-term economic projections. E/3379/Add. 7. November 10, 1960. 7 pp.

Population Commission. World Population Census Programme: Evaluation, Analysis and Utilization of Results of the Censuses in Under-developed Countries. E/CN.9/160. November 14, 1960. 12 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. International economic assistance to Africa. E/CN.14/88. November 16, 1960. 35 pp.

Commission on the Status of Women. Survey of the work of the Commission and of the results achieved on the international level. E/CN.6/372. November 25, 1960. 66 pp.

Population Commission. Demographic studies relevant to policymaking and planning of economic and social development programs for underdeveloped countries. E/CN.9/162. November 28, 1960, 24 pp.; and Corr. 1, January 11, 1961, 2 pp.

Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights. Manifestations of anti-Semitism and other forms of racial prejudice and religious intolerance of a similar nature. E/CN.4/Sub.2/209, November 28, 1960, 16 pp.; and E/CN.4/Sub.2/208/Add. 2, January 3, 1961, 62 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. An Enquiry Into Community Development in Uganda. Prepared by V. L. Griffith. E/CN.14/81. December 1, 1960. 86 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. The significance of recent common market developments in Latin America. E/CN.14/64. December 2, 1960. 90 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Progress report on the statistical survey of Africa. E/CN.14/83. December 5, 1960. 14 pp.

Population Commission. World demographic situation, with primary reference to mortality. E/CN.9/159. December 9, 1960. 13 pp.

Social Commission. Report on the world social situation: planning for balanced social and economic development in Poland. E/CN.5/346/Add. 1. December 9, 1960. 64 pp.

Commission on Human Rights. Draft principles on freedom and nondiscrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices. E/CN.4/809. December 20, 1960. 18 pp.

Population Commission. Objectives and accomplishments of the United Nations in the field of population. E/CN.9/158. December 21, 1960. 17 pp.

Economic Commission for Africa. Economic Bulletin for Africa. Vol. 1, No. 1, Part B, Special Articles. E/CN.14/67. December 21, 1960. 114 pp.

Agreement between the United Nations and the International Development Association. E/3429. December 22, 1960. 3 pp.

Report of the Technical Assistance Committee. E/3430. December 27, 1960. 22 pp.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Activities in the field of statistics. Report of the third working group on the training of statisticians. E/CN.11/545. December 28, 1960. 80 pp.

Commission on Human Rights. Draft principles on freedom and nondiscrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices. E/CN.4/809/Add. 2, December 29, 1960, 15 pp.; and Add. 3, December 20, 1960, 4 pp.

Commission on Human Rights. Periodic reports on human rights. Report submitted by UNESCO. E/CN.4/811/Add. 2. January 4, 1961. 41 pp.

Commission on the Status of Women. Occupational outlook for women. Access of women to training and employment in certain principal professional and technical fields. E/CN.6/374. January 5, 1961. 66 pp.

Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights. Study of discrimination in education. E/CN.4/Sub.2/210. January 5, 1961. 39 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and West Indies Sign New Defense Areas Agreement

Following is a statement made to the press on February 15 by John Hay Whitney, chairman of the U.S. delegation to the negotiations for a new defense areas agreement with The West Indies, together with an exchange of messages between President Kennedy and Sir Grantley Adams, Prime Minister of The West Indies.

STATEMENT BY MR. WHITNEY

White House press release dated February 15

The recent negotiation of a new defense areas agreement with the federation of The West Indies, culminating in its signature at Trinidad on February 10, has established a firm foundation of relationships between the United States and this newly emerging nation which is scheduled to attain complete independence next year.¹

I believe it is of special significance that the leaders of The West Indies have declared unequivocally their determination to join the Western community upon independence and to play their part in the maintenance of peace with freedom in the world. The reasoning which led The West Indies to this decision was well expressed by Mr. Norman Manley, Premier of Jamaica, on the occasion of the signing ceremony. He said that The West Indies "had to determine where it would stand in the world as an independent nation. Most of the new nations of the world had opted on neutrality. I declare my own personal conviction that we have done wisely and well in deciding that neutrality serves no purpose." Mr. Manley added that a nation built upon the same principles as "our great neighbor, the United States, and our old mentor, the United Kingdom, should be prepared to fight for independence."

Dr. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad, said that The West Indies by entering into the new

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 27, 1961, p. 311.

agreement demonstrated "a united resolve to play her full part with those nations who are pledged to defend and preserve the liberties and way of life of our Western society."

This identification by the federation of The West Indies with the Western Hemisphere makes it incumbent upon the United States to use extreme care in its future policies and programs to treat the peoples of The West Indies on a basis of equality with our other hemispheric good neighbors. This applies particularly to such matters as participation in the new social and economic development program for Latin America, in immigration policy, and in our treatment of this newly emerging nation in all trade matters.

I have with me today two distinguished colleagues who were fellow members of our delegation to the signing ceremony. Mr. George Weaver, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, is a leader who has long-established contacts with the labor movement throughout The West Indies. Dr. Hector Garcia is a distinguished leader in our southwestern States and has played a most important role in the development of good relations with our Latin American neighbors.

EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES

White House press release dated February 16

President Kennedy to Prime Minister Adams

FEBRUARY 9, 1961

His Excellency
Sir GRANTLEY ADAMS, C.M.G., Q.C.,
*Prime Minister of The West Indies,
Port-of-Spain, Trinidad*

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: I wish to thank you and your cabinet colleagues for your thoughtful message of congratulation² upon my inauguration in office. It gives me particular pleasure upon the occasion of the signing of a new agreement providing for our mutual defense to reciprocate your confidence in the endurance and strength of the present friendly relations between our two countries. The United States looks forward to the time when The West Indies will become an independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the opportu-

² Not printed.

March 6, 1961

nity of welcoming her into the hemispheric community.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Prime Minister Adams to President Kennedy

14 FEBRUARY 1961

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
*White House
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I offer my sincere thanks for the great kindness of your letter sent to me on the occasion of the signing of the Defence Areas Agreement in Port of Spain. The reading of your letter added a note of the highest significance to the Signing Ceremony.

My Government and I warmly reciprocate your expressions of good will which serve to increase our satisfaction in the close and enduring friendship between our two countries, upon which this Agreement and our cooperation in defence and other spheres, are founded.

We are particularly grateful to you, Mr. President, for having made it possible for The Honourable John Hay Whitney to be your special representative at the culminating stage of an understanding, to the success of which Mr. Whitney's broad vision and sincerity have made so unique a contribution.

All has gone well and to good purpose. The presence of Mr. Weaver and Dr. Garcia at this time and their wide knowledge and sympathetic approach to human problems in their respective fields, have enabled us to have with them discussions which proved of the highest value to us.

I would also pay tribute to the magnificent efforts, over many months, of United States Officials and Services which produced work of the highest distinction, enabling this Agreement which gives such mutual satisfaction, to be perfected so expeditiously.

Yours sincerely,

GRANTLEY ADAMS

Canada and United States Sign Estate-Tax Convention

Press release 71 dated February 17

Secretary Rusk and A. D. P. Heeney, the Canadian Ambassador, signed at Washington on February 17 a convention between the United States and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons.

This estate-tax convention is fundamentally similar to, and has the same basic objectives as, estate-tax conventions which have entered into

force between the United States and 12 countries, including the convention of June 8, 1944, with Canada¹ as modified by a convention of June 12, 1950.² Such conventions are designed to eliminate double taxation in connection with the settlement in one country of estates in which nationals of the other country have interests.

The new convention with Canada will take the place of the 1944 convention as modified. The 1944 convention provided that, for Canada, the taxes referred to therein were the taxes imposed under the Dominion Succession Duty Act. That convention, as modified, was rendered inoperative by the repeal of the Dominion Succession Duty Act and the enactment of the Canadian Estate Tax Act effective January 1, 1959. It is provided in the new convention that, upon its entry into force, the 1944 and 1950 conventions shall be deemed to have terminated as to estates of decedents dying on or after January 1, 1959, and that the new convention shall be deemed to have come into effect as to estates of decedents dying on or after that date.

So far as the United States is concerned, the convention applies only with respect to United States (that is, Federal) taxes. It does not apply to the imposition of taxes by the several States, the District of Columbia, or the Territories or possessions of the United States.

The convention is subject to ratification. It will be submitted to the U.S. Senate for advice and consent to ratification.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Sugar

International sugar agreement, 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1959. TIAS 4389.

Accession deposited: Ecuador, January 19, 1961.

Trade and Commerce

Protocol amending part I and articles XXIX and XXX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955.³

Signature: Peru, December 21, 1960.

Protocol amending the preamble and parts II and III of the general agreement. Done at Geneva March 10,

¹ 59 Stat. 915.

² Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2348.

³ Not in force.

1955. Entered into force October 7, 1957. TIAS 3930. *Signature:* Peru, December 21, 1960.

Protocol of rectification to the French text of the general agreement. Done at Geneva June 15, 1955. Entered into force October 24, 1956. TIAS 3677.

Signature: Peru, December 21, 1960.

Protocol relating to negotiations for the establishment of new schedule III—Brazil—to the general agreement. Done at Geneva December 31, 1958.³

Signature: Pakistan, December 8, 1960.

BILATERAL

Canada

Convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons. Signed at Washington February 17, 1961. Enters into force upon exchange of instruments of ratification.

Ireland

Amendment to the agreement of March 16, 1956 (TIAS 4059), concerning the civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington February 13, 1961. Enters into force on the day on which each Government receives from the other written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements.

Norway

Agreement amending the agreement of May 15 and June 26, 1953 (TIAS 3468), relating to the disposition of equipment and materials furnished by the United States under the mutual defense assistance program. Effected by exchange of notes at Oslo September 1, 1960, and January 14, 1961. Entered into force January 14, 1961.

West Indies

Agreement concerning U.S. defense areas in the federation of The West Indies. Signed at Port-of-Spain February 10, 1961. Entered into force February 10, 1961.

Yugoslavia

Agreement providing special economic assistance to Yugoslavia to support technical assistance projects programmed for fiscal year 1961. Effected by exchange of notes at Belgrade January 19, 1961. Entered into force January 19, 1961.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Consulate at Colón, Panama, Remains Open

Department mailing notice dated February 2

The U.S. consulate at Colón, Panama, which was scheduled to close August 19, 1960, has been continued in operation. Pending the assignment of a principal officer to Colón, the Embassy at Panamá is daily detailing a vice consul to the consulate.

Colón has no consular district. The Embassy services the entire Republic of Panama. The Embassy at Panamá will supervise the administration of Colón.

American Consulate at Aruba Closes on March 1

Press release 58 dated February 6

For reasons of economy which constrain the Department of State to reduce certain consular operations in areas where consular representation is otherwise available nearby, the American consulate at Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, will be closed to the public effective March 1, 1961. Subsequent to March 1 the functions now handled by the American consulate, Aruba, will be assumed by the American consulate general, Curaçao.

Confirmations

The Senate on February 13 confirmed the following nominations:

George C. McGhee to be Counselor of the Department of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 69 dated February 16.)

Charles W. Yost to be a deputy representative of the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated January 28.)

Appointments

Herbert J. Waters as Special Assistant to the Director of the International Cooperation Administration, effective February 6. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 55 dated February 8.)

Henry W. Wiens as International Cooperation Administration Representative in the Republic of the Congo, effective February 10. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 65 dated February 10.)

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.

Interchange of Patent Rights and Technical Information for Defense Purposes—Filing Classified Patent Applications. TIAS 4552. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Norway, amending the agreement of December 5, 1958, and January 6 and 17, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Oslo April 25 and August 12, 1960. Entered into force August 12, 1960.

United States Educational Foundation in India. TIAS 4553. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and India, amending the agreement of February 2, 1950, as amended. Exchange of notes—Dated at New Delhi May 9 and July 29, 1960. Entered into force July 29, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4554. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Chile, amending the agreement of June 2, 1960. Exchange of notes—Signed at Santiago August 12, 1960. Entered into force August 12, 1960.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Cash Contribution by Japan. TIAS 4555. 6 pp. 5¢.

Arrangement between the United States of America and Japan, relating to the agreement of March 8, 1954. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tokyo August 9, 1960. Entered into force August 9, 1960.

Commission For Educational Exchange. TIAS 4559. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Uruguay. Exchange of notes—Signed at Montevideo July 22, 1960. Entered into force July 22, 1960.

Passport Visas—Non-Immigrant Visa Procedures. TIAS 4561. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Australia. Exchange of notes—Dated at Canberra March 13, June 1, and August 19, 1959. Entered into force August 19, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance. TIAS 4566. 3 pp. 5¢.

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 July 21 and August 18, 1960. Entered into force August 18, 1960.

Defense—Transfer of Military Equipment, Materials, and Services. TIAS 4567. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Haiti. Exchange of notes—Dated at Port-au-Prince September 1, 1960. Entered into force September 1, 1960.

Defense—Loan of Vessel to Colombia. TIAS 4568. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Colombia, amending the agreement of April 5 and 7, 1960. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bogotá July 25, 1960. Entered into force July 25, 1960.

Defense—Weapons Production Program. TIAS 4569. 11 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Norway. Exchange of notes—Signed at Oslo February 13, 1960. Entered into force February 13, 1960. And amending agreement. Exchange of notes—Signed at Oslo April 26 and September 16, 1960. Entered into force September 16, 1960.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Redistributable and Excess Property. TIAS 4570. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Denmark, amending the agreement of November 16, 1951, and April 28, 1952. Exchange of notes—Signed at Copenhagen September 12, 1960. Entered into force September 12, 1960.

Guaranty of Private Investments. TIAS 4571. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Liberia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Monrovia Sep-

tember 6 and 12, 1960. Entered into force September 12, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4572. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea, amending and supplementing the agreement of June 30, 1959, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Seoul September 14, 1960. Entered into force September 14, 1960.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Disposition of Equipment and Materials. TIAS 4573. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Italy, amending the agreement of November 20 and December 14, 1951. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rome September 7, 1960. Entered into force September 7, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4574. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and India, supplementing the agreement of May 4, 1960, as supplemented. Signed at Washington September 23, 1960. With exchange of notes. Entered into force September 23, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4575. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic, amending the agreement of August 9, 1960. Exchange of notes—Signed at Cairo September 17, 1960. Entered into force September 17, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4576. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Ceylon. Signed at Colombo September 30, 1960. With exchange of notes. Entered into force September 30, 1960.

Economic Assistance to Libya. TIAS 4577. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Libya, amending the agreement of September 9, 1954, as supplemented. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tripoli June 30, 1960. Entered into force June 30, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities—Child Feeding Program. TIAS 4578. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Italy. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rome July 19, 1960. Entered into force July 19, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4579. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Pakistan, amending the agreement of April 11, 1960. Exchange of notes—Signed at Karachi September 23, 1960. Entered into force September 23, 1960.

Article XVIII of Agreement Under Article VI of Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security—Facilities and Areas and Status of United States Armed Forces in Japan—Application of Paragraph 5 to Certain Maritime Claims. TIAS 4580. 3 pp. 5¢.

Understanding between the United States of America and Japan. Exchange of notes—Dated at Tokyo August 22, 1960. Entered into force August 22, 1960.

Termination of Reciprocal Trade Agreement of April 8, 1943. TIAS 4581. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iran. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tehran July 27, 1960. Entered into force July 27, 1960.

Defense—Loan of Additional Vessels to Spain. TIAS 4582. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Spain. Exchange of notes—Signed at Madrid September 30, 1960. Entered into force September 30, 1960.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Disposition of Redistributable and Excess Property. TIAS 4583. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Luxembourg, amending the agreement of July 7, 1954. Exchange of notes—Signed at Luxembourg March 4 and June 10, 1960. Entered into force June 10, 1960.

Vocational Education—Cooperative Program in Brazil. TIAS 4584. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, extending and amending the agreement of October 14, 1950, as extended and amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rio de Janeiro June 29, 1960. Entered into force June 29, 1960.

Weather Stations—Cooperative Program at Antofagasta, Quintero and Puerto Montt. TIAS 4585. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Chile, extending the agreement of March 1, 1957, as extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Santiago July 21 and September 7, 1960. Entered into force September 7, 1960. Operative retroactively January 1, 1960.

Agriculture and Natural Resources—Cooperative Program in Brazil. TIAS 4586. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, extending and amending the agreement of June 26, 1953. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rio de Janeiro August 24, 1960. Entered into force August 24, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4587. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Burma, amending article II of the agreement of May 27, 1958, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rangoon October 10, 1960. Entered into force October 10, 1960.

Interchange of Patent Rights and Technical Information for Defense Purposes. TIAS 4588. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Spain. Exchange of notes—Signed at Madrid July 13 and 21, 1960. Entered into force July 21, 1960.

Defense—Loan of Vessel to Chile. TIAS 4589. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Chile. Exchange of notes—Signed at Santiago June 28 and July 16, 1960. Entered into force July 16, 1960.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Disposition of Equipment and Material. TIAS 4590. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Portugal, amending the agreement of June 16 and July 9, 1952. Exchange of notes—Signed at Lisbon September 15, 1960. Entered into force September 15, 1960.

Operations in Antarctica. TIAS 4591. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and New Zealand, extending the agreement of December 24, 1958. Exchange of notes—Signed at Wellington October 18, 1960. Entered into force October 18, 1960. Operative retroactively January 1, 1960.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4592. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iran, amending the agreement of July 26, 1960. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tehran September 26, 1960. Entered into force September 26, 1960.

Africa. A World Divided (Dulles) 336

American Republics

Alliance for Progress (Berle) 342

Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1961 (text of proclamation) 344

Asia. A World Divided (Dulles) 336

Canada. Canada and United States Sign Estate-Tax Convention 351

Congo, Republic of the

President Emphasizes U.S. Support for United Nations in the Congo (Kennedy) 332

Wiens appointed ICA representative 353

Congress, The. Administration Urges Ratification of OECD Convention (Ball, Dillon) 326

Department and Foreign Service

American Consulate at Aruba Closes on March 1 353

Appointments (Waters, Wiens) 353

Confirmations (McGhee, Yost) 353

Consulate at Colón, Panama, Remains Open 352

Economic Affairs

Administration Urges Ratification of OECD Convention (Ball, Dillon) 326

Alliance for Progress (Berle) 342

Canada and United States Sign Estate-Tax Convention 351

International Bank Issues 6-Month Financial Statement 347

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Rusk) 323

U.S. Welcomes Actions of 10 Nations on Currency Convertibility 346

A World Divided (Dulles) 336

El Salvador. President Announces Recognition of Government of El Salvador (Kennedy) 344

Europe. Administration Urges Ratification of OECD Convention (Ball, Dillon) 326

Germany. German-American Relations (Rusk) 334

International Organizations and Conferences

Administration Urges Ratification of OECD Convention (Ball, Dillon) 326

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings 348

International Bank Issues 6-Month Financial Statement 347

Military Affairs. U.S. and West Indies Sign New Defense Areas Agreement (Adams, Kennedy, Whitney) 350

Mutual Security

Waters appointed special assistant to the ICA Director 353

Wiens appointed ICA representative, Republic of the Congo 353

Netherlands Antilles. American Consulate at Aruba Closes on March 1 353

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. President Pledges United States Support of NATO (Kennedy) 333

Panama. Consulate at Colón, Panama, Remains Open 352

Presidential Documents

Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1961 344

President Abolishes Operations Coordinating Board 345

President Announces Recognition of Government of El Salvador 344

President Emphasizes U.S. Support for United Nations in the Congo 332

President Pledges United States Support of NATO 333

Secretary Rusk To Attend SEATO Council of Ministers Meeting 334

Publications. Recent Releases 353

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Secretary Rusk To Attend SEATO Council of Ministers Meeting (Kennedy) 334

Treaty Information

Canada and United States Sign Estate-Tax Convention 351

Current Actions 352

U.S. and West Indies Sign New Defense Areas Agreement (Adams, Kennedy, Whitney) 350

United Nations

Current U.N. Documents 349

President Emphasizes U.S. Support for United Nations in the Congo (Kennedy) 332

Yost confirmed as deputy U.S. representative in Security Council 353

West Indies, The. U.S. and West Indies Sign New Defense Areas Agreement (Adams, Kennedy, Whitney) 350

Name Index

Adams, Grantley 350

Ball, George W 326

Berle, Adolf A 342

Dillon, Douglas 330

Dulles, Eleanor Lansing 336

Kennedy, President 332, 333, 334, 344, 345, 350

McGhee, George C 353

Rusk, Secretary 323, 334

Waters, Herbert J 353

Whitney, John Hay 350

Wiens, Henry W 353

Yost, Charles W 353

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: February 13-19

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Releases issued prior to February 13 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 58 of February 6 and 61 of February 10.

No.	Date	Subject
66	2/13	Rusk: government-industry conference
*67	2/13	Harriman sworn in as Ambassador at Large (biographic details).
68	2/14	Ball: Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
*69	2/16	McGhee sworn in as Counselor (biographic details).
70	2/16	Rusk: American-German conference.
71	2/17	Signing of estate-tax convention with Canada.
*72	2/17	Morales sworn in as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs (biographic details).
73	2/17	Eleanor Dulles: "A World Divided."
†74	2/17	Williams: "The United States and Africa: Common Goals."
*75	2/17	Cultural exchange (U.S.S.R.).

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



UNITED STATES
 GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
 DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
 WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
 PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
 (GPO)

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

BERLIN

City Between Two Worlds

This 22-page illustrated pamphlet, a revised *Background*, traces the political development of the Berlin question from 1952 up to the abortive summit meeting of May 1960, and includes a brief statement of the legal basis of Western rights in Berlin.

Publication 7089

20 cents

The Record on Korean Unification—1943-1960

This volume, consisting of a narrative summary and a collection of documents, presents the record on Korean unification as shown by the policies and actions of the United Nations, the United States, the Republic of Korea, and the countries of the Communist bloc during the period 1943 to 1960. The narrative covers the major developments relating to Korea in this period but gives primary attention to the continuing efforts of the United Nations and the United States to achieve the unification of Korea in accordance with fundamental principles endorsed by the great majority of the members of the world organization.

Publication 7084

65 cents

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
 Govt. Printing Office
 Washington 25, D.C.

Please send me copies of—

Berlin, City Between Two Worlds.

The Record on Korean Unification—1943-1960.

Enclosed find:

\$.....

(cash, check, or money
 order payable to
 Supt. of Docs.)

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

Loc. 4c

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1133

March 13, 1961

SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS NEW MEASURES TO SOLVE CONGO PROBLEMS ● *Statements by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson and Texts of Resolutions . . . 359*

THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA: COMMON GOALS
Address by Assistant Secretary Williams 373
Statement by Walter M. Kotschnig 376

MIGRATION FROM EUROPE IN 1961 ● *Article by George L. Warren 386*

E
FICIAL
EELY RECORD
ITED STATES
REIGN POLICY

For index see inside back cover

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1133 • PUBLICATION 7152

March 13, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 Issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

Security Council Adopts New Measures To Solve Congo Problems

Following are statements made by Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, during consideration in the Security Council of the situation in the Republic of the Congo, together with texts of a Soviet draft resolution rejected by the Council and a three-power resolution which was adopted on February 21.

STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 13

U.S./U.N. press release 3645

We view with approval the Secretary-General's request to include in the agenda the report¹ of his special representative [Rajeshwar Dayal] in the Congo and the continuation of his investigations.

We have all learned this morning by an announcement by the Katanga authorities of the reported death of Patrice Lumumba and two of his colleagues. This is distressing and deplorable news. The President of the United States this morning has stated that he is deeply shocked by reports of the death of Patrice Lumumba and his two aides.

Those of us who have wholeheartedly supported United Nations assistance to the Congo have done so with a view to bringing order and stability to a land torn apart by internal strife and intervention from the outside. The death of Mr. Lumumba without trial or judgment is sad testimony to the distance we still have to travel before our task there will be completed.

We in the United States regret these latest tragedies. In the face of all that has happened in the Congo we hope that men of good will everywhere will join together with sober resolve not to seek revenge but to seek reconciliation. Recrimination, violence, and dismay will not be

¹ U.N. doc. S/4688 and Add. 1.

enough. Now more than ever is the time when we must proceed in the Council to find a consensus on constructive measures which will help restore peace and stability to the Congo.

Members of the Security Council have been in consultation during the past week to find such a consensus. These efforts must now be accelerated so that we may look forward to a constructive and not destructive future in the Congo. And in the meantime we earnestly appeal to all governments to avoid any steps which might further aggravate or inflame the situation and to continue to give their full support to the United Nations and the success of its mission there.

STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 15

U.S./U.N. press release 3647

A few days ago a new administration took office in the United States. This is the first occasion for the United States, under the leadership of President Kennedy, to speak formally in the Security Council on a question of substance.

But first let me thank you again, all of you both here and abroad, who have welcomed my arrival at this table so graciously and so hopefully. While I cannot fulfill your expectations of miracles to come, I can commit my country, my colleagues, and myself to a tireless effort to make the United Nations successful, to make this great experiment in international collaboration fulfill the dreams of its founders that one day reason would rule and mankind would be liberated from the everlasting scourge of war.

It seems to be my lot, Mr. President, to address you and my colleagues for the first time in a moment of grave crisis in the brief and tragic history of the Congo and in a moment of equally grave crisis for the United Nations itself. I had hoped it would be otherwise.

Within recent days we have seen successively the withdrawal of two national units of the United Nations forces, the violent death of former Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the reported recognition of the [Antoine] Gizenga regime in Stanleyville by the United Arab Republic, and a threat by the U.S.S.R. to provide unilateral assistance outside the United Nations. What we decide here in the next few days may, we believe, determine whether the United Nations will be able in the future to carry on its essential task of preserving the peace and protecting small nations.

This is a time for urgent and constructive action. In the midst of passions it is a time when the Security Council must be calm. In the midst of efforts to destroy the United Nations action in the Congo it is a time when we must persevere in the interests not only of the Congo but of all of us, large and small. The choice, as always, is a choice of us, the members of the United Nations. Either we will follow a path toward a constructive and workable solution or we will follow a path of negative recrimination and self-interest.

As a new arrival listening and talking to delegates, I have wondered sometimes in the past 10 days if everyone is actually thinking about the Congo—a new republic struggling to be born—or if the Congo has been obscured by passions and prejudices about the doctors—Kasavubu, Lumumba, Gizenga, Tshombe, and so forth.

Opinion seems to be polarizing about them, not about the patient. So it is more important than ever to rally strong support to the United Nations in order to save the patient.

Analysis of the Soviet Proposal

For the past fortnight my country has been consulting on a United Nations program to save the patient, both here and abroad—a program on which there might be agreement by a large majority of United Nations members. That effort, in which so many of us have taken part, must not be abandoned. Indeed, its urgency is only accentuated by the impact of subsequent events.

As I said, Mr. President, I had hoped that my first formal remarks to the Security Council on the vexed problems of the Congo could be directed solely to constructive suggestions which would be helpful to the Congolese people in working out their own independence, free of outside interference.

Instead, I find myself compelled to comment not on constructive suggestions but on a statement² and a proposed resolution³ by the Soviet Union published in this morning's newspapers, which is virtually a declaration of war on the United Nations and on the principle of international action on behalf of peace.

Permit me to analyze what, stripped of intemperate rhetoric, this statement and this resolution propose. They propose the abandonment of the United Nations effort for peace in the Congo and a surrender of the United Nations to chaos and to civil war.

But the statement and the resolution say many things which we are glad to see, things which support positions that my country has always maintained. As to colonialism, my country fought colonialism in 1776 (when, if I may say so, the ancestors of the authors of this statement in the newspapers and this resolution had scarcely stirred beneath their bondage). And we have fought it ever since. My countrymen died to end colonialism in the Philippines, and my countrymen have assisted the Philippine people to attain their present high destiny of complete independence. And my countrymen have died to end colonialism in Cuba, though some Cubans seem to have forgotten it.

We rejoice, too, to hear the Soviets denounce political assassinations with such vehemence. In this country it has always been condemned, by whomever committed—whether by Congolese, by colonialists, or by Communists. We condemn any violation of human rights, any death without due process of law, whether of African politician, Hungarian patriot, or Tibetan nationalist. The United States stands squarely for the rights of man, individual man, man himself, as against any tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of colonialism or the tyranny of dictatorship or the tyranny of the majority.

We note that the Soviets demand that Belgian foreign military and paramilitary aid be withdrawn. We, the United States, insist that all foreign military aid, from whatever source and to whatever end, be removed from the Congo and that no such aid be permitted to interfere with the free and independent working out by the Congolese people themselves of their own political destiny.

² U.N. doc. S/4704.

³ U.N. doc. S/4706.

We mean this, and we intend to keep on meaning it. And we mean it with particular reference to the threat—which we hope we misinterpret—by the Soviet Government that “it is prepared . . . to give all possible help and support” to a so-called Congolese government in Stanleyville which has no legal status.

The United States intends to use its utmost influence and, within the framework of the United Nations, to see to it that there is no outside interference, from whatever source, with the Congolese people’s working out of their independence.

So, Mr. President, we rejoice that the Soviet Union shares the distaste of the United States for colonialism and joins with us in condemning political assassination and in condemning foreign interference in the Congo.

Abandoning Security for Insecurity

I pass lightly over the Soviet Government’s petulant attack on the Secretary-General and that great office. He needs no defense from me, nor does the institution. His record is an open book, a book which all peace-loving peoples recognize as the record of a dedicated international civil servant, whose only loyalty is to international justice and international peace. Let the Soviet Government, if it wishes, pretend that he does not exist; it will find that he is far from a disembodied ghost, and it will find that peace-loving states will continue to support his patient search for the right road to security and peace in the Congo and for all peoples. The United Nations may have made mistakes in the Congo, as who has not, but nothing justifies an intemperate and unjustifiable attack on the integrity of the office itself.

We note that the United Nations has been denounced with equal vehemence by [Joseph] Kasavubu, by Gizenga, by [Moise] Tshombe, while they also attack each other with equal vehemence. But could there be better testimony of impartiality? And I recall that Christian scripture says: “Woe to you when all men speak well of you.” Neither the United Nations nor the Secretary-General seems likely to suffer from the affliction of universal approval.

We regret, Mr. President, that the Soviet Government does not as yet seem to have seen fit to cooperate with states who truly seek peace in attempting to work out constructive steps for the

cooperative solution of the agonizing problems that the Congolese people are now facing. Instead the Soviet Government proposes the complete abandonment of the United Nations operation in the Congo in 1 month. What does this mean? It means, my colleagues, not only the abandonment of the Congo to chaos and to civil war—to, if you please, the cold war—but it means abandonment of the principle of the United Nations itself.

Does anyone doubt that the removal of the United Nations forces would mean chaos? Does this Council, the *Security* Council, favor abandoning security for insecurity and anarchy?

Do we want to withdraw the only elements that stand foursquare against civil and tribal war? Does the Soviet Government really want Africans to kill Africans? The United States does not, and it devoutly hopes that the Soviet Government does not too and that it will join the United States and other peace-loving states in supporting and strengthening the only force that can prevent Congolese civil war—the United Nations.

U.S. Wants No Cold War in Africa

And now the cold war. Does the Soviet Government really want to chill what should be warm and temperate in Africa with the icy blasts of power politics? The United States does not. Its only interest in the Congo is to support the Congolese people in their struggle for real independence, free from any foreign domination from *any* source.

The United States deplores any war, cold or otherwise. Its only desire is to live in peace and freedom and to let all other peoples live in peace and freedom. It will resist with all of its power all assaults on its own peace and freedom, and it proposes to join with all other peace-loving peoples in resisting, in the cooperative framework of the United Nations, all assaults on the peace and freedom of other peoples.

In that spirit we declare that, so far as we are concerned, Africa shall never be the scene of any war, cold or hot. But we also declare that Africa for the Africans *means* Africa for the Africans and not Africa as a hunting ground for alien ambitions. And we pledge our full and unstinted support against any attempt by anyone to interfere with the full and free development by Africans of their own independent African future.

We believe that the only way to keep the cold war *out* of the Congo is to keep the United Nations *in* the Congo, and we call on the Soviet Union to join us in thus insuring the free and untrammelled exercise by the Congolese people of their right to independence and to democracy.

But, Mr. President, the position apparently taken by the Soviet Government involves more than the unhappy and despicable fate of three Congolese politicians. It involves the future of the 14 million Congolese people. They are the ones with whom we are concerned. We deplore the past, and we condemn those responsible for it, no matter who they may be. But we submit that it is the future that is all-important now and that the best efforts of this Council should be concentrated on the future security of the Congo and, indeed, on the future security of all peoples.

Issue of the Survival of the United Nations

For, Mr. President, it is the security of all peoples which is threatened by the statement and by the proposals of the Soviet Government. Let me make my meaning abundantly and completely clear, if I can. The United States Government believes, and profoundly believes, that the single best and only hope of the peoples of the world for peace and security lies in the United Nations. It lies in international cooperation, in the integrity of an international body rising above international rivalries into the clearer air of international morality and international justice.

The United Nations has not achieved perfection nor has the United States, and they probably never will. The United States, like the United Nations, is composed of humans; it has made mistakes, it probably always will make mistakes; it has never pleased all people, it cannot please all people; in its desire and wholehearted determination to do justice it may offend one group of states in 1952, another in 1956, and perhaps still another in 1961. But always the United States has tried, and we believe it will always try, to apply evenhandedly the rules of justice and equity that should govern us all.

Are we callously to cast aside the one and only instrument that men have developed to safeguard their peace and security? Are we to abandon the jungles of the Congo to the jungles of internecine warfare and internal rivalry?

This issue, Mr. President, even transcends the fate of the suffering 14 million Congolese people. It involves the fate of all of us, of all mankind.

The issue, then, is simply this: Shall the United Nations survive? Shall the attempt to bring about peace by the concerted power of international understanding be discarded?

[At this point Ambassador Stevenson was interrupted by a disturbance in the public gallery. The gallery was cleared, and the meeting continued.]

Mr. President, may I say that I deeply deplore this outrageous and obviously organized demonstration. To the extent that Americans may have been involved, I apologize on behalf of my Government to the members of the Security Council.

To continue, shall any pretense of an international order, of international law, be swept aside? Shall conflicts of naked power, awful in their potential, be permitted to rage in Africa or elsewhere, unchecked by international cooperation or authority?

These are questions, Mr. President and my colleagues, which call for an answer, not so much by the great powers as by the smaller ones and the newer ones. My own country, as it happens, is in the fortunate position of being able to look out for itself and for its interests, and look out it will. But it is for the vast majority of states that the United Nations has vital meaning and is of vital necessity. I call on those states to rise in defense of the integrity of the institution which is for them the only assurance of their freedom and their liberty and the only assurance for all of us of peace in the years to come.

And I also call upon the Soviet Union to reconsider their position. My Government is earnestly determined to cooperate with all governments in an attempt to improve international relationships and to further friendships among peoples, and it has welcomed evidences of cooperation toward that end by the Soviet Government. Let those evidences be buttressed by concrete steps by the Soviet Government looking toward constructive solution of the difficult problems that confront us all. Let us join in condemning the past, but let us join in facing the future with calm determination to support steadfastly and strengthen sturdily the United Nations, the United Nations which is the last best hope of us all.

Four Principles for Solving Congo Problems

Now let me turn to the Congo and to what can be done to arrest the sad deterioration in that divided country. There are certain fundamental principles concerning the Congo which have had and will continue to have the full support of the American people and of the United States Government. It is on the basis of these principles that we have undertaken consultations this past fortnight. We believe that they are shared by others, and we are willing to work with any and all who show a willingness to find a solution. The essential principles of such a solution are, we believe, apparent to all.

In the first place, that the unity, the territorial integrity, the political independence of the Congo must be preserved. I am sure Sir Patrick⁴ will not object if I repeat that the United States was one of the first anticolonialists and that, during the 186 years since, we have stood steadfastly for the right of peoples to determine their own destiny. The United States desires nothing for the Congo but its complete freedom from outside domination and nothing for its people but the same independent freedom which we wanted for ourselves so long ago and have resolutely defended ever since.

Much as the United States was once beset by internal dissensions, so the Congo since its independence has been beset by secessionist movements—previously in the Katanga and now in Orientale Province too. The United States supports the continued territorial integrity of the Congo. So far as we are concerned, its borders are identical with its borders on July 1, 1960. The United States is ready to join with other states which support its independence and integrity to maintain this principle within the framework of the United Nations.

Secondly, the Congo must not become a battleground, as I have said, either for a cold or a hot war among the big powers. When the United States was first requested to provide troops for the Congo, we told the Congolese Government to appeal to the United Nations. We then supported the United Nations military assistance to the Congo. In contrast to others, the United States has never at any time provided a single tank, a single gun, a single soldier, a single piece of equip-

⁴ Sir Patrick Dean of the United Kingdom, President of the Security Council for the month of February.

ment that could be used for military purposes to anyone in the Congo.

We have, on the other hand, responded to every request made to us by the United Nations promptly and vigorously so that the entire control over our assistance passed from our hands to those of the United Nations. We remain firmly determined, as I have said, to do everything in our power to keep the cold war out of Africa.

Third, we support the United Nations action in the Congo to the fullest measure of our power. The best way to keep the cold war and the hot war out of the Congo, as I have said, is to keep the United Nations in. To those members who are still contemplating withdrawal, I suggest a long, hard, careful look at what might happen in the Congo if the United Nations Force collapses or if the United Nations mission fails because of lack of support from its members.

Finally, we believe that the Congolese people must be allowed to develop their own political settlement by peaceful means free from violence and external interference. The Congo's political problems must in the last analysis be worked out by the Congolese themselves. The United Nations can assist in this effort—by helping create peace and stability and through extending its good offices as it has done in the Conciliation Commission. But only a settlement demanding the support of the Congolese people will long endure.

On these principles—the maintenance of territorial integrity and political independence, the isolation of the Congolese from big-power and small-power interference, continued vigorous United Nations assistance, and the settlement of internal political controversies by peaceful means—on these principles rest, in our opinion, the only possibility for a solution.

What Needs To Be Done

We are faced now with the necessity for urgent and effective steps to bring these principles closer to reality. The threat of civil war, of increased unilateral intervention in the Congo on all sides is increasingly grave. If the United Nations does not take effective action immediately, not only may conflict break forth in full fury in the Congo but the hopes of African unity may be destroyed for many years to come by the divisions which will be produced among African nations. What, then, in these circumstances, needs to be done?

First, all foreign intervention outside the framework of the United Nations should cease immediately and any foreign military or paramilitary personnel in the Congo should be withdrawn. The injunction of the General Assembly resolution⁵ adopted with the support of all members of the United Nations, except the Soviet bloc, against any unilateral military aid whatever, whether direct or indirect, should be adhered to fully by all United Nations members. This applies to those Belgians who are providing military advice and assistance to the Congo. It applies equally against military assistance to the forces in Orientale.

The United States, for its part, does not intend to sit by if others consciously and deliberately seek to exacerbate the present situation. We are prepared to use all of our influence, if other members of the United Nations do likewise, to prevent such assistance from coming to the Congo, no matter from what quarter it comes.

Equally urgent and immediate steps are needed to avert the extension of civil war in the Congo and to protect the lives of innocent civilians and refugees should the present passions result in widespread outbreaks of violence. United Nations political and military authorities on the ground should consult immediately with the Chief of State and with other civilian and military leaders, if necessary, to agree on measures which would best maintain peace and stability and protect the lives of citizens.

Such measures must be accompanied also by immediate steps to assure long-range stability and progress. The Secretary-General proposed to us less than 2 weeks ago that measures should be taken to unify, reorganize, retrain the Congolese army and other armed forces in the Congo with a view to eliminating force as a political element in that afflicted country. The United States supports this proposal. We believe that negotiations to bring this about should be undertaken with the same urgency as the measures I have just mentioned.

Gravity of the Crisis

On Monday here in the Security Council I deplored the reported death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues and supported the Secretary-General's request that a preliminary investigation be

included on the agenda. On every occasion when the arrest of Mr. Lumumba has been discussed in the United Nations, the United States has taken the position that he must be treated humanely and with all protection of law and order. We have similarly expressed ourselves through diplomatic channels to the appropriate authorities in the Congo. I believe it has been long known that in our consultations during the past week we had advocated the release of all political prisoners and their participation in the political process once law and order had been restored to the Congo and the possibility of civil war averted. We continue to believe that this must be done for those political prisoners, such as Minister [Alphonse] Songo, about whom the world press has been less aware. In the case of Mr. Lumumba we support the Secretary-General's investigation, and we believe that it should be continued vigorously until the true facts are known. I earnestly hope that the Katanga forces will cooperate so that the full facts may be brought to light.

The ultimate objective of such steps should be to promote the reconciliation of the political elements in the Congo and a full return to constitutional processes in a form to be designated by the people themselves. The government recently appointed by the Chief of State is a step in the right direction; indeed any step in the direction of moderation and breadth of base is a step in the right direction. The provision of unfilled cabinet places for other elements is encouraging. Determined future efforts must be made to broaden the base of the Congolese government, and parliament should be convened as soon as conditions of security, law, and order permit. Encouragement by the United Nations of such steps is of fundamental importance we believe.

The measures which I have outlined can only be carried out with dispatch and with effectiveness through the Secretary-General and the United Nations mission in the Congo. To attempt to discredit and dismiss the Secretary-General at this critical moment would not only wreck the United Nations mission in the Congo; it would dangerously weaken the United Nations itself.

This is the measure of the gravity of our crisis, and we call upon all members around this table to face soberly and solemnly these realities. We are eager to continue consultations with other nations at this table with a view to producing a draft

⁵ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1960, p. 588.

resolution to carry out measures such as these. We are prepared to meet in the Council by night and by day until we can reach consensus and agreement. The occasion for, the time for, effective action in the Congo is now. We must seize it, and we must seize it quickly.

FIRST STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 20

U.S./U.N. press release 3651

The delegation of the United States agrees to the adjournment proposed by the distinguished delegate of Liberia.

My Government has instructed me to express its shock, its revulsion, and its indignation at the news that we have heard from the Secretary-General here this morning.⁶ This further example of the violence and of the barbarity that afflicts the political life of the Congo and the lawlessness that there prevails emphasizes again the imperative necessity for early and effective action by the United Nations.

SECOND STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 20

U.S./U.N. press release 3652

We meet at a time when the sensibilities of all of us and the conscience of the world have been grossly offended by the murder and violence in the Congo. The urgency of action transcends, in our judgment, the temptation to further rhetorical expression of disgust with these crimes. We also echo the feeling expressed so eloquently by the distinguished delegate of India that this is a crisis in the life of this Organization. So, Mr. President, I am going to address myself to the resolution⁷ proposed by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic, which seems to us the only practical proposal before the Council for effective and prompt action in the Congo. I will reserve, if I may, the privilege of speaking about the emergency resolution⁸ that has been tabled at a later hour, if necessary.

But first let me say that the United States delegation thinks that the suggestion advanced by the distinguished delegate of Liberia has great merit.

⁶ For text of the Secretary-General's statement, see U.N. doc. S/PV. 940.

⁷ U.N. doc. S/4722.

⁸ U.N. doc. S/4733/Rev. 1.

United States Reaffirms Position on Outside Interference in Congo

*Statement by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson
U.S. Representative to the United Nations*

U.S./U.N. press release 3648 dated February 17

We have received reports confirming that one and perhaps three French-built jet training planes have been delivered in Katanga. We deplore this development in the strongest terms in keeping with our firm support of United Nations policy against any foreign military assistance to the Congo, except through the United Nations.

We are investigating the reported delivery of these aircraft by a freight plane allegedly owned by an American-operated charter airline with headquarters in Luxembourg. If the report is true, the company's action is contrary to the interests of the United States and we have in mind taking whatever legal action may be called for against those responsible.

In my speech to the Security Council on February 15, I said clearly that no military or paramilitary assistance should be sent to the Congo from any source whatsoever. I also said that the United States intends to use its utmost influence, within the framework of the United Nations, to see that there is no outside interference in the Congo from whatever source.

However, we believe that we must act now to restore law and order in the Congo. But after such action has been taken, if I may presume to make a preliminary expression of opinion by the United States Government, we would gladly go to central Africa for the excellent objectives set forth by the delegate of Liberia. It would, we agree, put the United Nations in Africa with dramatic impact. While I can, of course, make no commitments, I would hope that the United States Air Force could be helpful in arranging transportation.

I have been very much impressed, Mr. President, by the presentation here this afternoon of the distinguished delegates of India and of Nigeria. May I also express the gratitude of the delegation of the United States to those delegates of India, Nigeria, Liberia, the United Arab Republic, Ceylon, and all the others who have contributed thoughtful aid and ideas to the draft resolution which has been tabled by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic.

It has a sense of urgency and shows a strong desire to meet, in our judgment, the present crisis. It touches each of the bundle of problems which together make up the crisis in the Congo. This, Mr. President, is surely the right way to proceed. Its provisions touch upon the immediate dangers of civil war and outside intervention. It goes beyond such immediate issues to deal with positive measures for the improvement of internal order. It sets forth the necessary objectives of removing the armed forces from intervention and politics, convening Parliament, and encouraging the conciliation of political factions.

The United States will support the draft resolution presented by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic. Although we have some reservations about certain aspects of the draft resolution, which we have made known to various members, including the sponsors, we think it is basically a good resolution and we believe it should be adopted as early as possible. But I must ask the indulgence of the Council to express the misgivings that we have communicated to other members so frequently.

On February 15 I presented to the Council the essential elements required for a solution of the Congo as seen by the United States. They coincided closely with what has been said here this afternoon by the distinguished delegates of Nigeria and of India. They included the prevention of the extension of civil war in the Congo, broadening the base of the government, reconciliation of political elements, the elimination of outside military aid and interference, and investigation of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues, the reorganization and retraining of the Congolese armed forces, their removal as an element in internal politics, and the convening of Parliament. These elements are all included in the text before us, but not always in the language that we would have preferred.

There are three points which my delegation would like to have seen covered more specifically. Yet we concede, as others have pointed out, that they are in fact involved in and covered by the present text. These points, Mr. President, are the responsibility of the Secretary-General for carrying out the resolution, recognition that the United Nations is in the Congo to assist and uphold its sovereignty and independence, and the prohibition of outside military assistance through

supplies and material as well as through personnel.

It is obvious that any Security Council resolution calling for United Nations action must be carried out by the Secretary-General. Under article 97 of the charter he is the chief administrative officer of the Organization. To the extent that this resolution creates further authority for the United Nations action in the Congo or calls for implementation of previous decisions, the Organization's executive officer must be responsible. Implementation then must be by the Secretary-General.

Authorization To Use Force Clarified

In paragraph 1 the Security Council is asked to take a most far-reaching decision, as we see it. It is asked to authorize the use of force. The United Nations, I remind the Council, was invited by the Government of the Congo to assist in the restoration and maintenance of law and order and to help bring about the withdrawal of the Belgian troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo. The United Nations is there, then, to provide assistance to a member of the Organization. It is not there, and cannot be there, to take action against that state. Nothing has been done to authorize the taking of measures against it under article 42 of the charter, nor has the Security Council made findings necessary under the charter which would justify such measures.

Paragraph 1 of the resolution authorizes the United Nations to take "appropriate measures" to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including the use of force if necessary in the last resort. What is appropriate in these circumstances must obviously be governed by the provisions of the charter which place restrictions upon the use of force and which prohibit the Organization to intervene in internal affairs.

It is our understanding that authorization to use force, as used in paragraph 1, only "in the last resort" means that every effort will be made to accomplish the purposes of this paragraph by agreement among the contending elements in that divided country. Clearly this resolution means that force cannot be used until agreement has been sought by negotiation, conciliation, and all other peaceful measures.

These essential considerations are further clarified by the fact that this resolution specifically

reaffirms various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. These resolutions all establish the principles of consultation and impartiality and that the mission of the United Nations is to assist in the maintenance of law and order and to safeguard the unity, the territorial integrity, and the political independence of the Congo.

Danger of Outside Interference

Finally, we regret that paragraph 3 does not specifically call on all states not only to prevent the departure of military and paramilitary personnel for the Congo but also to prevent sending military material, directly or indirectly. We are now faced, as I am sure all members agree, with the increasing danger of outside interference, and it should, we think, be forbidden in any form—arms as well as men.

We understand this provision is included in fact because the resolution reaffirms the General Assembly resolution of September 20, which called upon "all States to refrain from the direct and indirect provision of arms or other materials of war and military personnel . . . except upon the request of the United Nations." The Security Council would thus adopt as its own the General Assembly's call upon all states to refrain from providing arms or other materials of war except through the United Nations. This seems to us, Mr. President, a proper and a necessary decision of the Security Council in seeking to bring peace to this strife-torn country. In our view the United Nations forces in the Congo are authorized under the resolution now before us to take such steps as may be necessary to exclude the bringing of material into the Congo other than with the approval of the United Nations. We think this follows from the mission of the United Nations forces, as that is laid down in earlier resolutions of the Council and General Assembly which are now reaffirmed. We would suggest, however, that because of the urgency of the present situation it might be wise specifically to reiterate that provision, and I would like to suggest most humbly and earnestly to the cosponsors the desirability of revising paragraph 3 to read as follows:

3. *Calls* upon all states to take immediate and energetic measures to prevent the departure or provision from their territories for the Congo of any such personnel or of any aid for military purposes, direct or indirect, other than

through the United Nations, and to deny any transit or other facilities for any such personnel or any such aid; and requests the United Nations to take the necessary measures to interdict any such personnel or aid.

We would hope, as I say, that the sponsors would accept this improvement in their resolution.

With these understandings the United States is prepared to vote for the draft resolution and to do so today. We emphatically share the view that prompt action, even if it is not perfect, even if it does not fully accommodate the views of all of us, is better than none and better than the hazards of longer delay.

STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 21 (A.M.)

U.S./U.N. press release 3654

In my earlier statement today [February 20], I expressed my understanding of various ambiguities in this resolution, S/4722, proposed by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic, and I made a suggestion for a revision of operative paragraph 3, which I want to refer to once more this evening. My purpose was to have the text expressly prohibit military supplies as well as personnel from flowing into the Congo outside of the United Nations operation and to request the Secretary-General to prevent any such unauthorized supplies and personnel from entering the Congo.

We agree with what has been said by the distinguished delegates of the United Kingdom, Chile, China, Ecuador, and others here this evening and said so well, including the declaration that all outside interference must be prevented if the civil war is to be stopped, if the cold war is to be excluded, and if the Congo is to have a chance of peace and order and political reorganization.

My understanding is that this meaning was intended by the sponsors of the resolution by affirming the General Assembly Resolution 1474, which forbids the support of arms as well as military personnel to the Congo.

My proposal was intended simply to make this entirely, abundantly, clear. However, as I understand the statement this afternoon of the distinguished representative of Liberia, he takes the position that, taken as a whole, the draft resolution was intended to forbid the introduction into the Congo of military arms and supplies as well as military personnel, that it was intended to au-

thorize the United Nations to interdict any such traffic. I assume that the other two sponsors, Ceylon and the United Arab Republic, are in accord with their cosponsor, the distinguished representative of Liberia, in so construing this draft resolution. If that is not their understanding, I assume that they will so state. In the absence of any such statement, Mr. President, I take it that it is agreed that the draft resolution taken as a whole has the intent and the meaning to prevent any outside interference by arms or men whatsoever from any source, and it is on this basis that the United States is happy to vote for it.

We echo the hope expressed by the distinguished delegate of Chile that it will be passed unanimously and that this Council will thereby give unmistakable evidence of our determination to save the Congo, to save Africa, and to save this great Organization from disaster.

I express once more the gratitude of my Government to the sponsors of this constructive resolution.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

Soviet Draft Resolution ⁹

The Security Council,

Regarding the murder of the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, and of the outstanding statesmen of the Republic Okito and Mpolo as an international crime incompatible with the United Nations Charter and as a flagrant violation of the Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session,

Decisively condemns the actions of Belgium which led to this crime;

Deems it essential that the sanctions provided under Article 41 of the United Nations Charter should be applied to Belgium as to an aggressor which by its actions is creating a threat to international peace, and calls on the States Members of the United Nations for the immediate application of these sanctions;

Enjoins the command of the troops that are in the Congo pursuant to the decision of the Security Council immediately to arrest Tshombe and Mobutu in order to deliver them for trial, to disarm all the military units and gendarmerie forces under their control, and to ensure the immediate disarming and removal from the Congo of all Belgian troops and all Belgian personnel;

Directs that the "United Nations operation" in the

Congo shall be discontinued within one month and all foreign troops withdrawn from there so as to enable the Congolese people to decide its own internal affairs;

Deems it essential to dismiss D. Hammarskjold from the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations as a participant in and organizer of the violence committed against the leading statesmen of the Republic of the Congo.

Three-Power Resolution ¹⁰

A

The Security Council,

Having considered the situation in the Congo,

Having learnt with deep regret the announcement of the killing of the Congolese leaders, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Mr. Maurice Mpolo and Mr. Joseph Okito,

Deeply concerned at the grave repercussions of these crimes and the danger of wide-spread civil war and bloodshed in the Congo and the threat to international peace and security,

Noting the Report of the Secretary-General's Special Representative (S/4691) dated 12 February 1961 bringing to light the development of a serious civil war situation and preparations therefor,

1. *Urges* that the United Nations take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including arrangements for cease-fires, the halting of all military operations, the prevention of clashes, and the use of force, if necessary, in the last resort;

2. *Urges* that measures be taken for the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations Command, and mercenaries;

3. *Calls* upon all States to take immediate and energetic measures to prevent the departure of such personnel for the Congo from their territories, and for the denial of transit and other facilities to them;

4. *Decides* that an immediate and impartial investigation be held in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues and that the perpetrators of these crimes be punished;

5. *Reaffirms* the Security Council resolutions of 14 July, 22 July and 9 August 1960 and the General Assembly resolution 1474 (ES-IV) of 20 September 1960¹¹ and reminds all States of their obligation under these resolutions.

B

The Security Council,

Gravely concerned at the continuing deterioration in the Congo, and the prevalence of conditions which seriously imperil peace and order, and the unity and ter-

⁹ U.N. doc. S/4741 (S/4722); adopted by the Council on Feb. 21 (a.m.) by a vote of 9 to 0, with 2 abstentions (France and U.S.S.R.).

¹¹ For texts, see BULLETIN of Aug. 1, 1960, p. 161; Aug. 8, 1960, p. 223; Sept. 5, 1960, p. 385; and Oct. 10, 1960, p. 588.

ritorial integrity of the Congo, and threaten international peace and security,

Noting with deep regret and concern the systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the general absence of rule of law in the Congo,

Recognizing the imperative necessity of the restoration of parliamentary institutions in the Congo in accordance with the fundamental law of the country, so that the will of the people should be reflected through the freely elected Parliament,

Convinced that the solution of the problem of the Congo lies in the hands of the Congolese people themselves without any interference from outside and that there can be no solution without conciliation,

Convinced further that the imposition of any solution, including the formation of any government not based on genuine conciliation would, far from settling any issues, greatly enhance the dangers of conflict within the Congo and threat to international peace and security,

1. *Urges* the convening of the Parliament and the taking of necessary protective measures in that connexion;

2. *Urges* that Congolese armed units and personnel should be re-organized and brought under discipline and control, and arrangements be made on impartial and equitable bases to that end and with a view to the elimination of any possibility of interference by such units and personnel in the political life of the Congo;

3. *Calls* upon all States to extend their full co-operation and assistance and take such measures as may be necessary on their part, for the implementation of this resolution.

President Congratulates Soviets on Launching of Space Vehicle

Following is an exchange of telegrams between President Kennedy and Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., on the occasion of the Soviet launching of a space vehicle to Venus. The President's message was read to news correspondents on February 14 by Pierre Salinger, Press Secretary to the President.

President Kennedy to Chairman Khrushchev

FEBRUARY 13, 1961

His Excellency NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

I wish to extend my congratulations and those of the American people for the impressive scientific achievement represented by the launching of your space vehicle to Venus. We shall watch its progress with interest and wish you success

March 13, 1961

in another chapter of man's exploration of the universe.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Chairman Khrushchev to President Kennedy

Official translation

Received your telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the launching of the Soviet cosmic spaceship to the planet Venus. I express gratitude to you for this telegram giving high appraisal to this outstanding achievement of peaceful science and for wishes for success in the new stage of the exploration of the cosmos. In your speech of inauguration¹ to the Office of President, and likewise in the message to Congress of January 30² you, Mr. President, said that you would like for the Soviet Union and the United States of America to unite their efforts in such areas as the struggle against disease, mastering the cosmos, development of culture and trade. Such an approach to these problems impresses us and we welcome these utterances of yours.

We consider that favorable conditions for the most speedy solution of these noble tasks facing humanity would be created through the settlement of the problem of disarmament. And we would like every country to make every effort for the solution of this problem with the establishment of such a strict international control under which no one could arm secretly and commit aggression.

All agree to the fact that the solution of the problem of disarmament depends to a great extent on agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. If we reached such an agreement, it would be a great joy for all people on earth and a great blessing for all mankind.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

February 15, 1961

United States and Germany Discuss Political and Monetary Problems

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

White House press release dated February 17

The White House on February 17 made public the following joint communique after a meeting between President Kennedy and the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Heinrich von Brentano.

The President of the United States received the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, on February

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

17, 1961, for a discussion of questions of mutual interest to both countries. Together with his previous conversations with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the discussion provided an occasion for a first personal exchange of views between Dr. von Brentano and the new United States administration. The cordial and frank conversations confirmed the friendly and close relations between the Federal Republic and the United States.

There was particular agreement that the North Atlantic Alliance is a necessary basis for the defense of both countries and that all members of the Alliance have a mutual responsibility for its further strengthening. They confirmed the continuing importance of the goal of German reunification based upon the principle of self-determination and of the preservation of the freedom of the people of West Berlin.

Both Governments agreed that the persistent imbalance in the international payments situation called for concerted and vigorous action on the part of the free world. Unless and until this imbalance is substantially corrected it will continue to impede the free world's efforts to provide for the common defense and supply the resources needed by the less developed countries to meet their legitimate aspirations.

Both the United States and the Federal German Republic have recognized this principle in previous discussions. Proceeding from this basis both Governments will continue their talks on appropriate measures which can be taken to contribute to this end. In so doing they will act in concert with their common allies.

The President heard with satisfaction that the Federal Government will be prepared to provide the necessary means to carry on its program for the underdeveloped countries in future years.

U.S. AIDE MEMOIRE ON BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Following is the text of an aide memoire relating to the international balance-of-payments situation which was handed to State Secretary Albert Hilger van Scherpenberg of the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany on February 17, 1961, by Under Secretary of State George W. Ball and released by the Department of State on February 20 (press release 76).

The Government of the United States has examined the measures which the Federal Republic

of Germany would be prepared to undertake in the light of the present international payments situation.

It is the view of the Government of the United States that such measures must now be viewed in a new light.

We are on the eve of creating a new phase in the history of the North Atlantic Alliance. We have new tasks; and the recovery of Western Europe in the 1950s has given us new resources. Together the resources which we dispose are much larger than those we could command in the immediate post-war years and they are better distributed among us.

To deal with these new tasks we must begin by recognizing that we are inter-dependent in all we do; and that our common burdens must be shared in a way that our peoples will recognize as fair.

The economic questions now under discussion between the United States and Germany are not bilateral questions. The deficit of the United States arises wholly from its commitments and actions in the common defense of the Free World. Without these freely assumed obligations the United States would now be running a heavy surplus in its balance of payments. These matters therefore must be approached in terms of a rebuilding of the alliance and in terms of the principles which should govern the effort over coming months and years.

Specifically, we must examine how we can share fairly two burdens: the burden of the common defense; and the burden of long-term economic assistance to the underdeveloped areas.

It is clear that we must design formulae which take account of the proportions of our total resources now flowing to these two common purposes; and which make allowance, as we do in our domestic taxation systems, for the principle that the richer among us shall bear a higher relative burden than the poorer.

In addition, we must all come to recognize a principle on which the United States has acted in the years after the Second World War. That principle is that a sustained accumulation of gold and other international reserves by any one country is disruptive to the international community. Especially now, when trade is expanding faster than gold production, we must learn to use our reserves on a communal basis, recognizing that one nation's gain can only be another nation's loss.

It is in the light of these principles that the Government of the United States views the specific matter in hand; that is, the imbalance which has developed in the international payments situation of the Free World. The present situation is marked by a persistent basic deficit of some countries and a persistent basic surplus of other countries. This had led to a substantial increase in foreign liquid dollar holdings and, in recent years, to an outflow of gold from the United States which has resulted in a reduction of United States reserves. A substantial part of the German surplus has resulted directly from the defense programs of the Free World. For example, the net increment to the Federal Republic's foreign exchange reserves derived from U.S. military spending in Germany is approximately \$375 million annually. The United States shall continue to bear its just share of the common responsibilities and burdens of the alliance; but it is essential that our affairs be so conducted as to avoid structural disequilibria in the reserve positions of individual nations.

Healthy over-all equilibrium in the international balance of payments structure can only be achieved by continuing and concerted measures. Each member of the Western alliance should therefore take such actions within its own capacities, as are required to fulfill its responsibilities for further economic growth, stability and security in the Free World.

As concerns the specific proposals of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States appreciates the expressed willingness of the Federal Republic to take helpful measures. Certain among them may prove to be effective and in the common interest. We believe they should be explored on an individual basis, each on its own merits. If the Federal Republic of Germany should be prepared to carry out certain of these measures, the United States Government will be pleased to participate, as appropriate, in discussions concerning the details and techniques by which individual measures may be accomplished.

But such measures will not solve the fundamental problem of international payments imbalance on a stable, long-term basis.

Our common task is to design a reserves policy for the alliance which will recognize the respon-

sibilities to the common interest of surplus and deficit nations alike.

In order to give effect to this principle, the outflow of long term capital from surplus nations, especially to the developing countries, should approach or exceed their export surplus to the world as a whole. This would not only ameliorate the disequilibrium in the international payments situation, but would also help the Free World meet the vital needs and expectations of the developing countries.

The United States welcomes the announced intention of the Federal Republic to inaugurate a new program of assistance to the developing countries to be administered on an untied basis. It would express the hope that this program be adequate in size and of a continuing nature.

The Government of the United States believes that the question of equitable shares in the common effort to assist the underdeveloped nations of the Free World should be urgently examined within OEEC [Organization for European Economic Cooperation], in anticipation of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] coming into effect; and that the question of equitable shares in the common defense be urgently examined within NATO. The Government of the United States is prepared to participate in such discussions. It is our hope that these discussions will take place in the spirit of the President's message to the North Atlantic Council of February 15, 1961.¹

President Kennedy and Prime Minister of Canada Hold Informal Talks

White House press release dated February 20

The White House on February 20 made public the following joint communique after a meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Diefenbaker met today in Washington to discuss informally a wide range of international problems as well as bilateral questions of interest to the two countries. The Secretary of State, Mr. Dean

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Mar. 6, 1961, p. 333.

Rusk, and the United States Ambassador-designate to Canada, Mr. Livingston Merchant, assisted in these discussions together with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard Green, and the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Arnold Heeney.

The President and the Prime Minister welcomed this early opportunity for a friendly exchange of views between neighbors, in a tradition consistent with the long and intimate association between the peoples of Canada and the United States.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed defense and security problems in all their aspects. They reaffirmed their purpose to work together for peace and freedom in the world. They expressed their readiness to cooperate wholeheartedly with all countries which sincerely seek this objective whatever the differences in approach or outlook. They recognized the central importance of the United Nations, as well as the essential role of direct diplomatic negotiation, in the pursuit of peaceful settlements. They agreed on the need to work steadily towards effective agreements under international control in the field of disarmament.

In reviewing the bilateral problems between the two countries, emphasis was placed upon the various consultative arrangements of a formal and informal character which have been developed between the United States and Canada as a valuable supplement to the traditionally close and friendly relations between the two governments. The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction that joint meetings are about to take place in Canada between members of both houses of the federal legislatures of the two nations.

The President and the Prime Minister re-emphasized the importance of close consultation on economic matters. They announced that the joint United States-Canada Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs will meet in Washington, D.C., on March 13. This joint Committee at Cabinet level has been of great value over the years in furthering understanding between the two governments on questions affecting economic relations of the two countries.

United States and Australia Reaffirm Traditional Partnership

White House press release dated February 24

The White House on February 24 made public the following joint communique after a meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Robert Gordon Menzies of Australia.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Menzies met today in Washington to discuss informally a wide range of international problems. The Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk; the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Mr. J. Graham Parsons; and the Australian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Howard Beale, assisted in these discussions.

Both the President and the Prime Minister welcome this opportunity to reaffirm the traditional partnership between the peoples of Australia and the United States.

In their review of security problems, the President and the Prime Minister reiterated their strong faith in SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and ANZUS [Australia-New Zealand-United States] as bulwarks for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. They both expressed their willingness to cooperate with all nations to work together for peace and freedom in the world.

They recognized the central importance of the United Nations and the Office of the Secretary General in the pursuit of peaceful settlements and pledge their joint support of the efforts now being made by the Secretary General to bring peace to the Congo. They deplored current attempts to twist the tragic events in the Congo into an attack upon the United Nations itself.

They welcomed the initiative of King Savang Vatthana proposing a course of action to bring peace, stability and neutrality to Laos, expressing the hope that his efforts will bear fruit.

They agreed that efforts must be continued to arrive at an effective agreement under international control in the field of disarmament.

The United States and Africa: Common Goals

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAMS¹

It is an honor and a privilege to be with you this evening here in the capital of Ethiopia, an African nation whose independence long predates that of my own country. Some years ago my wife and I were proud to entertain His Imperial Majesty at our home in the United States; now it is our great pleasure to visit his country.

It is an honor to address you on behalf of the United States of America and of President John F. Kennedy, whose new administration I represent. Just before I left Washington President Kennedy called me to the White House to express personally his hearty greetings to the people of Africa.

And it is a privilege to be with you for a time, to enlarge my acquaintanceship with you and to learn from you what we may do together in the service of freedom and brotherhood in Africa.

A special good fortune for me is that such a wide and distinguished representation of the peoples of Africa is here present. I know you have been meeting, most of you, in the third session of the Economic Commission for Africa, debating the future which lies before your nations and the whole continent and deciding what efforts are needed to realize the full promise of that future so that all Africans may walk in strength and dignity.

Africa is embarked on great enterprises, deserving of the full exercise of your best minds and most dedicated spirits. The problems that you face will be stubborn, but I am encouraged to believe that they will yield for there is already a productive momentum in Africa which can be carried over from nationalist expression to national development. Your enterprises should command, further, the understanding and support

¹ Prepared for delivery at a dinner given by U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia Arthur L. Richards for the delegates to the third session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa on Feb. 17 (press release 74).

of the rest of the world. My Government believes that such an understanding has but one firm foundation. President Kennedy stated it in his message to your conference: "We want the nations of Africa to be their own masters and to grow in vigor and prosperity."

Africa has a great destiny. That destiny will be shaped in what you have chosen to call the African personality. It will be something uniquely of your own making. But you will, I believe, be drawing on the same great truths that fashioned our American Revolution. In Philadelphia in 1776 our Declaration of Independence spoke not alone for America but the whole world when it said:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . .

Advancing Economic Cooperation in Africa

It is my purpose here, and in the trip which lies ahead of me,² to seek out your true feelings and advice on the proper relationship of my country to your countries and how we may be of assistance where assistance is wanted. I would note, first of all, that you have made us particularly aware of your deep desire to strengthen the economic bonds among your nations. I have been asked by the President to repeat to you personally that we stand ready to give concrete support toward the advancement of economic cooperation among African states.

In Africa's future development there is need for every effort that men of good will can summon up and room for every kind of assistance. Yet there is also a single, common set of ideas which

² For an announcement of Mr. Williams' trip to Africa, see BULLETIN of Feb. 27, 1961, p. 295.

President Kennedy Pledges U.S. Support of Economic Commission for Africa

Following is the text of a message from President Kennedy to the third session of the Economic Commission for Africa, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, February 6-17. The message was delivered to the ECA Chairman on February 6 by Walter M. Kotschnig, chairman of the U.S. observer delegation.

It affords me the greatest pleasure to send this word of greetings to the delegates assembled in Addis Ababa, and to express my high hopes for the success of this third session of the Economic Commission for Africa.

Coming from all parts of the great continent, representing in many cases proud new countries, you have before you a task of the utmost importance. Your purpose is to determine how best to proceed in the noble work of improving the well-being of your peoples. Your decisions will be African decisions, suited to your own visions of Africa's future development.

Many serious problems confront you. But I have confidence that your experience and wisdom will surely find expression in forward-looking plans and programs. Recalling how my own country received help in its earliest days, I would like to pledge to you the readiness of the United States to be of assistance, should you wish it.

The message of my government is this: We want the nations of Africa to be their own masters and to grow in vigor and prosperity. I therefore commend your endeavor and its high purpose, and convey to you the whole-hearted support of the United States.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

can infuse and give unity to the whole process.

In our experience with aid programs, we find this: From the smallest project to the most ambitious national scheme, assistance should be purposeful. It should be aimed at a problem, or complex of problems, which you know in your own hearts and minds to be the real problems on which you must act, or fail at your peril. We must not, in considering the means, ever lose sight of the end we all seek. That end is a democratic African community of nations in which social and economic institutions of an independent society are firmly built so that continued progress becomes possible. Although this society may be new in many ways, it must be a truly African

society, in which life-bearing cultural traditions meet the respect they deserve. Change is a constant and we are none the worse for that, but true change does not demand the sacrifice of anything which is already good in itself.

We know the task before us, and it is a joint task. It demands from all of us an identity of purpose: the same degree of moral and intellectual commitment, the same readiness to analyze and plan and to labor long hours without thought of self to make plans a reality.

U.S. Example of Cooperation

Let me speak for a moment about my country's history and a few of my personal beliefs, some of which may be pertinent to your own problems.

To begin with I feel that one of the important reasons why the United States of America grew strong may be found in that word "united." For many decades we were colonial dependencies of a mother country. Our States had different religions, different cultural backgrounds. We lived in greatly disparate climates, made our living by raising different crops (although we competed, with great vigor, for limited markets when we made or raised similar products). We even spoke a number of different languages. The one thing we had in common in those days was our love of freedom. Our forefathers had gone to America, in most cases, in search of liberty. When subsequent generations grew to feel they were being governed harshly, they revolted. And the Revolution began successfully.

But we almost lost the fruits of that Revolution. For after we had fought and won our freedom, each attempted to go his own way. States assessed taxes or set up commercial barriers between themselves which were nearly as harmful as those previously imposed from abroad. Adherents of one religion, or one secular viewpoint, banded together against those with differing views; and the dissidents were often forced out into the frontier, where they in turn carved out new states in their own likeness. During that early period our great leaders—men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson—held our young country together on many occasions seemingly against its will. Later, in a civil conflict which began just a century ago, the Union was upheld under the

inspiring leadership of a man we call the Great Emancipator—Abraham Lincoln.

So it was that the peoples of our States learned a great truth, which perhaps should have been self-evident. One twig, standing alone, can be easily broken no matter how young and fresh and strong it may be. But take a number of twigs (in our case we began with 13 States), bind them tightly together, and it is almost impossible even to bend them. The bonds holding them together cannot be too tight; there must be room for individuality and new growth. But all must be capable of joining together when greater strength is needed or great danger seems near.

There are further examples in commerce and industry. As economists, you are as much aware as I am of the advantages we in America have found through specialization in our industries, free interchange of goods and services, and the sharing of the fruits of these labors through collective bargaining between labor and management.

The point is, we have known tyranny, we have known trouble, and we have found joint action to be the most effective weapon against both. We have found that our collective strength is firmly based in freedom. Experience tells us that when man is forced to work, forced to fight, he is not as strong a workman or a fighter as the one who chooses to do so of his own free will.

So I believe that the nations of Africa are certain to find additional strength and greater tangible rewards through increased cooperation, particularly in the economic field, even as you maintain your political independence. And let me repeat that we in America will be proud to be associated with you in such joint enterprises as you may decide upon.

U.S. Economic and Technical Aid

This does not mean that we will be indifferent to the many individual problems of individual countries. Far from it. As you may know, until this year the United States had not been called upon by most African areas for assistance in training or providing funds while your economies gained their own strength. Nevertheless, in the 12 months ending in June 1960 we had provided \$122 million, mainly to the older African countries, through our International Cooperation Administration, and in addition the U.S. Development Loan Fund provided \$47 million for individual

projects in Africa. This is exclusive of very substantial assistance in the form of agricultural commodities. Funds already available for the 12 months ending in June 1961 amount to more than \$150 million from the ICA, including a new special fund for tropical Africa—directed primarily toward assisting you with health education needs—which has been started with \$20 million. In addition our Development Loan Fund has already in the past 7 months approved a greater number of loans for Africa than in its previous 3 years of existence.

Even more importantly, American private industry, without any urging or goal other than mutual benefit, has made a capital investment of \$843 million in Africa. And I have reason to believe that U.S. investors will continue to provide significant amounts if unnecessary obstacles are not erected. Finally it should be mentioned that the United States has for years been the largest contributor to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies, most importantly the World Bank, which have devoted nearly a billion dollars to African investment and assistance programs.

Let me assure you, then, that my Government is prepared to receive, and to try to help with, any reasonable proposals which will help you in your own efforts—whether these are proposals by one country, by all the countries of Africa, or by groups of countries united for regional development projects. It was to this end that President Kennedy spoke to the world in his inaugural address,³ saying: “. . . ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.”

U.S. and Africa Working Together

What we can do together—that for me is a source of optimism, because I am optimistic about Africa's own potential. Although I am not an expert on Africa I have visited the continent on two previous occasions, and as Governor of the State of Michigan I have been host to a number of African leaders. Perhaps even more to the point, I have had the opportunity to meet and assist some of the *future* leaders of Africa—the young students who have come to America and to Michigan to equip themselves for responsibility in the new

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

strongholds of African freedom. Although I hope to know Africa much more fully than I do now, I can say already with conviction that the American people and their Government rejoice in the strides which the African peoples have made, and are making, to enlarge the area of freedom and human dignity in the world. This is a powerful augury not only for progress in Africa but also for world peace.

The verdict of history in Africa, if it is not yet fully spelled out, is unmistakable and irreversible. The old colonial era is dead and with it the old power relationships by which the world formerly was shaped. Colonial empires have yielded to freedom, often in a conciliatory spirit unprecedented in history, and former metropolises have in large degree continued economic assistance programs which are a vital help. This is indeed a new world, a revolutionary world worth defending against new tyrannies, a world requiring new wisdom in the use of power, directing it to constructive tasks, seeking support of all others pledged to freedom, and maintaining a keen vigilance to turn away counsels and emissaries of destruction and despair.

We in America assert the rightness and will support the achievement of independence through self-determination. As President Kennedy said:

We want an Africa which is made up of a community of stable and independent governments . . . where men are given the opportunity to choose their own national course, free from the dictates or coercion of any other country.

My Government believes that both human dignity and freedom are indivisible. We believe that no man is completely free so long as any man anywhere lacks freedom. We know that our place in the human brotherhood is not secure so long as any man anywhere fails to be fully accepted in human dignity. We will work fully to realize that goal at home while promoting it abroad.

We will strive for the cooperation of nations old and new to gain these ends for, although it is not our method to impose our views by force, we can and will use our influence in the service of constructive change. We will strongly support the United Nations Organization, which in our vision is a great forum for the exercise of freedom, a testing ground for the responsible use of power, and an instrument of economic and social progress. We have done much to build and to maintain that

Organization; we believe it has served you well in Africa's march to freedom and that it can serve you even more now that you have taken your places beside us there.

Cooperation is not a thing of unruffled harmony, either at U.N. headquarters or, I imagine, here in your own meeting. There are different views, different tempos, sometimes different aims. In the short run there are bound to be misunderstandings and setbacks to the hopes of each individual nation, and my country too will, I feel sure, be found wanting in one respect or another from time to time. But let us bear with each other. Our commitments in the world differ somewhat in degree but not in kind. Those of the United States cover a very broad horizon, but they are wholehearted commitments to freedom and brotherhood for all men, and thus for Africa. History has bequeathed to us and to you a common awareness of the rightness of this higher goal. With good will and God's help, let us forge new bonds of friendship in a common advance toward that goal.

Now let me say a word of thanks to you who have afforded me a first broad opportunity to learn something of African aspirations and of the tasks that confront your leaders, your students, your farmers, and your workers. For me this is a prelude to a journey which I have just begun but which in the year ahead will take me to all parts of the continent. I will hope to meet you again in the course of these travels, and I trust that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in America and of repaying your generous hospitality.

May I conclude by wishing for each and every one of you in abundance all those things God planned for all men—God bless you.

STATEMENT BY WALTER M. KOTSCHNIG⁴

It is a great privilege for us, the delegation of the United States, to participate in this third session of the Economic Commission for Africa. America has a deep interest in Africa as it emerges as one of the great forces in the contemporary

⁴Made on Feb. 13 before the third session of the Economic Commission for Africa, held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Feb. 6-17. Mr. Kotschnig is the Director of the Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State; he was chairman of the U.S. observer delegation at the meeting.

world and has a sincere concern with the welfare of all of the peoples of this vast continent. The message sent by President Kennedy to this assembly of leaders of the new age in Africa⁵ is a clear indication of this interest and concern. It is the first message of the kind which our new President has sent to any part of the world.

We come as observers to listen and to learn, to get a better understanding of your problems so that we might improve our joint efforts to work in partnership with you for a better Africa as part of a better world.

We have already learned a great deal during your deliberations here and in the earlier sessions of this Commission. In this session we have been more than ever impressed by the general awareness of the magnitude of the problems which you face as you strive for a better and secure future for your peoples. And we have been stirred by your determination to obtain for your people freedom from the bondage of poverty. Your efforts reveal your recognition that political independence and the freedom of your institutions from internal subversion and external pressures can only be safeguarded and made secure by rapid economic and social development.

All this is a source of inspiration to us. It is of utmost importance as we formulate or refine our own policies, designed to develop mutually constructive relations with the governments and peoples of Africa based on mutual understanding and respect and in a spirit of genuine friendship.

At this point I should like to lay before you five basic positions of American foreign policy relating to Africa.

1. The most basic of these positions is laid down in President Kennedy's message to this session, when he stated:

We want the nations of Africa to be their own masters and to grow in vigor and prosperity.

Speaking of the work of this conference, he postulates that the decisions taken "will be African decisions, suited to your own visions of Africa's future development."

2. From this first basic tenet of American policy regarding Africa flows the further resolve not to impose our views and ways of life on Africa. Since we cherish our own freedom as we do, we want you to be able to develop your own institu-

tions in freedom, and we can only hope that other countries are similarly disposed. Here again I quote President Kennedy, this time from his inaugural address:

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom

3. We do not want to see African progress impeded by conflicts or struggles between powers outside the African Continent. Specifically, we want to do everything possible to keep the cold war out of Africa. What we need are common efforts shared by all and not ideological conflicts which create divisions and serve motives other than the welfare of this continent and its peoples.

4. We share in the support for the United Nations that has been expressed by many speakers during the last few days. President Kennedy in his inaugural address called it "our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace," and he renewed the pledge of American support for the United Nations "to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak."

5. We are equally in accord with those speakers in this gathering who in recent days have so eloquently stressed the need not only of economic but of social progress in this continent. As a matter of fact, as we see it the very purpose of economic development is a social objective: the raising of the levels of living so as to assure every individual, whatever his birth or station in society, of an adequate supply of food, of better education, better health, better housing, the improvement of other material conditions of life, and greater freedom to enjoy the fruits of progress.

U.S. Aid to African Development

In the light of our commitments to these principles and our record over the past years it is abundantly clear that we stand ready to join in your heroic struggle to achieve economic and social progress. We have provided substantial and practical help to Africa and shall continue to provide aid on request without any strings attached, except that such aid be soundly and effectively used.

⁵ See p. 374.

The helpful document provided by the secretariat on "International Economic Assistance to Africa" (E/CN. 14/88) gives some account of the volume of assistance made available in recent years. The total figure of approximately US\$276 million given in that document as contributed by the United States between July 1959 and June 1960 includes only grants, loans, and other appropriations actually made available in that single year and is thus not comparable with some other figures provided in the same document which include credits to be used during the years to come.

United States assistance to African development has already increased since June 1960 and is certain to increase even more in the future. As is well known, we have had to cope ourselves during the last years with a substantial balance-of-payments problem. Remedial measures are now being taken. The American people are being asked to make sacrifices, but the Government of the United States is clearly on record that the measures taken to correct our balance-of-payments difficulties will not affect the volume and extent of our foreign aid programs. On the contrary, as I have just stated, such aid will certainly be augmented in Africa.

In the establishment of our aid programs, based on needs and specific requests of the countries concerned and arrived at by way of consultation with them, we seek to emphasize programs designed for maximum effect in bringing about speedy economic growth and social improvements. Here I want to stress again that we do not want to impose our own socioeconomic system on the countries which seek our cooperation. If we speak of free enterprise, of the need for individual initiative and inventiveness, we simply do so because in our experience we owe our strength and high levels of living to such initiative, inventiveness, and enterprise.

At the same time we fully recognize the importance of the public sector, particularly in newly developing countries, the need for planning, and the careful management of scarce resources. Private investment and public financing are not incompatible but, quite to the contrary, supplement each other for maximum effect.

Nor do we want to see established *any* type of "economic colonialism." This notion runs completely counter to our very concept of the needs and requirements of free societies which we want

to encourage. We agree fully with Mr. Paul Hoffman [Managing Director of the U.N. Special Fund] when he stated the other day that there is only one sound relationship between nations and that is one of partnership in the common cause for a prosperous and peaceful world.

It is this approach and our adherence to the principal objectives of the United Nations which has led us to emphasize increasingly in our foreign aid efforts assistance through the United Nations and its related organizations. While carrying on vast programs of bilateral assistance, the United States has been in the forefront of those who helped in the support of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. Our creation of and contributions to these operational programs of the United Nations, as well as to UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] and to the great financial institutions of the United Nations, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, and the International Development Association, have been massive, ranging from one-third to one-half of total contributions. Our contributions and commitments to the multilateral institutions exceed \$10 billion. I bring out these facts simply to underline the importance attached by the American people to the idea of partnership in the development effort for which the United Nations stands. It is noteworthy that the representative of the U.S.S.R., in extolling Soviet aid to Africa, did not mention a single one of these multilateral institutions with their built-in guarantees against abuse for political purposes.

American contributions to all these multilateral organizations and programs are, of course, not subject to political considerations. In order to facilitate sound international administration of the United Nations programs, our contributions have at all times been in convertible currency and not restricted to the provision of United States experts, or training in the United States, or the provision of American supplies. For instance, under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance we have provided 40 percent of all available funds while only slightly more than 10 percent of the experts employed are American. The bulk of United States contributions has served to cover much of the overhead cost of the entire program and has permitted the employment of a

growing number of experts from many of the less developed countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, whose newly acquired knowledge and experience has been of great significance to other developing countries. It is in this way that what was originally a program of international assistance has been transformed to a major effort of truly international cooperation.

Trade and Commodity Stabilization

Mr. Chairman, speaking on behalf of an observer delegation, I do not want to abuse my privilege and waste any of the precious time at your disposal. I do hope, however, I shall not be transgressing if I add, to the observations already made, a few comments on some specific points which, in the light of the agenda and the discussions to date, appear to be of special interest to the delegations here assembled.

Many speakers have emphasized the importance to their countries and to Africa as a whole of expanding and diversifying their production and trade. They rightly see the need to sell their products without discrimination in the large markets of the industrial countries and to find practical solutions to the fluctuating demand for their primary commodities. The United States deeply sympathizes with the aspirations of African countries in these respects and is firmly committed to a common search for workable solutions.

Expansion of trade is a major objective of the economic policy of all countries. My country is committed to the promotion—through GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade], the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Commission for International Commodity Trade, and through other means and bodies—of nondiscriminatory, multilateral trade, eliminating quantitative and other unreasonable import restrictions not justified by balance-of-payments difficulties. The new United States administration has already pledged itself to continue a liberal trade policy. By raising the general levels of trade, such policies are bound to have a beneficial effect on the trade of the less developed countries, including their trade in primary commodities. In some cases commodity agreements, designed to supplement such policies but not to replace them, have also

proved of help, and we have supported them.

Beyond all this, the highly developed countries can make the best contribution to the solution of commodity problems by maintaining the highest sustainable rate of economic growth within their own countries and thus provide an expanding market for the exports of the developing countries. This was cogently pointed out the other day by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom. In this connection President Kennedy and his administration are committed to an energetic policy of promoting measures designed to stimulate the growth of the American economy from an economic base which is already the highest in the world. We have every confidence that these measures will succeed.

Enlightened trade policies, as suggested, and the maintenance of or increase in the growth rates of the highly developed countries will go a long way in attenuating the difficulties of the primary producing countries resulting from fluctuations of the prices of their products. At the same time my delegation agrees with the excellent statement in the conclusions of the secretariat's report on "International Action for Commodity Stabilization and the Role of Africa" (E/CN. 14/68), which points out that the problem of commodity instability is likely to remain for some time and which highlights the need for better control of supply, more adequate storage facilities, and, above all, greater diversification of production through economic development.

Viewed in this focus, special importance attaches to the work of the Economic Commission for Africa. Everything the Commission can accomplish in further diversification of production in agriculture and through industrialization in keeping with the resources of this continent is a contribution to the solution of the commodities problem. Following the example of ECAFE [Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East], this Commission might well consider the establishment of a committee on industry and natural resources. There is certainly also much merit in the suggestion made the other day by the distinguished representative of Nigeria for the establishment of a trade committee which, *inter alia*, might concern itself with measures designed to develop and diversify intra-African trade, thus strengthening internal African markets.

We have no illusions in this matter of trade and commodity stabilization. A long and difficult road lies ahead. There is no room for cure-alls which might kill the patient rather than cure him. However, by perseverance and the constructive use of all the tools at our disposal we feel confident that effective solutions are within reach.

Education and Training

Another subject which holds our profound interest is education and training. This is generally recognized as one of the most urgent requirements of Africa. General literacy is but one aspect and will require a good many years before it can be attained. What is needed as a matter of high priority is the development of trained manpower, of technical and managerial personnel at all levels. Without such educated cadres, the economic and social development of Africa might well be fatally delayed.

In the past many scholarships and fellowships have been made available by individual countries, by the United Nations (under its programs of technical assistance), by UNESCO [U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization], and by other specialized agencies. These opportunities for study and training abroad have met with a rich reward and should be increased. In the United States several new programs are being initiated by my Government and through private initiative, particularly on the part of our universities, to increase our fellowship programs for Africa and thus to add thousands of educated Africans to the large number of those whom we have had the privilege to receive up to now.

But this is only a beginning. What Africa needs is schools of her own, schools at all levels. There must be an early end to the almost exclusive dependence of so many of the African countries on foreign educational resources and institutions. Such dependence must be replaced by mutually beneficial exchanges between African educational institutions, as they are established in adequate numbers, and those abroad. It is for this reason that my Government, extending its educational aid program, beginning with a US\$20 million program for this year, is emphasizing aid for the development of educational facilities in Africa, from advanced schools to technical institutes to univer-

sities. We have also communicated to the secretariat of this Commission our readiness to help finance a proposed economic seminar for approximately 40 African university students to begin this summer under the auspices of the ECA.

By the same token, we are greatly encouraged by certain actions taken by UNESCO at its conference last December in Paris to carry forward, in cooperation with the United Nations and interested specialized agencies, such as ILO [International Labor Organization], FAO, and WHO [World Health Organization], greatly enlarged programs of education and training in Africa. As a start, the UNESCO conference responded affirmatively to the United States proposal that the regular budget of UNESCO be increased by US\$1 million annually for that purpose. We felt privileged to be able to make a further outright contribution of US\$1 million to be used for such purposes as the production of teaching aids, both traditional and new, the provision of overseas teachers and professors for secondary, technical, and higher educational establishments, and the assessment of educational needs.

As part of these new programs a conference of African states is to be held later this year in this very hall under the joint auspices of UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Africa. It will be the purpose of this conference to make an inventory of educational needs and lay out a program to meet these needs in the coming years. Other specialized agencies such as the ILO, which has a great contribution to make in the field of manpower and technical training, will participate. We wish these endeavors a full success.

Balancing Economic and Social Development

One last point, Mr. Chairman, and I shall have done. There are before this conference three searching papers dealing with social problems: the first on "Social Aspects of Economic Development" (E/CN.14/70), the second on "The Effects of Urbanization on Family Life in Africa" (E/CN.14/71), and the third, an excellent pilot study under the title "An Enquiry into Community Development in Uganda" (E/CN.14/81). These documents not only deserve careful reading but call for early and sustained action in the social sector. They underline the dangers of economic

development unmatched by social progress, and they stress, by implication, the need for balanced economic and social development.

The importance of this last concept cannot be exaggerated. Economic development, unless it is made to serve the early improvement of levels of living and the well-being of individuals and their community, may result in greater rather than less misery of the many and in social disintegration and political instability. On the other hand, social action programs such as community development programs can make for a smoother passage from antiquated to modern forms of social organization and can contribute powerfully to economic advance.

All of us have still much to learn before we can hope to achieve a sound balance between economic and social development. The Executive Secretary is to be congratulated on the start he has made, in cooperation with United Nations headquarters and several of the specialized agencies, both in studies and the promotion of social action. The further study now in preparation on the cooperative movement in Africa should furnish valuable elements for further action. My Government intends to submit to the next session of the Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council a series of proposals which, we trust, will lead to a strengthening of social action programs through the United Nations.

Last but not least, we hope that growing attention will be given in economic and social planning and development to the place of women. In the United States, women have not only attained full equality but a position of leadership which has given great impetus to enlightened social action. The recent seminar of African women, held in this beautiful city, holds out the prospect of great contributions by women to progress in Africa.

Mr. Chairman, friends, all that remains for me to do is to thank you for enabling us to participate in your endeavors and to express our deep gratitude to His Imperial Majesty for the welcome and the hospitality which he has so graciously extended to us. I and the other members of my delegation will return to America inspired by what we have witnessed in this session, by your dedication to the promotion of the advance of your own people which will benefit all of us, partners that we are in the quest for a better world.

Ambassador Harriman Meets With European Leaders

White House press release dated February 25

Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman has been requested by President Kennedy to visit several Western European capitals to convey personal greetings and discuss matters of broad mutual interest.

It is anticipated that Mr. Harriman will see Prime Minister Macmillan in London, President de Gaulle in Paris, Chancellor Adenauer in Bonn, and Prime Minister Fanfani in Rome. While in Paris, Ambassador Harriman also expects to meet with the Permanent Representatives of the North Atlantic Council.

The Ambassador will leave for London on February 26.

Prime Minister of Greece To Visit United States

White House press release dated February 25

President Kennedy announced on February 25 that Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis and Mrs. Caramanlis have accepted an invitation to visit the United States.

The Prime Minister and Mrs. Caramanlis will be in this country for an official visit beginning April 17 in Washington. During the period of their stay the Prime Minister and his wife will visit several other American cities.

Annuity Paid to Panama

Press release 85 dated February 24

The Department of State announced on February 24 that it has paid the annuity of \$1,930,000 due the Republic of Panama in 1961. 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.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 7, 1955, p. 238.

President Recommends Return to \$100 Duty-Free Allowance

White House press release dated February 24

The White House on February 24 made public the following letter from President Kennedy to Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

FEBRUARY 24, 1961

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: In my message of February 6, 1961,¹ I said that the United States faces a balance of payments deficit which is a matter of concern to us and to the whole free world. In order to meet our international responsibilities, to properly formulate domestic economic policies, and to efficiently conduct our economic affairs, we must take into account our balance of payments.

I propose that we strengthen our total position and help insure that our gold reserves are employed effectively to facilitate the commerce of the free nations and to protect the stability of their currencies by returning to the historic basic duty-free allowance of \$100 allowed returning American travelers.

The \$100 tariff exemption dates back to 1897. After World War II, however, foreign countries faced a dollar shortage and, as one measure to ease this shortage, Congress increased the tariff exemption by \$300 in 1948 and by \$100 in 1949, bringing the total exemption to \$500. However, in the light of the existing balance of payments problem, this more liberal customs exemption, designed to encourage American expenditures abroad, is not presently warranted. Accordingly, the customs exemption should be returned to the traditional amount.

The attached draft of legislation would carry out this recommendation by providing for a return to the \$100 duty-free allowance for a four-year period. This proposal would meet the existing situation, and the four-year terminal date would provide an appropriate opportunity for a reappraisal of the measure in the light of the balance of payments position in the future. I urge that Congress give favorable consideration to its prompt enactment.

Very truly yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 27, 1961, p. 287.

A BILL

To amend paragraph 1798 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to reduce temporarily the exemption from duty enjoyed by returning residents.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Paragraph 1798, Tariff Act of 1930, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1201, par. 1798), is amended as follows:

(1) Subparagraph (c) is amended to read as follows:

“(c) In the case of any person arriving in the United States who is a returning resident thereof—

(1) all personal and household effects taken abroad by him or for his account and brought back by him or for his account; and

(2) articles (including not more than one wine gallon of alcoholic beverages and not more than one hundred cigars) acquired abroad as an incident of the journey from which he is returning, for his personal or household use, but not imported for the account of any other person nor intended for sale, if declared in accordance with regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury, up to but not exceeding in aggregate value \$100, if such person arrives in the United States prior to April 1, 1965, from a contiguous country which maintains a free zone or free port (see subparagraph (d) of this paragraph), or arrives in the United States prior to April 1, 1965, from any other country after having remained beyond the territorial limits of the United States for a period of not less than forty-eight hours, and in either case has not claimed an exemption under this paragraph within the thirty days immediately preceding his arrival; or

(3) articles (including not more than one wine gallon of alcoholic beverages and not more than one hundred cigars) acquired abroad as an incident of the journey from which he is returning, for his personal or household use, but not imported for the account of any other person nor intended for sale, if declared in accordance with regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury, up to but not exceeding in aggregate value—

(A) \$200, if such person arrives in the United States on or after April 1, 1965, from a contiguous country which maintains a free zone or free port (see subparagraph (d) of this paragraph), or arrives in the United States on or after April 1, 1965, from any other country after having remained beyond the territorial limits of the United States for a period of not less than forty-eight hours, and in either case has not claimed an exemption under this subdivision (A) within the thirty days immediately preceding his arrival; and

(B) \$300 in addition, if such person arrives in the United States on or after April 1, 1965, and has remained beyond the territorial limits of the United States for a period of not less than twelve days and has not claimed an exemption under this subdivision (B) within the six months immediately preceding his arrival.”

(2) Subparagraph (d) is amended by striking out “subdivision 2(A) of subparagraph (c)” and inserting in

lieu thereof "subdivision (2) or subdivision (3)(A) of subparagraph (e)".

(3) Subparagraph (g) is amended by striking out "subdivision (2)(B) of subparagraph (c)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subdivision (3)(B) of subparagraph (e)".

SEC. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall be effective with respect to persons arriving in the United States on or after the thirtieth day following the date of its enactment.

Treaty of Friendship, Establishment and Navigation Signed With Belgium

Press release 79 dated February 21

A treaty of friendship, establishment, and navigation between the United States and Belgium was signed on February 21 at Brussels. The American Ambassador, William A. M. Burden, signed the treaty for the United States, and Pierre Wigny, Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed for Belgium.

The new treaty is similar in most respects to the treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation that the United States has concluded with a number of countries in recent years. Like all of those treaties it contains provisions on personal and property rights, investments, and the conduct of business activities. It also deals with shipping matters in some detail, but unlike most treaties of this general type it does not include provisions relating to the treatment of imports and exports.

The United States is gratified at the successful negotiation of this treaty, which is the most comprehensive instrument of its kind to be concluded between the United States and Belgium. Upon entry into force it will supersede a briefer and less detailed treaty entered into in 1875.

The 21 articles of the treaty and the accompanying protocol cover a wide range of subject matter. In brief, each country agrees (1) to extend to citizens and corporations of the other treatment no less favorable than it accords to its own citizens with respect to engaging in commercial, industrial, and financial activities; (2) to apply high standards for the safeguarding of persons, their property and interests; (3) to adhere to principles of nondiscrimination in the treatment of shipping; and (4) generally to take appropriate action in furtherance of international investment.

This treaty with Belgium is the 20th to be negotiated by the United States since the current program was initiated at the end of the Second World

War. It is, moreover, the fifth international agreement regulating mutual relations in establishment matters to be signed with members of the European Economic Community. Treaties of this kind are now in force in four of the Common Market countries: France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The treaty will be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification and, after the constitutional procedures of both countries have been completed, will enter into force 1 month after the exchange of ratifications.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 2d Session

Increased Penalties for Violations of Migratory Bird Treaty Act. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on H.R. 11430 and H.R. 11674. May 3, 1960. 22 pp.

Legislative History of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 86th Congress, January 7, 1959–September 1, 1960. S. Doc. 131. August 31, 1960. 112 pp.

Communist Infiltration in the Nuclear Test Ban Movement. Hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Part 2. August 31–October 10, 1960. 109 pp.

87th Congress, 1st Session

Report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Letter from the Chairman transmitting the seventh special report of the Council on the operations and policies of the international financial institutions of which the United States is a member, for the 2-year period April 1, 1958, through March 31, 1960. H. Doc. 42. January 6, 1961. 28 pp.

Nominations of W. Averell Harriman, Frank M. Coffin, Philip M. Klutznick, and Abram Chayes. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on nominations of W. Averell Harriman as Ambassador at Large, Frank M. Coffin as Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, Philip M. Klutznick as U.S. Representative on the U.N. Economic and Social Council, and Abram Chayes as Legal Adviser of the Department of State. January 31, 1961. 67 pp.

Review of the Administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act. Report to accompany S. Res. 60. S. Rept. 39. February 2, 1961. 4 pp.

Study of the Effectiveness of Governmental Organization and Procedure in the Contest With World Communism. S. Rept. 31. February 2, 1961. 4 pp.

U.S. Balance of Payments and Gold Outflow From United States. Message from President Kennedy. H. Doc. 84. February 6, 1961. 12 pp.

Sixteenth Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information. Letter from the Chairman transmitting the 16th report of the Commission. H. Doc. 86. February 9, 1961. 28 pp.

Principles Guiding U.S. Policy in the United Nations

*Statement by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson
U.S. Representative to the United Nations*¹

Mr. President [Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom], first, let me say that I am very happy to come to this table for the first time in many years under your chairmanship. Under the rules I understand that I must succeed you as President the first of next month, and I wish I did not suspect that you would relinquish that honor with the same enthusiasm that Mr. [Omar] Loutfi [United Arab Republic] has relinquished it today.

Listening to such kindness and flattery as I have heard here today, I have begun to wonder if you have confused me with Thomas Jefferson, whom Ambassador [Leopoldo] Benites [of Ecuador] was good enough to mention and whose name is always agreeable to a Democrat.

I deeply appreciate, Mr. President, the kind words and good wishes of you and of my colleagues. I must apologize for my voice. I wish I could say that it was a casualty of the battle for peace instead of the New York weather. I have sometimes said that flattery is all right, Mr. President, if you don't inhale. Well, you have made it very hard for me not to inhale, thanks to the charity and the kindness which have touched me so deeply. In the days—and perhaps nights—ahead of us I shall always remember with gratitude this hour. And may all of our wishes be as good for all of the peoples of the world as your kind words have been good for me today.

As some of you know, I had a part in the birth of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945 and in its early walks as an infant in London and then in New York in 1946 and 1947. And now it is 15 years old, and I am pleased to be sharing in

the problems of its adolescence. The problems of adolescence are largely those of young love. I believe this is true in all countries. Would that all of our problems in this Council were as amiable.

Although some of our problems may not be amiable, I hope that we may deal with even the thorniest of them in an atmosphere of tolerance and of good will. We are, to use the French phrase, the “nations united.” Let us *be* united, united in a patient and persevering attempt to find the things we can agree upon and to build upon them a structure of understanding and of cooperation against which whatever storms may be ahead shall beat in vain.

To one who has been long absent from these councils, it is striking and heartening that the United Nations has not only survived the turmoil and the conflict of these 15 years but has grown to nearly twice its original membership and has become an ever more potent factor in the shaping of world events.

We of the United States wish the United Nations to be still more potent, for the grave dangers of this nuclear age demand much more unity among the nations. The common yearning of all men expressed in the charter is to achieve freedom from war, poverty, disease, ignorance, and oppression. That is what binds us all together. Our security and our salvation is the ability of the nations and the governments to see through the clouds of conflict and discern the truth about our common interests—and then, boldly and in concert, to act. Only the actions of states, both large and small, can impart vigor to this Organization and can redeem the pledges of the charter. And we in the United States believe that the times are too dangerous for anything except the truth.

The United Nations is a sensitive measure of the tremors which shake the community of nations—tremors which have built up to dangerous levels. But we are not helpless spectators. The tremors

¹Made in the Security Council on Feb. 1 (U.S./U.N. press release 3643).

are manmade, and man can still them. To help the Organization to meet that task, we of the United States will be guided by certain principles, and I hope you will indulge me for a moment while I mention some of them.

First, we know the great importance which the newer and less developed nations attach to the United Nations. In their search for peace, for mutual tolerance, for economic development, for dignity and self-respect, our interest is theirs. We don't seek military allies among them, nor do we wish to impose our system or our philosophy upon them—indeed, we cannot; freedom cannot be imposed on anyone. Our concern for these nations is that they should be truly independent members of the peaceful community of nations.

As the oldest anticolonial power, the United States is in favor of freedom and of self-determination for all peoples. We rejoice in the rapid and peaceful revolution which has brought into being and into our midst at the United Nations so many new sovereignties. Our great desire is that this transition should proceed peacefully and in good order, with the least possible suffering, bitterness, and new conflicts. We applaud what has been done to bring about this orderly transition both by the emerging nations and by their former rulers. And we applaud the efforts of this Council to assist the orderly transition in the Congo through the Secretary-General.

Equally important, if not more so, is the work which this Organization can do to further economic development, without which political independence cannot long be sustained. The United States attaches the highest importance to improving the conditions of life of the peoples in the newly developing countries. In that work the United Nations has already proved its effectiveness as a source of technical assistance, of expert knowledge on potential capital investment, and of administrative personnel to help those who are determined to help themselves—and without any political condition or any ulterior motive. So we shall support the work of the United Nations in the whole field of economic betterment.

We shall also, Mr. President, do all in our power to use the United Nations as “a center for harmonizing the actions of nations.” We believe the United Nations is an opportunity for preventive diplomacy which can identify and solve potential

disputes before they reach the acute stage sometimes induced by the glare of publicity.

The United States Government is giving its most earnest attention to the impasse over disarmament. We know, as President Kennedy said the other day, that “the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace.”² We know that progress toward disarmament becomes daily more imperative, and we are ceaselessly aware of the vital interest in this problem which is felt by all of the members of the United Nations.

May I also say that, if the United Nations is to continue to function, two things are also essential. It must be properly financed, and the integrity of the office of the Secretary-General and of the Secretariat must be preserved. We hope all members from every region will join in fulfilling these indispensable minimum conditions.

And finally, with such a fateful agenda, Mr. President, it is more than ever important that, in these councils, we avoid useless recrimination. Free debate is an essential part of the United Nations process. But let us not demean free debate, as you have so eloquently said, Mr. President.

In his address to Congress the other day, the new President of the United States said that he regards the United Nations “as an instrument to end the cold war instead of an arena in which to fight it.”³ We devoutly hope that all of the governments here represented will share his view and that our deliberations in this Council may be uniformly directed toward the calm and constructive solution of the problems that confront us. May peace among the nations begin with peace among the members of the Council.

We are the Security Council, my colleagues, and it should be to us that the peoples of the world look for the security they so desperately long for. They are looking to us, I believe, for leadership, for strong, sober, constructive leadership. If they don't look to this body with confidence, it is our fault. So I wholeheartedly pledge myself to the high and the challenging task of cooperating with you in our common endeavor to provide the leadership that the world is asking of us. I devoutly hope and pray that we may fulfill this solemn obligation.

² BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

Migration From Europe in 1961

SIXTEENTH SESSION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THIRTEENTH SESSION OF COUNCIL OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

by George L. Warren

The Council of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration convened in its 13th session on December 1, 1960, at Geneva. All 29 member governments were represented. The Dominican Republic, the Republic of San Marino, the United Kingdom, Uruguay, the Holy See, and the Sovereign Order of Malta were represented by observers. The United Nations, the United Nations specialized agencies, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the Council of Europe, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and nongovernmental organizations interested in migration were also in attendance at the session. The session of the Council was preceded by a session of the Subcommittee on Budget and Finance and by a session of the Executive Committee of nine governments, which convened on November 23, 1960.

The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration was organized at the Conference on Migration convened at Brussels in November 1951 on the initiative of the U.S. Government. Its purpose is to facilitate the movement of indigent migrants and refugees from overcrowded

areas in Europe who would not otherwise be moved and simultaneously to provide needed manpower to the developing economies of countries of immigration overseas.

Max Wershof of Canada was elected chairman of the Council. Gust van Werveke (Luxembourg) was elected first vice chairman; D. Camilo Riccio (Chile), second vice chairman; and Achilles Yero-costopoulos (Greece), rapporteur. The Council held 12 meetings. Eric O. Baron van Boetzelaer (Netherlands) presided at the meetings of the Executive Committee.

John W. Hanes, Jr., Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, was the U.S. representative at the 13th session of the Council. Representative Francis E. Walter, Roderic L. O'Connor, vice president of CIBA States Ltd., and George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugee and Migration Affairs, Department of State, were alternate U.S. representatives. Mr. Warren served as U.S. representative at the session of the Executive Committee. Representatives Edwin E. Willis and Arch A. Moore, Jr., served as congressional advisers. Scott McLeod, U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, also participated as an adviser to the U.S. representative.

• *Mr. Warren is Adviser on Refugee and Migration Affairs, Department of State. He served as U.S. representative to the 16th session of the ICEM Executive Committee and as an alternate U.S. representative to the 13th session of the Council.*

Financial Report for the Year 1959

The Director's financial report for 1959, audited by the external auditors, showed that movements had totaled 105,706, income \$30,778,933, and expenditures \$30,144,373, leaving a total balance to

be carried over into 1960 of \$634,560, of which \$420,493 resulted from operations and \$214,067 was the excess of income over expenditures in the administrative budget. In addition the Committee received \$1,742,899 on account of 1,520 movements from the Far East in 1959, expended \$984,481, and carried over a balance of \$758,418 into 1960. As the auditor's report made no recommendations for changes in accounting practices requiring action by the Council, the report was adopted as received.

Changes in Membership in the Committee

The resignation of the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was accepted after efforts made at the previous session to have the Federation continue as a member had failed. Changes in immigration policies and financial considerations were cited by the Federation as reasons for its resignation. Bolivia was elected as a new member, thus maintaining the number of members of the Committee at 29. The representative of the United Kingdom, in attendance at the session as an observer, made the following statement with respect to membership: "I am very happy to say that, subject to Parliamentary approval of the costs involved, my government intends to apply for membership on the Committee at the next session of the Council with a view to taking a seat as a member at the beginning of the session, and to subscribe to the administrative budget of the Committee from the beginning of the [U.K.] 1961 financial year next April." This statement was warmly received by the members of the Council.

Progress Report of the Director for 1960

The Director reported that 81,519 persons had been moved under ICEM auspices up to October 31, 1960, of whom 30,456 were refugees. Of the latter, 24,270 were considered to be under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A new movement of Spanish nationals returning to Spain from Morocco was reported. The Council authorized the administration to assist the transport of these Spanish nationals as necessary from any European port to overseas countries of resettlement. The trend of higher movements to Australia and of lower movements to Latin American countries reported at the

previous session had continued during the ensuing months. Representatives of the Latin American countries made strong pleas for more trained and semiskilled workers to be included in better balanced overall movements to their countries. The Italian representative urged, nonetheless, that there be no diminution of efforts to assist wives and children to join the breadwinner of the family who had preceded them to the country of immigration.

The Director reported that the U.S. Government was planning to arrange a loan through ICEM of \$1,250,000 to the Dutch Holambra Colony in Brazil to facilitate expansion which would provide opportunities for the settlement of 800 Dutch farm families from the Netherlands and of 100 young couples at Holambra who are prepared to undertake the operation of farms on their own account.

Refugees

ICEM was assured of adequate income to move some 36,477 refugees out of Europe in 1960. In addition to per capita contributions by governments totaling \$4,631,018, ICEM received \$1,406,345 from governments and national refugee committees for the movement of refugees as a result of the wide interest developed by World Refugee Year, sponsored by the United Nations. In addition ICEM received over \$1,135,000 from governments for the movement of European refugees from mainland China through Hong Kong. The total movement from Hong Kong was not expected to exceed 1,000 by any substantial figure in 1960. The issue of exit permits from mainland China to the refugees was severely restricted during the first 10 months of the year. Unexpectedly the flow of refugees into Hong Kong increased to 400 in each of the months of November and December. Adequate funds were on hand, however, at the end of the year to move the refugees overseas, chiefly to Australia and Brazil. The Council authorized the administration to repeat the special appeal to governments to move refugees in 1961 which had been so successful in 1960.

Report of Survey Group on Staff Requirements

The Deputy Director reported as chairman of a survey group on staff requirements that ways and means had been found to reduce the numbers of

the staff, officials and employees included, from 761 authorized on January 1, 1960, to an estimated 674 in 1961 with anticipated savings in staff costs in 1961 of \$320,000. While some of the reductions were made possible by lower levels of movement, others resulted from the undertaking by certain governments of services formerly performed by ICEM. The Council commended the administration for accomplishing these savings and urged that the study and review of staff requirements be organized as a continuing process in order to secure maximum efficiency of administration at the lowest possible cost.

ICEM's Migration Services

Responding to earlier requests of the Council, the Director presented an extensive and detailed report titled "International Operations and Technical Assistance." "International Operations" is the title of the budget heading under which all services connected with the processing and the reception and placement of migrants are listed. Under "Technical Assistance" are listed all expenditures for services undertaken by ICEM temporarily in assistance to governments by way of demonstration in the expectation that the concerned governments will eventually take the services over at their own expense. Expenditures budgeted for 1961 under "International Operations" total \$1,591,524 and under "Technical Assistance" \$814,962.

ICEM has not yet developed convincing justifications of the services of both categories to insure allocations of sufficient contributions by governments to these purposes. The current problem with respect to the services which have developed out of empirical experience over the past 10 years is to develop adequate interpretations of them. This is important because it is in this area of activity that many governments expect ICEM to expand. The report raised so many questions as to whether certain services should in theory be performed by emigration or immigration governments or were of such a nature that only an international organization like ICEM could perform them that the Council decided to defer judgment on the report until the next session in order to give the governments ample time to study the report in all of its implications. The Council, however, did request the Director to send a special appeal

to governments in the meantime to make adequate contributions to support the services involved until all questions concerning them can be resolved to the satisfaction of the governments concerned.

Revision of Budget and Plan of Expenditure for 1960

At the end of November the estimate of total movements from Europe for the year was reduced to 97,280. In addition it was expected that 1,030 White Russian refugees would be removed from mainland China through Hong Kong. As a result of special efforts during the year, income to meet expenditures in all sections of the budget had been secured by the end of September 1960. Apart from the per capita contributions by governments for transport, the total of which is established by the actual movements which take place, the governments collectively contributed \$1,200,000 more in 1960 in non per capita contributions than in any preceding year. World Refugee Year also stimulated contributions from new sources during the year. Total expenditures for 1960 were estimated at \$30,037,889.

Budget and Plan of Expenditure for 1961

After revisions suggested by the Subcommittee on Budget and Finance and the Executive Committee, the Council approved an estimate of movements in 1961 of 103,950, including 3,630 refugees to be resettled from mainland China. Total expenditures were estimated at \$31,413,663, of which \$2,900,000 constituted the administrative budget and the balance of \$28,513,663 the operational budget. To finance services, income of \$4,514,636 will be required in addition to the normal per capita contributions from governments applied to transport. It was assumed that the governments which had raised their supplemental non per capita contributions by \$1,200,000 in 1960 would maintain this level of support of the Committee's services in 1961. Included in the budgeted expenditures for services were new projects for hostels and reception and placement centers in Argentina and Brazil for which ICEM would provide approximately \$200,000.

The representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Sweden raised questions concerning the present percentages of the contributions of their governments to administrative expenditures, maintaining that there had been many changes in the econ-

omies of the member governments, the relative capacities to contribute, and the degree of interest in the work of the Committee of different governments since the scale of percentages of contributions to the administrative budget was constructed and adopted in 1951. In the light of these interventions it was informally agreed without adoption of a resolution that the administration would present a paper on the problem suggesting procedures by which appropriate modifications of the present scale might be made for consideration by the Council at its next session.

Budget and Plan of Expenditure for 1962

For purposes of information solely the Director presented an advance forecast of 103,700 movements in 1962 and of expenditures totaling \$32,129,860, suggesting that operations would continue approximately at the level of 1961. The Council noted the report with the understanding that the action involved no commitment on the part of any government. The U.S. representative took advantage of the discussion, however, to advise the Council that the U.S. contribution to operations in 1962 would not exceed 37 percent of all government contributions in that year to the same purposes.

Report of Subcommittee on Budget and Finance

The Subcommittee on Budget and Finance, established by the Council at its previous session, had held two meetings between sessions, one at Washington and one at Geneva, and had reported to the Executive Committee. The substance of the report indicated that the subcommittee had devoted more time than the Executive Committee had previously been able to do to a detailed examination of the budget estimates for 1961. As a result the Director had submitted amended budget estimates to the Executive Committee and the Council. The objective was largely to improve the estimates of movements, income, and expenditures. Governments were also informed more fully and earlier than in previous years of the requirements of contributions in 1961. Otherwise the subcommittee had established certain lines of inquiry concerning the finances of the Committee in pursuit of which the Director had promised to supply additional data before the next meeting of the subcommittee. After considera-

tion of the report of the subcommittee, the Council amended the earlier resolution establishing the subcommittee by adding the financing of the administrative budget to the terms of reference and decided that all reports of the subcommittee should be made available to the Council.

Resettlement of Belgian Nationals

Upon request of the representative of Belgium the Council very readily agreed to assist a limited number of Belgian nationals forced to return to Belgium from the Congo to resettle in other countries overseas prepared to receive them.

Election of the Executive Committee for 1961

The following governments were elected to the Executive Committee for 1961: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain, and the United States. The newly elected Executive Committee held one meeting but, because of lack of time, postponed the election of a chairman and vice chairman to the next session in May 1961.

Date of 14th Session

The Council adjourned its 13th session on December 9, 1960, in a spirit of optimism about the affairs of the Committee and agreed to convene for the 14th session at Geneva on or about May 11, 1961. The Executive Committee will convene on May 3, 1961, and the Subcommittee on Finance on April 24, 1961.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention concerning customs facilities for touring. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Entered into force September 11, 1957. TIAS 3879.
Extension to: St. Christopher, Nevis and Anguilla, January 9, 1961.

Sugar

International sugar agreement, 1958. Done at London

December 1, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1959. TIAS 4389.
Accession deposited: Colombia, February 15, 1961.

Telecommunications

International telecommunication convention with six annexes and final protocol. Done at Geneva December 1, 1959. Entered into force January 1, 1961.¹
Ratifications deposited: Switzerland, December 20, 1960; Finland and Yugoslavia, December 23, 1960; Malaya and Sweden, December 30, 1960.

Trade and Commerce

Protocol of organizational amendments to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva March 10, 1955.²
Signature: Peru, December 21, 1960.

BILATERAL

Belgium

Treaty of friendship, establishment, and navigation, and protocol. Signed at Brussels February 21, 1961. Enters into force 1 month after exchange of ratifications.

Bolivia

Agreement relating to the furnishing by the United States of certain military assistance to Bolivia. Effected by exchange of notes at La Paz February 9, 1961. Entered into force February 9, 1961.

Costa Rica

Agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington May 18, 1956.
Entered into force: February 8, 1961.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations:

The Senate on February 20 confirmed the following nominations:

Harlan Cleveland to be an Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 80 dated February 23.)

William J. Crockett to be an Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 81 dated February 23.)

Brooks Hays to be an Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 96 dated February 28.)

Livingston T. Merchant to be Ambassador to Canada. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated February 8.)

The Senate on February 22 confirmed the following nominations:

Charles F. Baldwin to be Ambassador to the Federation of Malaya. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 101 dated March 1.)

David K. E. Bruce to be Ambassador to Great Britain.

¹ Not in force for the United States.

² Not in force.

(For biographic details, see White House press release dated February 2.)

Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin, U.S. Army, retired, to be Ambassador to France. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 102 dated March 1.)

Henry R. Labouisse to be Director of the International Cooperation Administration, in the Department of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 103 dated March 1.)

Mrs. Marietta P. Tree to be the representative of the United States on the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated February 16.)

The Senate on February 24 confirmed the following nominations:

Bernard Gufler to be Ambassador to Finland. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated February 13.)

Douglas MacArthur II to be Ambassador to Belgium.

Raymond A. Hare to be Ambassador to Turkey.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: February 20-26

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Release issued prior to February 20 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 74 of February 17.

No.	Date	Subject
76	2/20	Aide memoire to Germany on financial situation.
*77	2/20	Berle sworn in as consultant to Secretary of State (biographic details).
*78	2/21	Katie Louchheim: Business and Professional Women of New York.
79	2/21	Treaty of friendship, establishment and navigation with Belgium.
*80	2/23	Cleveland sworn in as Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs (biographic details).
*81	2/23	Crockett sworn in as Assistant Secretary for Administration (biographic details).
†82	2/23	New grant aid to Nigeria.
*83	2/23	Battle appointed special assistant to the Secretary of State and Executive Director of the Department (biographic details).
†84	2/24	Rusk-Baig: 6th anniversary of CENTO.
85	2/24	Annuity paid to Panama.
*86	2/24	Johnson sworn in as ICA consultant (biographic details).
*87	2/24	Theatre Guild tour.
*88	2/24	McCloy: Phillips Andover Academy.
†89	2/25	Changes in tariff rates.
*90	2/26	Rusk: death of King Mohamed V of Morocco.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

Africa
 President Kennedy Pledges U.S. Support of Economic Commission for Africa 374
 The United States and Africa: Common Goals (Kotsehnig, Williams) 373

Australia. United States and Australia Reaffirm Traditional Partnership (Kennedy, Menzies) 372

Belgium. Treaty of Friendship, Establishment and Navigation Signed With Belgium 383

Canada. President Kennedy and Prime Minister of Canada Hold Informal Talks (text of joint communique) 371

Congo, Republic of the
 Security Council Adopts New Measures To Solve Congo Problems (Stevenson, texts of resolutions) 359
 United States Reaffirms Position on Outside Interference in Congo (Stevenson) 365

Congress, The
 Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy 383
 President Recommends Return to \$100 Duty-Free Allowance 382

Department and Foreign Service. Confirmations (Baldwin, Bruce, Cleveland, Crockett, Gavin, Guller, Hare, Hays, Labouisse, MacArthur, Merchant, Tree) 390

Economic Affairs
 President Recommends Return to \$100 Duty-Free Allowance 382
 Treaty of Friendship, Establishment and Navigation Signed With Belgium 383
 United States and Germany Discuss Political and Monetary Problems (Kennedy, Von Brentano, texts of joint communique and U.S. aide memoire) 369

Europe. Migration From Europe in 1961 (Warren) 386

France. Ambassador Harriman Meets With European Leaders 381

Germany
 Ambassador Harriman Meets With European Leaders 381
 United States and Germany Discuss Political and Monetary Problems (Kennedy, Von Brentano, texts of joint communique and U.S. aide memoire) 369

Greece. Prime Minister of Greece To Visit United States 381

International Organizations and Conferences
 Migration From Europe in 1961 (Warren) 386
 President Kennedy Pledges U.S. Support of Economic Commission for Africa 374
 The United States and Africa: Common Goals (Kotsehnig, Williams) 373

Italy. Ambassador Harriman Meets With European Leaders 381

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Ambassador Harriman Meets With European Leaders 381

Panama. Annuity Paid to Panama 381

Presidential Documents
 President Congratulates Soviets on Launching of Space Vehicle 369
 President Kennedy and Prime Minister of Canada Hold Informal Talks 371
 President Kennedy Pledges U.S. Support of Economic Commission for Africa 374
 President Recommends Return to \$100 Duty-Free Allowance 382
 United States and Australia Reaffirm Traditional Partnership 372
 United States and Germany Discuss Political and Monetary Problems 369

Refugees. Migration From Europe in 1961 (Warren) 386

Science. President Congratulates Soviets on Launching of Space Vehicle (Kennedy, Khrushchev) 369

Treaty Information
 Current Actions 389
 Treaty of Friendship, Establishment and Navigation Signed With Belgium 383

U.S.S.R. President Congratulates Soviets on Launching of Space Vehicle (Kennedy, Khrushchev) 369

United Kingdom. Ambassador Harriman Meets With European Leaders 381

United Nations
 Principles Guiding U.S. Policy in the United Nations (Stevenson) 384
 Security Council Adopts New Measures To Solve Congo Problems (Stevenson, texts of resolutions) 359
 United States Reaffirms Position on Outside Interference in Congo (Stevenson) 365

Name Index

Baldwin, Charles F 390
 Bruce, David K. E 390
 Cleveland, Harlan 390
 Crockett, William J 390
 Diefenbaker, John G 371
 Gavin, James M 390
 Guller, Bernard 390
 Hare, Raymond A 390
 Hays, Brooks 390
 Kennedy, President 369, 371, 372, 374, 382
 Khrushchev, Nikita S 369
 Kotsehnig, Walter M 376
 Labouisse, Henry R 390
 MacArthur, Douglas H 390
 Menzies, Robert Gordon 372
 Merchant, Livingston T 390
 Stevenson, Adlai E 359, 365, 384
 Tree, Marietta P 390
 Von Brentano, Heinrich 369
 Warren, George L 386
 Williams, G. Mennen 373

SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPT
PUBLIC LIBRARY
COPLEY SQUARE
BOSTON 17, MASS
DSB DEC -G-

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



A NEW SERIES

The Newly Independent Nations

the
Department
of
State

Since 1944 the world has seen the emergence of more than a score of newly independent nations. They represent over three-quarters of a billion people—one-quarter of the world's population. Pamphlets have been prepared by the Department of State designed to give readers a few highlights on the peoples and the lands which make up these nations. Now available in the series are leaflets on the following countries:

	Publication Number	Price
India	7029	5 cents
Israel	7041	5 cents
Jordan	7030	5 cents
Korea	7042	15 cents
Libya	6966	5 cents
Malaya	6967	5 cents
Pakistan	7073	5 cents
Philippines	6968	5 cents
Sudan	7044	5 cents
Viet-Nam	7031	5 cents

Order Form

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Please send me copies of leaflets for the following countries

Name: -----

Street Address: -----

City, Zone, and State: -----

Enclosed find:

\$-----
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

9353.1730

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1134

March 20, 1961

A FRESH LOOK AT THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY • *Informal Remarks by Secretary Rusk* 395

PEACE CORPS CREATED ON PILOT BASIS; PRESIDENT SEEKS PERMANENT LEGISLATION • *Statement by President Kennedy and Texts of Executive Order and Message to Congress* 400

THE UNITED NATIONS, GUARDIAN OF PEACE • *by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson* 410

PERSPECTIVES IN PROTOCOL • *by Angier Biddle Duke* 414

THE WORLD'S TWO GREAT HUNGERS • *by Carl T. Rowan* 405

For index see inside back cover

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
THE UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1134 • PUBLICATION 7155

March 20, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

A Fresh Look at the Formulation of Foreign Policy

Informal Remarks by Secretary Rusk¹

I am happy to have a chance to talk with my new colleagues here in the Department about some of the things that are on my mind as well as some of the things which may be on your mind early in the new administration. I suppose you are wondering what the significance of a new administration is. You haven't experienced a change of party administration since 1952, and before that not since 1932.

I think the principal point is that a change in administration gives us a chance to take a fresh look at a good many of our policies, to make fresh approaches, and to see whether we are going in the direction in which we as a nation really want to go. I'm reminded that Senator [John Sherman] Cooper of Kentucky, when asked in 1952 whether he expected major new foreign policies from the then new administration, remarked that the world situation was still pretty much the same and that few major changes in policy were likely.

It is quite true that the central themes of American foreign policy are more or less constant. They derive from the kind of people we are in this country and from the shape of the world situation. It has been interesting over the years to see how, in our democratic society based on the consent of the governed, movements off the main path of the ideas and aspirations of the American people have tended to swing back to the main path as a result of the steady pressures of public opinion.

Nevertheless we are today in a highly revolutionary world situation. Change is its dominant theme. I suppose that the central question before

us is how we can properly relate ourselves to these fundamental and far-reaching changes. We are seeing a world in turmoil, reshaping itself in a way which is at least as significant as the breakdown of the Concert of Europe, or as the emergence of the national states in the Western system, or as the explosion of Europe into other continents of the world some three centuries ago.

Older political forms have disintegrated. New international forms are coming into being. We are experiencing enormous pressures to achieve economic and social improvements in all parts of the world, as masses of people who have largely been isolated from currents of world opinion, knowledge, and information are coming to realize that their miseries are not a part of an ordained environment about which nothing can be done.

We could be passive in relation to these changes and take our chances. I think the view of the new administration is that, were we to be passive, we could not expect the institutions of freedom to survive. We could undertake an active defense of the *status quo*. My own guess is that, were we to do that, we would be fighting a losing battle. We can, on the other hand, attempt to take a certain leadership in change itself; certainly the world is not as we should like to see it, and the world is not as peoples elsewhere find tolerable. Leadership of change is a theme which we will be wanting to talk with you about and to have you keep in mind as we go about our daily business. It may, indeed, prove to be impossible to win the so-called cold war unless we develop our thoughts, in collaboration with our friends abroad, about what kind of world we are reaching for beyond the cold war.

I think another important factor for us to con-

¹ Made to the policymaking officers of the Department of State in the Department auditorium on Feb. 20.

sider as we move into a new period turns on the President and his attitude toward the conduct of foreign relations. We have a President with great interest in foreign affairs. We have a President who will rely heavily upon the Department of State for the conduct of our foreign relations. This will not be a passive reliance but an active expectation on his part that this Department will in fact take charge of foreign policy. The recent Executive order which abolished the Operations Coordinating Board² bore witness to the fact that the Department of State is expected to assume the leadership of foreign policy. In consequence, an enormous responsibility falls upon us here not only in developing policies but in seeing that they are carried out.

Foreign Policy in Its Total Context

With this enlarged role in mind, I should like to make a few suggestions: What we in the United States do or do not do will make a very large difference in what happens in the rest of the world. We in this Department must think about foreign policy in its total context. We cannot regard foreign policy as something left over after defense policy or trade policy or fiscal policy has been extracted. Foreign policy is the total involvement of the American people with peoples and governments abroad. That means that, if we are to achieve a new standard of leadership, we must think in terms of the total context of our situation. It is the concern of the Department of State that the American people are safe and secure—defense is not a monopoly concern of the Department of Defense. It is also the concern of the Department of State that our trading relationships with the rest of the world are vigorous, profitable, and active—this is not just a passing interest or a matter of concern only to the Department of Commerce. We can no longer rely on interdepartmental machinery “somewhere upstairs” to resolve differences between this and other departments. Assistant Secretaries of State will now carry an increased burden of active formulation and coordination of policies. Means must be found to enable us to keep in touch as regularly and as efficiently as possible with our colleagues in other departments concerned with foreign policy.

² BULLETIN of Mar. 6, 1961, p. 345.

I think we need to concern ourselves also with the timeliness of action. Every policy officer cannot help but be a planning officer. Unless we keep our eyes on the horizon ahead, we shall fail to bring ourselves on target with the present. The movement of events is so fast, the pace so severe, that an attempt to peer into the future is essential if we are to think accurately about the present. If there is anything which we can do in the executive branch of the Government to speed up the processes by which we come to decisions on matters on which we must act promptly, that in itself would be a major contribution to the conduct of our affairs. Action taken today is often far more valuable than action taken several months later in response to a situation then out of control.

There will of course be times for delay and inaction. What I am suggesting is that when we delay, or when we fail to act, we do so intentionally and not through inadvertence or through bureaucratic or procedural difficulties.

I also hope that we can do something about reducing the infant mortality rate of ideas—an affliction of all bureaucracies. We want to stimulate ideas from the bottom to the top of the Department. We want to make sure that our junior colleagues realize that ideas are welcome, that initiative goes right down to the bottom and goes all the way to the top. I hope no one expects that only Presidential appointees are looked upon as sources of ideas. The responsibility for taking the initiative in generating ideas is that of every officer in the Department who has a policy function, regardless of rank.

Further, I would hope that we could pay attention to little things. While observing the operations of our Government in various parts of the world, I have felt that in many situations where our policies were good we have tended to ignore minor problems which spoiled our main effort. To cite only a few examples: The wrong man in the wrong position, perhaps even in a junior position abroad, can be a source of great harm to our policy; the attitudes of a U.N. delegate who experiences difficulty in finding adequate housing in New York City, or of a foreign diplomat in similar circumstances in our Capital, can easily be directed against the United States and all that it stands for. Dozens of seemingly small matters go wrong all over the world. Sometimes those

who know about them are too far down the line to be able to do anything about them. I would hope that we could create the recognition in the Department and overseas that those who come across little things going wrong have the responsibility for bringing these to the attention of those who can do something about them.

If the Department of State is to take primary responsibility for foreign policy in Washington, it follows that the ambassador is expected to take charge overseas. This does not mean in a purely bureaucratic sense but in an active, operational, interested, responsible fashion. He is expected to know about what is going on among the representatives of other agencies who are stationed in his country. He is expected to supervise, to encourage, to direct, to assist in any way he can. If any official operation abroad begins to go wrong, we shall look to the ambassador to find out why and to get suggestions for remedial action.

The Problems of a Policy Officer

It occurred to me that you might be interested in some thoughts which I expressed privately in recent years, in the hope of clearing up a certain confusion in the public mind about what foreign policy is all about and what it means, and of developing a certain compassion for those who are carrying such responsibilities inside Government. I tried to do so by calling to their attention some of the problems that a senior departmental policy officer faces. This means practically everybody in this room. Whether it will strike home for you or not will be for you to determine.

The senior policy officer may be moved to think hard about a problem by any of an infinite variety of stimuli: an idea in his own head, the suggestions of a colleague, a question from the Secretary or the President, a proposal by another department, a communication from a foreign government or an American ambassador abroad, the filing of an item for the agenda of the United Nations or of any other of dozens of international bodies, a news item read at the breakfast table, a question to the President or the Secretary at a news conference, a speech by a Senator or Congressman, an article in a periodical, a resolution from a national organization, a request for assistance from some private American interests

abroad, et cetera, ad infinitum. The policy officer lives with his antennae alerted for the questions which fall within his range of responsibility.

His first thought is about the question itself: Is there a question here for American foreign policy, and, if so, what is it? For he knows that the first and sometimes most difficult job is to know what the question is—that when it is accurately identified it sometimes answers itself, and that the way in which it is posed frequently shapes the answer.

Chewing it over with his colleagues and in his own mind, he reaches a tentative identification of the question—tentative because it may change as he explores it further and because, if no tolerable answer can be found, it may have to be changed into one which can be answered.

Meanwhile he has been thinking about the facts surrounding the problem, facts which he knows can never be complete, and the general background, much of which has already been lost to history. He is appreciative of the expert help available to him and draws these resources into play, taking care to examine at least some of the raw material which underlies their frequently policy-oriented conclusions. He knows that he must give the expert his place, but he knows that he must also keep him in it.

He is already beginning to box the compass of alternative lines of action, including doing nothing. He knows that he is thinking about action in relation to a future which can be perceived but dimly through a merciful fog. But he takes his bearings from the great guidelines of policy, well-established precedents, the commitments of the United States under international charters and treaties, basic statutes, and well-understood notions of the American people about how we are to conduct ourselves, in policy literature such as country papers and National Security Council papers accumulated in the Department.

He will not be surprised to find that general principles produce conflicting results in the factual situation with which he is confronted. He must think about which of these principles must take precedence. He will know that general policy papers written months before may not fit his problem because of crucial changes in circumstance. He is aware that every moderately important problem merges imperceptibly into every

other problem. He must deal with the question of how to manage a part when it cannot be handled without relation to the whole—when the whole is too large to grasp.

He must think of others who have a stake in the question and in its answer. Who should be consulted among his colleagues in the Department or other departments and agencies of the Government? Which American ambassadors could provide helpful advice? Are private interests sufficiently involved to be consulted? What is the probable attitude of other governments, including those less directly involved? How and at what stage and in what sequence are other governments to be consulted?

If action is indicated, what kind of action is relevant to the problem? The selection of the wrong tools can mean waste, at best, and at worst an unwanted inflammation of the problem itself. Can the President or the Secretary act under existing authority, or will new legislation and new money be required? Should the action be unilateral or multilateral? Is the matter one for the United Nations or some other international body? For, if so, the path leads through a complex process of parliamentary diplomacy which adds still another dimension to the problem.

Respect for the Opinions of Mankind

What type of action can hope to win public support, first in this country and then abroad? For the policy officer will know that action can almost never be secret and that in general the effectiveness of policy will be conditioned by the readiness of the country to sustain it. He is interested in public opinion for two reasons: first, because it is important in itself, and, second, because he knows that the American public cares about a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. And, given probable public attitudes—about which reasonably good estimates can be made—what action is called for to insure necessary support?

May I add a caution on this particular point? We do not want policy officers below the level of Presidential appointees to concern themselves too much with problems of domestic politics in recommending foreign policy action. In the first place our business is foreign policy, and it is the business of the Presidential leadership and his appointees in the Department to consider the domestic politi-

cal aspects of a problem. Mr. Truman emphasized this point by saying, "You fellows in the Department of State don't know much about domestic politics."

This is an important consideration. If we sit here reading editorials and looking at public-opinion polls and other reports that cross our desks, we should realize that this is raw, undigested opinion expressed in the absence of leadership. What the American people will do turns in large degree on their leadership. We cannot test public opinion until the President and the leaders of the country have gone to the public to explain what is required and have asked them for support for the necessary action. I doubt, for example, that, 3 months before the leadership began to talk about what came to be the Marshall plan, any public-opinion expert would have said that the country would have accepted such proposals.

The problem in the policy officer's mind thus begins to take shape as a galaxy of utterly complicated factors—political, military, economic, financial, legal, legislative, procedural, administrative—to be sorted out and handled within a political system which moves by consent in relation to an external environment which cannot be under control.

And the policy officer has the hounds of time snapping at his heels. He knows that there is a time to act and a time to wait. But which is it in this instance? Today is not yesterday and tomorrow will be something else, and his problem is changing while he and his colleagues are working on it. He may labor prodigiously to produce an answer to a question which no longer exists.

In any event he knows that an idea is not a policy and that the transformation of an idea into a policy is frequently an exhausting and frustrating process. He is aware of the difference between a conclusion and a decision. The professor, the commentator, the lecturer may indulge in conclusions, may defer them until all the evidence is in, may change them when facts so compel. But the policy officer must move from conclusion to decision and must be prepared to live with the results, for he does not have a chance to do it again. If he waits, he has already made a decision, sometimes the right one, but the white heat of responsibility is upon him and he cannot escape it, however strenuously he tries.

There is one type of study which I have not seen, which I hope we can do something about in the months ahead. The pilot of a jet aircraft has a check list of many dozen questions which he must answer satisfactorily before he takes off his plane on a flight. Would it not be interesting and revealing if we had a check list of questions which we should answer systematically before we take off on a policy?

Perhaps this is a point at which to inject another passing comment. The processes of government have sometimes been described as a struggle for power among those holding public office. I am convinced that this is true only in a certain formal and bureaucratic sense, having to do with appropriations, job descriptions, trappings of prestige, water bottles, and things of that sort. There is another struggle of far more consequence, the effort to diffuse or avoid responsibility. Power gravitates to those who are willing to make decisions and live with the results, simply because there are so many who readily yield to the intrepid few who take their duties seriously.

On this particular point the Department of State is entering, I think, something of a new phase in its existence. We are expected to take charge. We shall be supported in taking charge, but it throws upon us an enormous responsibility to think broadly and deeply and in a timely fashion about how the United States shall conduct itself in this tumultuous world in which we live.

I want to transmit to you not only my own complete confidence but the confidence of the President in our determination to back you in one of the most onerous responsibilities in the country, and indeed in the world today, and ask you for your maximum help as we try to get on with this job in the months ahead.

I hope to be seeing you from time to time in your own offices. Both Mr. Bowles and I will try to visit different sections of the Department in

the weeks ahead. In the meantime you may be sure that we shall be vitally interested in how you see this job and in how you think the United States should move to take charge of its future, to do its part to shape the course of events—to make history, which will cause those after us to call us “blessed.”

Thank you very much.

Strengthening of U.S. Defense

Statement by Secretary Rusk

Press release 97 dated February 28

There has appeared a news report purporting to give my views regarding current studies now under way about our defense policies. This news report was highly inaccurate.

I have, of course, expressed my views on such subjects in discussions within the administration. I expect to do so in the future. When current studies are completed they will be considered by the President, who will determine the attitude of the executive branch and the proposals to be made to the Congress.

We are anxious to bring about legitimate easing of tensions throughout the world. We are hopeful that substantial progress along these lines can be made in the coming months. In addition, we will continue to strive for safeguarded measures of arms control.

However, under prevailing conditions we are determined, in cooperation with our allies, to enhance the common defense to assure the security of the free world. I have long felt that this will require a strengthening of the nonnuclear aspects of that defense, as well as the maintenance of its nuclear aspects. Our commitments to the common defense are known, as is our determination to back them.

Peace Corps Created on Pilot Basis; President Seeks Permanent Legislation

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY¹

I have today [March 1] signed an Executive order providing for the establishment of a Peace Corps on a temporary pilot basis. I am also sending to Congress a message proposing authorization of a permanent Peace Corps. This Corps will be a pool of trained American men and women sent overseas by the U.S. Government or through private institutions and organizations to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower.

It is our hope to have 500 or more people in the field by the end of the year.

The initial reactions to the Peace Corps proposal are convincing proof that we have, in this country, an immense reservoir of such men and women—eager to sacrifice their energies and time and toil to the cause of world peace and human progress.

In establishing our Peace Corps we intend to make full use of the resources and talents of private institutions and groups. Universities, voluntary agencies, labor unions, and industry will be asked to share in this effort—contributing diverse sources of energy and imagination—making it clear that the responsibility for peace is the responsibility of our entire society.

We will only send abroad Americans who are wanted by the host country—who have a real job to do—and who are qualified to do that job. Programs will be developed with care, and after full negotiation, in order to make sure that the Peace Corps is wanted and will contribute to the welfare of other people. Our Peace Corps is not designed as an instrument of diplomacy or propaganda or ideological conflict. It is designed to permit our people to exercise more fully their responsibilities in the great common cause of world development.

¹Read by the President at his news conference on Mar. 1 (White House press release).

Life in the Peace Corps will not be easy. There will be no salary, and allowances will be at a level sufficient only to maintain health and meet basic needs. Men and women will be expected to work and live alongside the nationals of the country in which they are stationed—doing the same work, eating the same food, talking the same language.

But if the life will not be easy, it will be rich and satisfying. For every young American who participates in the Peace Corps—who works in a foreign land—will know that he or she is sharing in the great common task of bringing to man that decent way of life which is the foundation of freedom and a condition of peace.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10924²

ESTABLISHMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PEACE CORPS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Mutual Security Act of 1954, 68 Stat. 832, as amended (22 U.S.C. 1750 *et seq.*), and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. *Establishment of the Peace Corps.* The Secretary of State shall establish an agency in the Department of State which shall be known as the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps shall be headed by a Director.

Sec. 2. *Functions of the Peace Corps.* (a) The Peace Corps shall be responsible for the training and service abroad of men and women of the United States in new programs of assistance to nations and areas of the world, and in conjunction with or in support of existing economic assistance programs of the United States and of the United Nations and other international organizations.


(b) The Secretary of State shall delegate, or cause to be delegated, to the Director of the Peace Corps such of the functions under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, vested in the President and delegated to the Secretary, or vested in the Secretary, as the Secretary shall deem necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes of the Peace Corps.

Sec. 3. *Financing of the Peace Corps.* The Secretary

²26 *Fed. Reg.* 1789.

of State shall provide for the financing of the Peace Corps with funds available to the Secretary for the performance of functions under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.

SEC. 4. *Relation to Executive Order No. 10893.* This order shall not be deemed to supersede or derogate from any provision of Executive Order No. 10893 of November 8, 1960, as amended,³ and any delegation made by or pursuant to this order shall, unless otherwise specifically provided therein, be deemed to be in addition to any delegation made by or pursuant to that order.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 1, 1961.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS⁴

To the Congress of the United States:

I recommend to the Congress the establishment of a permanent Peace Corps—a pool of trained American men and women sent overseas by the U.S. Government or through private organizations and institutions to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower.

I have today signed an Executive order establishing a Peace Corps on a temporary pilot basis.

The temporary Peace Corps will be a source of information and experience to aid us in formulating more effective plans for a permanent organization. In addition, by starting the Peace Corps now we will be able to begin training young men and women for oversea duty this summer with the objective of placing them in overseas positions by late fall. This temporary Peace Corps is being established under existing authority in the Mutual Security Act and will be located in the Department of State. Its initial expenses will be paid from appropriations currently available for our foreign aid program.

Throughout the world the people of the newly developing nations are struggling for economic and social progress which reflects their deepest desires. Our own freedom, and the future of freedom around the world, depend, in a very real sense, on their ability to build growing and inde-

pendent nations where men can live in dignity, liberated from the bonds of hunger, ignorance, and poverty.

One of the greatest obstacles to the achievement of this goal is the lack of trained men and women with the skill to teach the young and assist in the operation of development projects—men and women with the capacity to cope with the demands of swiftly evolving economies, and with the dedication to put that capacity to work in the villages, the mountains, the towns, and the factories of dozens of struggling nations.

The vast task of economic development urgently requires skilled people to do the work of the society—to help teach in the schools, construct development projects, demonstrate modern methods of sanitation in the villages, and perform a hundred other tasks calling for training and advanced knowledge.

To meet this urgent need for skilled manpower we are proposing the establishment of a Peace Corps—an organization which will recruit and train American volunteers, sending them abroad to work with the people of other nations.

This organization will differ from existing assistance programs in that its members will supplement technical advisers by offering the specific skills needed by developing nations if they are to put technical advice to work. They will help provide the skilled manpower necessary to carry out the development projects planned by the host governments, acting at a working level and serving at great personal sacrifice. There is little doubt that the number of those who wish to serve will be far greater than our capacity to absorb them.

The Peace Corps or some similar approach has been strongly advocated by Senator Humphrey, Representative Reuss and others in the Congress. It has received strong support from universities, voluntary agencies, student groups, labor unions, and business and professional organizations.

Last session, the Congress authorized a study of these possibilities. Preliminary reports of this study show that the Peace Corps is feasible, needed, and wanted by many foreign countries.

Most heartening of all, the initial reaction to this proposal has been an enthusiastic response by student groups, professional organizations, and private citizens everywhere—a convincing demonstration that we have in this country an immense

³ BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1960, p. 869, and Jan. 30, 1961, p. 159.

⁴ H. Doc. 98, 87th Cong., 1st sess.

reservoir of dedicated men and women willing to devote their energies and time and toil to the cause of world peace and human progress.

Among the specific programs to which Peace Corps members can contribute are teaching in primary and secondary schools, especially as part of national English language teaching programs; participation in the worldwide program of malaria eradication; instruction and operation of public health and sanitation projects; aiding in village development through school construction and other programs; increasing rural agricultural productivity by assisting local farmers to use modern implements and techniques. The initial emphasis of these programs will be on teaching. Thus the Peace Corps members will be an effective means of implementing the development programs of the host countries—programs which our technical assistance operations have helped to formulate.

The Peace Corps will not be limited to the young, or to college graduates. All Americans who are qualified will be welcome to join this effort. But undoubtedly the corps will be made up primarily of young people as they complete their formal education.

Because one of the greatest resources of a free society is the strength and diversity of its private organizations and institutions much of the Peace Corps program will be carried out by these groups, financially assisted by the Federal Government.

Peace Corps personnel will be made available to developing nations in the following ways:

1. Through private voluntary agencies carrying on international assistance programs.
2. Through overseas programs of colleges and universities.
3. Through assistance programs of international agencies.
4. Through assistance programs of the U.S. Government.
5. Through new programs which the Peace Corps itself directly administers.

In the majority of cases the Peace Corps will assume the entire responsibility for recruitment, training, and the development of oversea projects. In other cases it will make available a pool of trained applicants to private groups who are carrying out projects approved by the Peace Corps.

In the case of Peace Corps programs conducted through voluntary agencies and universities, these private institutions will have the option of using the national recruitment system—the central pool of trained manpower—or developing recruitment systems of their own.

In all cases men and women recruited as a result of Federal assistance will be members of the Peace Corps and enrolled in the central organization. All private recruitment and training programs will adhere to Peace Corps standards as a condition of Federal assistance.

In all instances the men and women of the Peace Corps will go only to those countries where their services and skills are genuinely needed and desired. U.S. operations missions, supplemented where necessary by special Peace Corps teams, will consult with leaders in foreign countries in order to determine where Peace Corpsmen are needed, the types of job they can best fill, and the number of people who can be usefully employed. The Peace Corps will not supply personnel for marginal undertakings without a sound economic or social justification. In furnishing assistance through the Peace Corps careful regard will be given to the particular country's developmental priorities.

Membership in the Peace Corps will be open to all Americans, and applications will be available shortly. Where application is made directly to the Peace Corps—the vast majority of cases—they will be carefully screened to make sure that those who are selected can contribute to Peace Corps programs, and have the personal qualities which will enable them to represent the United States abroad with honor and dignity. In those cases where application is made directly to a private group, the same basic standards will be maintained. Each new recruit will receive a training and orientation period varying from 6 weeks to 6 months. This training will include courses in the culture and language of the country to which they are being sent and specialized training designed to increase the work skills of recruits. In some cases training will be conducted by participant agencies and universities in approved training programs. Other training programs will be conducted by the Peace Corps staff.

Length of service in the Corps will vary depending on the kind of project and the country, generally ranging from 2 to 3 years. Peace Corps

members will often serve under conditions of physical hardship, living under primitive conditions among the people of developing nations. For every Peace Corps member service will mean a great financial sacrifice. They will receive no salary. Instead they will be given an allowance which will only be sufficient to meet their basic needs and maintain health. It is essential that Peace Corps men and women live simply and unostentatiously among the people they have come to assist. At the conclusion of their tours, members of the Peace Corps will receive a small sum in the form of severance pay based on length of service abroad to assist them during their first weeks back in the United States. Service with the Peace Corps will not exempt volunteers from selective service.

The United States will assume responsibility for supplying medical services to Peace Corps members and insuring supplies and drugs necessary to good health.

I have asked the temporary Peace Corps to begin plans and make arrangements for pilot programs. A minimum of several hundred volunteers could be selected, trained, and at work abroad by the end of this calendar year. It is hoped that within a few years several thousand Peace Corps members will be working in foreign lands.

It is important to remember that this program must, in its early stages, be experimental in nature. This is a new dimension in our oversea program and only the most careful planning and negotiation can insure its success.

The benefits of the Peace Corps will not be limited to the countries in which it serves. Our own young men and women will be enriched by the experience of living and working in foreign lands. They will have acquired new skills and experience which will aid them in their future careers and add to our own country's supply of trained personnel and teachers. They will return better able to assume the responsibilities of American citizenship and with greater understanding of our global responsibilities.

Although this is an American Peace Corps, the problem of world development is not just an American problem. Let us hope that other nations will mobilize the spirit and energies and skill of their people in some form of peace corps—making our own effort only one step in a major international effort to increase the welfare

of all men and improve understanding among nations.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 1, 1961.*

President Kennedy Holds Talks With Prime Minister of New Zealand

White House press release dated March 3

The White House on March 3 made public the following joint communique after a meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake of New Zealand.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Holyoake met today in Washington to review matters of mutual interest. The Secretary of State, Dean Rusk; the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, J. Graham Parsons; the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs of the Government of New Zealand, Mr. A. D. McIntosh; and the Chargé d'Affaires of the New Zealand Embassy in Washington, Mr. O. D. L. White, participated in the discussions.

In welcoming this opportunity to establish a personal association at an early stage of their administrations, the President and Prime Minister declared their desire to make even stronger the friendship and confidence which have always characterized relations between their two countries.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the progress so far achieved, and the continuing contribution of the United States and New Zealand, in the struggle to raise living standards in the developing areas of the world. They noted with concern the present inadequacy of food distribution throughout the world and the urgent need for action to alleviate mass hunger and malnutrition which now afflict much of mankind. They recognized the importance of insuring that programs of aid in agricultural commodities should not endanger normal trade.

In exchanging views on defense questions, the Prime Minister and the President were in full agreement on the importance and value of SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and ANZUS [Australia-New Zealand-United States]. Both leaders reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of collective security which these treaties make effective. Both stated their deter-

mination to cooperate closely in maintaining security in the Pacific. Prime Minister Holyoake informed the President of the review of defense policy which New Zealand is presently conducting with the aim of insuring that it will be able to meet its commitments promptly and effectively.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Holyoake noted with deep concern the hostile and aggressive attitude of the Chinese Communist regime and the particular menace it poses to the peace of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The Prime Minister and the President examined the crisis in Laos. Mr. Holyoake drew upon the first-hand experience he had been able to gain during his fact-finding tour of Laos last year. Both men welcomed the recent statement of King Savang Vatthana and expressed the hope that ways could be found in the near future to bring to this Asian nation peace, security, and neutrality.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that disarmament confronted the world with one of its most difficult problems. President Kennedy outlined the steps the United States is taking to coordinate and expand its efforts in this field. Both leaders expressed the hope that future deliberations on this subject would have a successful conclusion. They recognized that effective controls must be a central feature of any agreement.

The President of the United States took this occasion to thank the New Zealand Government and people for the excellent support and hospitality they have extended to the United States in its scientific endeavors in Antarctica.

U.S. Grants Additional Aid to Nigeria

Press release 82 dated February 23

The U.S. Government has approved \$7,654,000 in additional grant assistance to Nigeria to be made available through the International Cooperation Administration.

This brings the total of U.S. Government assistance to Nigeria approved this fiscal year to \$13,000,000, including a loan of \$3,000,000 by the Development Loan Fund for the Nigerian Railway rehabilitation program.

All but \$1,000,000 of the \$7,654,000 is to come from ICA's special program for tropical Africa. It will be used to help meet the costs of construction, equipment, and training in education projects and to furnish training in selected fields.

Subject to detailed negotiations between the this program include additional assistance to the University of Nigeria at Nsukka and assistance in the fields of teacher training; agricultural education, extension, and demonstration; establishing demonstration comprehensive secondary schools; and upgrading training in public administration in the northern region.

The additional \$1,000,000 approved by ICA has been earmarked for projects in the area of industrial development and for demonstration low-cost housing for low-income families.

Previously this year, approval had been given for the use of \$2,300,000 for continuation of the U.S. technical cooperation program in Nigeria in the fields of agricultural extension and training, vocational education, teacher training, educational planning, public administration, economic and fiscal statistics, and communications media. Also, £38,000 (equivalent to about \$106,400) has been granted this year to continue a well-drilling and water development program for which £60,000 (equivalent to about \$168,000) was granted by the United States last fiscal year.

The projects receiving U.S. grant assistance in Nigeria are cooperative undertakings, jointly planned and carried out by ICA and the Nigerian Government, with the Nigerian Government also contributing funds, services, and facilities.

Trade Union Leader From Japan Meets With President Kennedy

White House Announcement

White House press release dated February 28, for release March 1

The President will see Minoru Takita, president of the All Japan Congress of Trade Unions, on March 3.

Mr. Takita is one of the outstanding trade union leaders of Japan and participated in the founding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The All Japan Congress of Trade Unions, which he heads, has a membership of more than 1 million and has played a significant role in the work of both the ICFTU and the International Labor Organization.

The President takes this opportunity to express his great interest in the growth and development of the free trade union movement in Japan and the Far East.

The World's Two Great Hungers

by Carl T. Rowan

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs¹

I confess that had I come to speak before your members 8 years ago, I would have spoken only of the injustices and humiliations meted out to Negroes, but the day is long since past when I, or any other American, could afford to think of the social problems that beset us in any such narrow terms. It has been my good fortune to travel widely in Asia and Africa, to look into the faces of that often agonized mass of humanity that has risen up to declare in unmistakable terms its intentions to be free, to be the master of its own fate; and I have seen that beyond doubt the American Negro, too, is caught up in this "revolution of rising expectations." So today let me speak not for better race relations in Washington but for the extension of liberty, justice, and decency everywhere. Let us say that our mission is not to merely do well by the Negro but by humanity.

I want particularly to have the white supporters of this organization realize that one of the most foolish assumptions imaginable is that their support of this organization represents an act of charity, or kindness, toward minority groups, rather than an act of self-interest.

Perhaps I can illustrate this point best by telling you one of my favorite stories about Abraham Lincoln:

It seems that Lincoln and his law partner, Herndon, jogging along a muddy road in an old buggy through pouring rain, were discussing a point of philosophy—whether there is such a thing as a disinterested, unselfish act. Lincoln said there

was not. Herndon argued that there are such acts.

They passed a pig caught in a crack of an old rail fence, squealing for dear life. A little farther on, Lincoln, who was driving, stopped the buggy, got out, and let the pig loose. When he climbed back in, his feet were muddy, his clothes wet, his hat dripping.

"There now," said Herndon. "In spite of your fine logic you have proved my point. Why get out in the mud and let that silly pig out when he would have wiggled his way out anyhow?"

"It was a purely selfish act," said Lincoln. "If I hadn't I would not have slept a wink tonight; his squeal would have echoed in my dreams. He might have wiggled his way out, but I wouldn't have known it. I win the case."

The very nature of our world today makes it imperative that we understand that virtually everything we do through this Urban League movement is in the interest of our own freedom, our own survival, the dignity and well-being of our own children.

I do not believe that the Urban League program in this city can possibly succeed unless those of you in the Urban League and in greater Washington understand better the forces that lie beneath this revolution that has swept Asia, now sweeps black Africa, and is causing so much havoc in Latin America. That is why I have chosen to talk to you today about two hungers that are the dominant forces in this revolution: a physical hunger that rises out of the wretched squalor and the abject poverty in which so much of the world lives, and a psychological hunger arising from this silly, venal notion of racial superiority that has ruled so much of human conduct in the past.

¹ Address made before the Washington Urban League at Washington, D.C., on Mar. 5 (press release 110 dated Mar. 4; as-delivered text).

Physical Hunger

As for the first hunger, let me say simply that I wish many of you in this audience had had the opportunity to journey with me across the dusty footpaths of Asia and Africa, to gaze into the faces of youngsters pockmarked by diseases that you and I long ago ceased to worry about. I wish that you could have seen the tumefied faces, the bloated bellies, the blotched skin of youngsters suffering from an ailment that has come to be known as "kwashiorkor," a strange word to you no doubt. It was also unknown to me until I began research several months ago for a book on world hunger.

I learned that "kwashiorkor" is a west African word for a disease that some Africans call "red boy"—this because one of the symptoms of the disease is that the hair of the victim turns red on the ends. In Jamaica they call it "sugar baby" and South Africa "infantile pellagra." In India and Latin America they give this ailment long names that I would not dare try to pronounce here today. But no matter what it's called, the fancy names add up to one thing: A distressing number of children in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are suffering from protein deficiency, suffering because of the fact that they get little or no meat, milk, fish—those protective foods of which Americans and others in the Western World have such an abundance. As long as youngsters in these troubled continents are on mothers' milk they do quite well, but once they are weaned they go on the customary diet of maize gruel, starchy roots, et cetera.

Until recently the lack of protein was so great that the death rate for victims brought to hospitals in south Africa was as high as 50 percent. Doctors found that they needed no miracle drugs to cure these youngsters—only a diet rich in protein. Skim milk was perfect medicine. The trouble is that many youngsters were discharged from the hospitals in apparent good health, only to go back to the old protein-deficient diet that led them either to a young death or to death in the early thirties because of cancer of the liver. (Scientists are all but convinced that liver cancer is a reflection primarily of protein deficiency.)

I do not think that I can possibly overestimate the significance of this struggle against physical hunger in the years ahead. We must understand that the world cannot go on with the kind of

situation where the Western industrialized nations, comprising only about 14 percent of the human race, enjoy 55 percent of the world's income. We simply have got to understand that a world in which two-thirds of the human beings suffer either from undernutrition or malnutrition is a pretty unhappy world and an extremely dangerous world.

Let me speak plainly, though. A great many people talk of cutting back on our economic aid program; they would decry what they consider the waste of time and resources in trying to produce social and economic progress in Asia, Africa, and Latin America because they really do not believe much progress is possible in these areas. It is a rare, rich, and powerful man who does not assume that his riches and his power are the products solely of his personal industriousness, his special intellectual vigor, his own rare skills. Western man, enjoying abundance never before known, has extended this to the belief that any other peoples not equally blessed can only blame their own laziness or intellectual inferiority for their predicament. When I see or hear my fellow Westerners indulging in such dangerous nonsense I am reminded of Hegel's cynical comment that "history teaches us that we learn nothing from history." We Americans *must* learn from history if we are to survive and maintain the institutions of liberty and justice that we cherish.

History's Lesson

What should history tell us? It should remind us that much more recently than most Westerners like to remember Western man was the victim of hunger just as ugly as that existing in Asia and Africa today.

Westerners of French descent like to look back on the grand conquests of Napoleon, but few like to recall that it was the hungry women of the slums of Paris who marched through the streets crying for bread and who later were joined by men in the march on the Bastille that sparked the French Revolution.

Westerners of British descent like to talk about British common law or Britain's parliamentary system, but few like to recall that there ever was a day when a Briton like Sir Thomas More found his era so gloomy and filled with hunger that he would say: "I could wish rather than hope that

laborers could have glass in their windows and meat once a week.”

How much better those Westerners inclined to arrogance would be able to face today's challenge if they would read Cornelius Walford's book *The Famines of the World: Past and Present*. He tells us that in Ireland 1200 was “a cold, foodless year” and that in 1203 famine was so great that “priests ate flesh meat in Lent.”

I could go on and on and name every Western nation on the globe, but I think the point has been made that the Westerner hasn't always had it so good. The question then is, how did he get from misery to plenty—and what reason have we to assume that if the Westerner did it Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans cannot?

There are historians like E. Parmalee Prentice who tell us that it was Columbus' discovery of the New World, with its rich new land to occupy, its lush new fields to cultivate, that opened the door to progress and freed Western man from the shackles of economic misery, from the cultural stagnation in which he had languished for centuries. Prentice points out that at the time of Benjamin Franklin Western society was little more advanced in terms of such things as transportation than was the society of Caesar, that the physical sciences were not much more advanced than at the time of Archimedes.

So we can see that, because the riches of the New World put Western man in a position where he no longer had to spend every waking moment scratching out enough to eat, he had time to reflect on the arts, science, politics—and progress flowed in every direction.

Can Asia, Africa, and Latin America show similar progress if we help them to enough freedom from hunger to permit them to reflect upon the arts, science, and politics? Of this much I am sure: The weights on our consciences, the assaults on our liberties, the threats to our very existence, demand that we move boldly on the assumption that they can.

Psychological Hunger

But I cannot leave this audience today with even the possible assumption that by helping to abolish physical hunger we shall have won the peace or preserved freedom or averted chaos in these continents of turmoil. There is another hunger with which the inhabitants of these lands

are afflicted, and in my opinion it is a far more powerful hunger than that for food. This second hunger is for dignity. It is that difficult-to-describe feeling on the part of great masses of human beings that they do have a place in the sun and that they no longer can live at peace in a world where they are regarded as less than first-class human beings.

Much that is happening today in Asia, Africa, and even Latin America is a reflection of events that occurred at the Bandung conference, one of the most significant events I ever had the privilege of covering in 12 years as a newspaperman. Some of you may recall that, when this gathering of representatives of the so-called colored peoples of the world was first announced, our Government expressed considerable dismay. There were people who feared that this was the perfect vehicle through which Communists and neutralists might “make hay.” We saw at that conference, however, that Asians and Africans are as much concerned about democracy and justice as any Westerner.

That conference showed us something else, however: that whether the Asian or African considers himself pro-Western or anti-Western, friend or foe, he shares with all Asia and Africa a hatred of the racial humiliation and discrimination that was practiced in these continents for so long.

I recall that one of the most articulate anti-Communist spokesmen in Asia, Carlos Romulo of the Philippines, said to that gathering:

. . . there is not a Western colonial regime which has not imposed, to a greater or lesser degree, on the people it ruled, the doctrine of their own racial inferiority. We have known, and some of us still know, the searing experience of being demeaned in our own lands, of being systematically relegated to subject status not only politically and economically, and militarily—but racially as well. Here was a stigma that could be applied to rich and poor alike, to prince and slave, boss man and workman, landlord and peasant, scholar and ignoramus. To bolster his rule, to justify his own power to himself, Western white man assumed that his superiority lay in his very genes, in the color of his skin. This made the lowliest drunken sot superior, in colonial society, to the highest product of culture and scholarship and industry among the subject people.

Romulo waited for the thunder of applause to fade away before he went on to ask that Bandung audience to deal with the problem of race more responsibly than white men had. He appealed to

them not to adopt the counterracism of prejudice against whites simply because they are white.

“What a triumph this would be for racism if it should come about,” the doughty Filipino warned. “How completely we would defeat ourselves and all who have ever struggled in our countries to be free. There is no more dangerous or immoral or absurd idea than the idea of any kind of policy or grouping based on color or race as such.”

I sat in that press gallery thinking thoughts that never were expressed more eloquently than in a recent article by John Steinbeck in the *Saturday Review*. Steinbeck said:

I am constantly amazed at the qualities we expect in Negroes. No race has ever offered another such high regard. We expect Negroes to be wiser than we are, more tolerant than we are, braver, more dignified than we, more self-controlled and self-disciplined. We even demand more talent from them than from ourselves. A Negro must be 10 times as gifted as a white to receive equal recognition. We expect Negroes to have more endurance than we in athletics, more courage in defeat, more rhythm and versatility in music and dancing, more controlled emotion in theater. We expect them to obey rules of conduct we flout, to be more courteous, more gallant, more proud, more steadfast.

Striving for a Harmonious Multiracial Society

I sensed that day at Bandung that Carlos Romulo was also asking a lot of Asians and Africans, but I sat there with a passionate hope that they *would* be big enough to heed this plea. I say this because, if you ask me what I would like most to see happen in world affairs today, I would not give top priority to a disarmament agreement or a settlement of the Berlin dispute or any such thing. I would give top priority to having it demonstrated that, beyond any doubt, a biracial or multiracial society can exist with harmony and mutual respect. I feel that long after conflict between the West and Soviet communism has faded we shall still be plagued by this issue of race. I know that this fear is not mine alone because frequently I hear the casual comment, “In about 10 years we may have to join Russia to fight the Chinese.” Or perhaps an African asks why the American Negro does not feel a close enough tie to Africa that he will take the side of a Lumumba or a Nasser, whatever the dispute, whatever the merits of the case. Or we see the proposal that the United Nations entrust the Congo crisis to an “all African” command.

I have tried to explain to my African friends that I do support, without reservation, their legitimate aspirations toward self-government, a decent standard of living, and an opportunity to live under conditions of dignity. But I have pointed out also that we American Negroes have spent our very existence on these shores arguing and pleading and fighting for the proposition that skin color means *nothing*. With what logic could we now endorse the futile principle that the “bonds of race” mean more than all else in this international struggle?

Let me speak plainly: I feel that it would be a tragedy—it would mean turning our backs on all the progress that man has made in his grueling march away from that barbaric jungle of racial fear and hatred—if the United Nations ever were pressed to the point of conceding that it can use only Africans in Africa, Asians in Asia, or Caucasians in “Caucasia.” This could represent only a tragic concession that we are not men whose capacity to reason lifts us high with hope but are mere animals, moved only by distrust and that acid of hate that already has etched such ugly figures on the face of humanity.

But I am not so naive as to believe that reason can prevail, or that men will heed the kind of plea made by General Romulo, in a world where racism is still so manifest in so many areas of life as to leave millions of colored people devoid of hope. I see no hope for either racial or international sanity when statesmen place all their hopes on a crash program in missiles but see no need for a crash program in morals. I ask you: What shall it profit mankind if we harness the universe if at the same time we are unable to conquer the fears and frustrations, the pomposness and petty prejudices, that have caused humanity so much misery?

The significant thing for this audience, I think, is that you seize the opportunity that lies before you. No nation on earth has a better opportunity to prove that a happy, prosperous, harmonious, multiracial society is possible than our own United States. I do not think that I am being melodramatic when I say that whether or not we succeed in proving this will do much to determine the future history of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—indeed, the future of our children and our children’s children.

Forces of Disruption

There are forces of disruption in the world today which do not want us to prove that this kind of democratic society is possible. Some of these forces are the Ku Klux Klansmen and the White Citizens Councilmen, who are the merchants of fear and hatred in our own land. There are others operating on the international scene who spread such vicious and venal pamphlets throughout Africa as the one that I now hold in my hand. Let me read you just a paragraph or so from this pamphlet, entitled *To Our Dear Friends*:

In the United States of America a Negro has no right to live in the same place where the whites live.

In the United States of America a Negro has no right to sit, eat and drink together with the whites.

In the United States of America, Negroes are forbidden to marry white women on pain of death.

In the United States of America 13 million Negroes out of a total of 16 million are illiterate.

It is the same old story of using the grain of truth—of taking this Nation's most pathetic weakness and distorting it, of magnifying it, with the hope that the world can be led to destruction in this chariot of racial hatred.

There is no city in this Nation where the need is more imperative for us to wipe away the opportunity for these propagandists to make their venom effective than Washington. Let me make it clear: As far as I am concerned the realtor, the restaurant or hotel owner who humiliates the African diplomat betrays his Nation; he betrays the very institutions of liberty that we now strive so desperately to sustain. I don't think I need add that those whose minds are so small that they would humiliate and discriminate against others whose flesh and blood also is of America are equally guilty of treason.

Oh, I know that it has been said quite often that we Americans live in a house whose window is open to the world; and I realize that even a fundamental truism can become trite. But perhaps this little story will illustrate for you the urgency of this thing to which I refer. In 1954 I lectured in India, Pakistan, and southeast Asia at the request of the State Department. I recall nothing more vividly of those 10,000 miles of journeying across India than the day and stop at Nagpur in Madhya Pradesh State to lecture before a foreign policy organization. I had been

speaking about such things as the role of the newspaper in social change and the value of a free press in a free society, but this group insisted that I talk on "A Newspaperman Looks at His Country's Foreign Policy."

Thanks a lot, I said to myself, remembering that we had just given military aid to Pakistan, we were setting up SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization], we were involved in truce negotiations over Indochina, and there were a hundred other reasons why our foreign policy was being criticized in India. I couldn't wiggle out of the speech, so I boned up; and I must say with such small modesty as I have brought here today that I thought that I had done a marvelous job. When the Chief Justice of the Madhya Pradesh Supreme Court got up and spoke of me and my speech in effusive praise, I practically blushed all over the place. But when he proceeded to make some sharply critical remarks about my country, I was surprised. I looked out at the men in their black ties and tuxedos and the ladies in their lovely silken saris and I knew that this was no time for rebuttal or the "rhubarb" that might follow.

As the Chief Justice dismissed the audience he walked directly to me, put his arm around my shoulder and squeezed me, and then remarked: "I could see that you didn't understand, young man. But you see, I have been in your country. I was in Louisiana in 1937, and they wouldn't let me eat on the railroad dining car."

I refused to ride back to my hotel that night because I wanted to walk and think about the meaning of this. As I walked through that milling mass of humanity, I knew that much more was necessary than to send a journalist over to boast that America has the freest press in the world, or even to have dark-skinned Americans explain that our country has changed a great deal since 1937. I saw that the bigger challenge, the imperative need, was for ordinary Americans to achieve the understanding and muster the courage that would enable them to do the things that might insure that, should the Chief Justice come back in 1967, there would not be someone waiting to rub salt into that old wound.

I say to you of the Urban League that, although your resources are small and the challenge before you frighteningly large, you must meet it and meet it with boldness. I mean the kind of courage

expressed by that New Orleans housewife, Mrs. Gabrielle, who defied a spitting, cursing mob in order to take her white child to a school that was being boycotted because Negroes had been admitted. A reporter said to Mrs. Gabrielle, "The people in your neighborhood say they aren't angry just because you don't share their hatred of Negroes; they just don't understand why you refuse to put your friends and neighbors first." This housewife looked at the reporter as if startled and said: "Put my friends and neighbors first? Sir, friends and neighbors change, but principles don't."

In closing, ladies and gentlemen, let me emphasize the fact that these are troubled times

for our country. It is inevitable that these times will produce an abundance of talk about "patriotism." It is my fervent hope that you will remember that he loves his country best who strives to make it best.

Thus, the greatest patriotism you can show for this Nation is to help it say to a troubled, emotion-tossed world that, today and tomorrow and for every year to come, our position in foreign policy and out of foreign policy will be this: "Friends and neighbors change, but principles don't."

May God give you the wisdom and the strength to meet this challenge and our country the boldness and the faith in mankind that will permit it to hold fast to this position. I thank you.

The United Nations, Guardian of Peace

by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson
*U.S. Representative to the United Nations*¹

It was just 15 years ago this very week that I arrived in New York from London with the first wave of the United Nations staff to set up headquarters and get into business. So today brings back many memories of my early days with the United Nations—at the San Francisco conference, where the charter was written—in London, where I was chief of the United States delegation and the Organization was created and organized, and the permanent site here in New York was chosen.

No one has thanked or abused me for bringing the United Nations to New York, and no one should. I maintained a noble impartiality. And it was the hardest job I ever had. San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago all sent their mayors and delegations to cold, war-shattered London. Even the Black Hills of South Dakota was a bidder for the headquarters. And all the nations wanted to know what I thought. It was

my moment of greatest power—and I had to keep still, which at best has never been easy for me!

But, at last, it was not San Francisco, or London, or Paris, or Geneva, but New York—our greatest city, our great front door, which was chosen as the building site for that other city, the City of Man which is called the United Nations.

As you read the newspapers and watch the television screen you must wonder nervously how the building is coming along. I cannot bring you as cheerful news on that subject as I would like, but neither do I bring any words of despair.

In a few years the membership of the United Nations has doubled. Many of the new members were not independent even 5 years ago. Their sudden independence is the greatest political transformation of history. And the inevitable strains and conflicts have been compounded by the rise of communism to challenge the West, which has dominated the world for so long.

Many of these newer nations will participate in the World's Fair, I trust. It is important for

¹ Address made at a luncheon given by Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City, at New York, N.Y., on Mar. 2 (U.S./U.N. press release 3661).

them as for the city to enlighten us about these new nations and thereby to further the cause of peace through understanding.

Even in my short time here I have come to see the importance of the relationship of New York and the ambassadors, officials, and lesser and equally important staffs. The United Nations has never made a greater claim on the attention and imagination of its host city than it does now. The demand is not merely for entertainment and hospitality but for all the friendly acts and services of good neighbors. It is our duty as citizens—and our privilege and pleasure as well—to do these things, not alone for the sake of our country's relations but also because, in doing so, each of us adds something to the spirit of community which the United Nations needs in order to function. I might add that whoever does these things, and does them well, cannot fail, in the process, to learn much of interest.

I cannot praise highly enough those in New York, both the officials of the city and the State and the private citizens as well, who have contributed their share to these efforts of ours to be good hosts and good neighbors to these visitors. I hope this work will expand and that you will not overlook the junior officers, the staff workers, for whom life in New York is not easy.

New York has the privilege of being host to mankind's sole common instrument of politics—the United Nations. And in recent months, I fear, it must have seemed again and again a dubious, even dangerous, privilege. Angry, hostile crowds have added immeasurably to the burdens of the police. Recent wild outbursts in the Security Council itself brought the tensions of our angry world into the very heart of our city—which has tensions enough of its own.

Daily reports of crisis, confusion, and massacre are thrust at the average citizen at his breakfast table, and, channeled to him through what should be—hopefully—an instrument of peace, all this must at times make the part of host seem a discouraging, even distasteful, responsibility.

But if discouragement is our first superficial reaction, I think it is a false one, for I believe that what is happening, day by day, at the United Nations—here at the very heart of this great city—is just about the most challenging, the most original, even the most exhilarating work being done by men today.

Times of Trouble

Let us get the perspective straight. In the second half of this 20th century we are living through an historical experience which, in all the annals of man, has proved desperately difficult. This experience is the disintegration of one pattern of imperial power and the establishment of new political facts and relationships and power centers in its place. Whenever such changes occur—the really big changes which resemble some vast seismic disturbance in the earth's political crust—the inevitable outcome is disorder, catastrophe, civil conflict, and war.

Europe lapsed into barbarism after the fall of Rome. Britain's advance into India followed the crumbling and collapse of the Mogul Empire. In China, where man's longest documented record covers the fortunes of his oldest continuous body politic, the rise and fall of imperial dynasties has a rhythm of almost majestic fatality, each new empire rising on the anarchy and ruins of the last and then, in its own turn, falling away.

Times of imperial collapse are always times of trouble. And we are living through the greatest of such disintegrations today. In 15 short years the dominion which Western Europe exercised over most of Asia and Africa until the morrow of the Second World War has all but vanished. All Asia has emerged from colonial or semicolonial control. Africa is in the violent throes of the same process. I doubt if empire on such a scale has ever ended at such breakneck speed. If history is our guide, so rapid and so vast a disintegration must bring the risk of confusion thrice confounded.

And history leaves us in little doubt about the kind of disorder we are likely to endure. We may expect to see new powers jostling to take over the influence and control of the outgoing imperial governments. We may expect to see such efforts sparking local violence and driving it in an outward spiral toward general war. And we may expect, behind local crises and dangers, a general deterioration in international good will, a general increase in distrust and hostility.

Such dangers have marked the collapse of empire before. They mark it now. So the turbulence we see day by day in the world at large, and reflected back to us through the United Nations, is neither surprising nor new. We should and must expect it. And we must get used to it—we

who suffer from having had things our way for so long, we are shocked and hurt when other people don't share our views or question our motives. We judge ourselves by our motives; others by their actions.

What the U.N. Is Trying To Do

What is both surprising and new is what the United Nations is trying to do about these risks. Now we come to the wholly new chapter in history, the chapter that gives us at least a marginal hope of escaping the dread fatalities of earlier days. To me, I confess, it is a matter of exhilaration that here, here in America, in the newest of continents and in the midst of perhaps the most far-reaching experiment in free, unimperial government, a new start should be under way in the management of human affairs, a new experiment to defeat and annihilate the set historical patterns and deadlocks of the past.

Here at the United Nations the effort is being made to confront the old fatalities of collapsing empires and put in their place wholly new approaches to the dilemmas of our time. It is only when we realize how new they are, how radical, how revolutionary, that we can have any idea of the potential value, the profound historical significance, of what is being attempted at the United Nations, here in New York.

What we are attempting to do today at the United Nations is to roll back every one of the great historical fatalities which, in the past, have made the ending of empire the most perilous condition for the survival of society. We are trying to end the dreary cycle of imperialisms by which the outgoing masters are quickly replaced by new ones who come quickly in to fill the vacuum of power.

The principle which President Wilson declared has since become one of mankind's greatest aspirations—the self-determination of peoples. In the Western World, in this century, the attempt has been made for the first time in history to outlaw imperialism.

This is new. Like all new things, it is difficult. But at least in the last decade, as we have seen the United Nations grow from 50 to nearly a hundred nations, we must admit that for millions of God's children a first step toward freedom has been taken—the step which recognizes their right—their inalienable right—to be free.

But then the dangers and the dilemmas press in. We have done something new in proclaiming the right of small peoples not to be run by other, more powerful states. We have decreed and welcomed the end of colonialism. Indeed it was in these United States that the first practical steps were taken to raise the principle of anticolonialism from a hope to a fact. The shot that echoed round the world from Lexington echoes on to this day.

The Issue at Stake in Africa

But have we insured that our new faith can be fully and irrevocably expressed in works? Hitherto, as I have said, the ending of one imperialism has usually spelled, for the small and the weak, the beginning of a new. Are we doing better today? The principle may be new. Is the practice equally so?

This to me is the most urgent issue at stake in Africa today. Do the new nations, sometimes irresolute, sometimes wobbly, know how much they need us in their period of transition to genuine independence? Or are they blinded by their new nationalism, their hatred of the colonialism of the past, both of which are so skillfully exploited by the propaganda of others who are not trying to help them achieve genuine independence and stability? Was it Alexander Hamilton who said that even to be neutral required a stable government? And Wilson warned us that "Liberty is not itself government. In the wrong hands, in hands unpractised, undisciplined, it is incompatible with government."

The old colonial system is crumbling. Britain has largely withdrawn, leaving viable new societies behind. The French have helped to bring a large new family of states into the United Nations. But in the Congo the transfer of power has thrown the area into that kind of civil commotion which, in the past, has been the more usual end of imperial control. Here, then, the great question is: Can we, having seen one form of colonialism end, prevent another from being established?

When we in America give our support to the ending of all outside intervention, we mean something definite and practical. We believe that Belgium should complete its withdrawal. We believe that no other foreign power should come thrusting in, especially the new imperialism of the Soviet Union.

In the Congo we seek a solution which brings together and reconciles the Congo's own leaders and forestalls the threatening civil war in which outside intervention would be inescapable. And we do this, not because we have any designs on central Africa but because we don't: because we oppose with all our conviction and experience the risk that, after seeing Western colonialism go, Africa will see Communist imperialism come.

Clearly only one body can prevent this ancient fatality of simply swapping one control for another. It is the United Nations, consulting closely with its Afro-Asian members and barring outside intervention from whatever side.

This is our first aim—to put a genuine end to outside imperial control. Our second stems from it—to prevent local disputes from spiraling into general war. Here, again, we do not have to look far back into history to see the kind of tragedy we must at all costs avert.

At the turn of the last century Turkish imperial power crumbled in the Balkans. Czarist Russia on the one hand, Austria-Hungary on the other, pressed in to take its place. In the small, emergent Balkan states, local factions looked to Moscow or Vienna, as in Africa today they may look to Moscow or Paris or Brussels—or Washington. The defeat of local Balkan leaders began to take on the aspect of a defeat for the powers which backed them. Two small local wars were contained. Then, in 1914, a bullet killed an archduke—as a bullet, this unhappy winter, killed Lumumba. And men stood helplessly by and watched until all the world was engulfed in the horrors of war.

This must not happen now. Africa is the Balkans of today. Any outside power seeking to manipulate its griefs and searchings and first fumbling efforts to stand alone risks bringing down on Africa and on the world the dread possibility of nuclear destruction. Is this really what Mr. Khrushchev has in mind when he demands the withdrawal of the United Nations Force and suggests instead that the Congo should become—as the Balkans once were—the cockpit first of rival factions, then of rival interventions, and finally of a spreading, consuming, horrifying general conflict?

I cannot believe that any statesman conscious of the dread brink upon which all humanity stands can seek to widen the crisis. The United Nations must instead damp down the fires of civil war and

reconcile the rival leaders. And in this task the other African states have a role of immense significance to play, for if they can bring their great influence to bear on the various centers of power in the Congo—on Léopoldville, on Elisabethville, on Stanleyville—we may yet see reconstituted a Congo state which, with full U.N. backing, can withdraw itself from the terrifying risks of outside intervention. We in the United States seek no other outcome.

I know it is not easy to reverse the fatalities of history. We are on a melancholy road, which again and again mankind has trodden flat with legions of men marching to destruction. In the Congo today, in Laos, potentially in any area of conflict and civil disturbance, almost nothing is new. The conflicts are old, the rival suspicions and jockeyings for position are old, the brute struggle for power is as old as man himself. And we know where they have always led—to war and death.

An Alternative to Imperialism

But today one thing is new. It is the United Nations effort to attempt to apply peaceful procedures and rational solutions even to the most aggravated and envenomed of political crises. On a dark scene, in a dark time of troubles, New York's guest, the United Nations, is proclaiming by deed as well as word that men can live, not by violence and brute strength but, at last, by reason and law.

And also I would say to our own people: Support the United Nations with your approbation, your sympathetic attention, and your prayers. To the smaller powers, especially the emergent states of Africa, I would repeat that the United Nations is of first interest above all to weaker states, since without it they have no ultimate protection against the force of more powerful and predatory governments.

And to the Soviet Union I would say: There are laws of history more profound and inescapable than the laws dreamed up by Marx and Lenin, laws which belong not to class relationships or stages of economic development but to the nature and destiny of man himself. Among these laws is the certainty that war follows when new empires thrust into the collapsing ruins of the old.

So stay your ambitions. Think twice about your interventions. Allow the new principles of international order—the right of peoples to determine their own destiny—to operate in Africa without your pressure from without. Do not sabotage the only institution which offers an alternative to imperialism. Do not look backward to mankind's evil inheritance of violence. Look forward to a world where the United Nations can be the forum and guardian of peace.

This, I believe, is the hope of the vast majority of mankind. It is above all the hope of the small

powers, whose only protection lies in the international organization of their security. The administration of President Kennedy will go to the limits of its strength and ingenuity to work with the general consensus of humanity. It invites all other governments to follow the same path. For let there be no doubt about the alternatives. They are written in words of flame and blood on the walls of the world.

Let us, therefore, leave the rivalries and the imperialisms behind and strive together for the world where nations can be both secure and free.

Perspectives in Protocol

*by Angier Biddle Duke
Chief of Protocol¹*

All of us here in Washington these days are accustomed by now to the wonderful accounts of President Kennedy's sitting in on Cabinet officers' staff meetings. Yet each time it happens it has a fresh effect. It happened to us in State a couple of weeks ago [February 6].

Mr. Rusk's chair was empty as I entered the cork-walled, map-lined room. But around the long table and in chairs against the wall were ranged the giants, the key figures who shape today's American foreign policy. The brilliant Chester Bowles was there; George Ball and Roger Jones; John McCloy for disarmament; Ambassador Charles Bohlen for Soviet Union affairs; Mennen Williams for Africa; Ed Murrow for USIA [United States Information Agency]; Averell Harriman, and so on through all the Assistant Secretaries for the regions of the earth and its specialized problems.

A minute or two later, the Secretary strode in and without ceremony announced, "Gentlemen, the President of the United States."

Now, the important thing about the meeting that Monday morning was not so much the actual presence of President Kennedy. As each specialist reported and analyzed the meaning of events in his own field, the remarkable and important factor was the deep involvement of the President with the details of each situation as it was unfolded. He questioned and cross-questioned nearly every individual reporting with a precision and a grasp that had an understandably electrifying and exhilarating effect upon a group of men who thus knew that their work was understood and valued.

Personally I must tell you today that I am proud and delighted to be on that team in that room. To return to the State Department after over 7 years of exile is a gratifying and challenging opportunity indeed. As Chief of Protocol it would appear that I am concerned with the ceremonial aspects of American foreign policy only. But as there cannot be a ballad without a source, a shadow without substance, so can there not be meaningful diplomatic formality without implicit significance and sincerity. If protocol is the form, inherent in the form lies also the content of foreign relations; and I mean to put

¹Address made before the Women's National Press Club at Washington, D.C., on Mar. 1 (press release 98 dated Feb. 28; as-delivered text).

as much substance into foreign relationships—international human relations—as is possible.

In a democratic society with a proud tradition of equality—egalitarianism, if you will—protocol becomes as well the handmaiden of simplification. Therefore, my question must always be, “How can our office be helpful in making it easier for foreign policy to be conducted in the best interests of the United States?” In many cases the answer to that will be to rely on the tried and true, the time-tested formulas that have worked out in past practice. I will not change them for the sake of change.

It is quite tempting, I admit, to fall for the superficial charm of the idea of abolishing all the ground rules, all the formalities and ceremony governing diplomatic practice. That would be about as sensible or intelligent as accepting all traditional protocol blindly—without analysis or understanding its mission and function. Dean Rusk has consistently maintained that he wants an analysis of what is essential in this field and what is nonessential to the effective conduct of foreign relations. A large step forward in this area may be possible very soon.

Vienna Conference on Protocol

As you may already know, a new international conference on protocol matters is to be convened at Vienna, the first one since 1815. This conference starts tomorrow [March 2], and its purpose is to formulate a convention on diplomatic intercourse and immunities. The United States will participate, and our State Department is dispatching an eight-man delegation. I regret very much that the date of the conference makes it impossible for me or my Deputy, Clement Conger, to go, but our office will be fully and well represented.

The main objective of this conference will be to obtain international agreement on a uniform standard of diplomatic rights and procedures, something which is badly needed in modern times. The United States has been far more liberal in granting privileges and immunities to foreign personnel than most other countries, and it is hoped that the liberal U.S. position will be endorsed by the other nations represented at the new Vienna conference.

The United States also hopes that ceremonial

matters will be greatly simplified. The new Vienna conference will take up the functional needs of diplomatic missions anywhere in the world, such as exemption of buildings owned by foreign governments from taxation and zoning regulations, exemption of building materials from customs duties, uniform methods of handling diplomatic pouches, et cetera, which no similar conference has ever taken up before on an international scale. What is not settled at this conference will, I hope, be referred to future, regularly scheduled, meetings so that we may continue to update accepted practices.

But we also have policy problems in this field which cannot be decided for us internationally—those which are our own. Let us discuss, for example, the currently general acceptance of the value of entertaining as a method of implementing foreign policy. It seems to me that both the press and public appear to agree to its effectiveness without much question.

In recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, both the prospective Ambassador-designate to France [James M. Gavin] and his interrogators discussed in some detail the need for a larger representation allowance there. The questions then centered more around how to get that increase than on an analysis of the need for it. I would seriously suggest that an objective and careful survey be made of the function of entertaining as an arm of diplomacy. I have often wondered if the staggering sums of money we read about are really essential to the conduct of our missions in Paris, London, and Rome. Is it true that our ambassadors must spend so much to make friends and influence leaders in intellectual and labor circles, in government, in the church, press, and commercial circles?

Perhaps it is, but, if so, it should be carefully documented and buttressed by realistic thinking. Personally I am rather prejudiced. I have been exposed to the shotgun approach to official hospitality and some of the inconclusive, even counterproductive, results. On the other hand, as a junior Foreign Service officer in large embassies in Buenos Aires and Madrid, I have worked under chiefs who carefully zeroed in on time, money, and objectives when entertaining. I am not convinced that the size of the representation allowance is a determining factor in the success of the mission. But my experience is not broad enough to be

conclusive, and I hope that more thought and study will go into this field.

Challenge of "Diplomatic Inflation"

One of the interesting challenges that faces the new Protocol Chief of the United States is "diplomatic inflation." In 1940 there were some 40 foreign missions accredited in Washington. Today there are 93, and by the year's end there may be over a hundred. Twenty of these are embassies from nations which have recently established their independence. All of these new missions have much in common; they represent young and vigorous countries to a greater or lesser degree uncommitted in the present ideological struggle.

It is my most earnest desire that the representatives of these new nations who are already in Washington, or who will soon establish their embassies in our Capital, should feel that the United States welcomes them warmly and with as much genuine interest and curiosity as that which they have concerning the United States.

There are some persons in these new countries and persons in our own country who regard each other, and sometimes glare at each other across the broad expanse of the ocean, with certain misgivings founded on no small degree of ignorance and on a certain misunderstanding of the historical processes through which America came into being only a relatively few years ago and through which the new nations have come into being lately.

The United States has its African and Asian critics who accuse it of imperialist designs or of a desire to maintain the *status quo* throughout the world. You and I know of America's passion for change, our cult of progress, but abroad prosperity is equated with conservatism and a static society and thus completely misunderstood. The African and Asian nations have their critics in the United States who think of those areas in terms of underdevelopment and lack of sophistication.

The term "underdeveloped," as it applies to the economies of nations, is an increasingly outdated term. All nations in the world, including the United States and the U.S.S.R., are underdeveloped in terms of their ultimate potential. If we consider the present condition of mankind, the still-lingering helplessness of man's struggle—with himself and against the physical elements of the universe—and we project our thoughts to the

great strides that the human race as a whole can make in understanding itself and in conquering this earthly environment, how puny indeed appear all of our gadgets and machines in relation to the common hope of all men for the conquest of the universe and in releasing the potential of the human race!

We are all living in an underdeveloped world. The significant thing to ascertain is a nation's desire to develop in peace. Which are the developing nations of the world? Which are the static nations? Fortunately all the new nations which are now entering into the sphere of world politics have high hopes and a great deal of zeal. They are all developing countries in different stages of escalation. This is, then, our common bond: It is the common desire to better our human lot.

It is then the task of the enlightened Cypriot, of the Indonesian, of the Togolese, of the American, and indeed of the enlightened Russian, to convince his fellow countrymen of the common bonds we share, that much work lies ahead, that there is much to do for all mankind. None of us can afford to waste time in petty sophistry. Why complicate our lives by creating inexcusable misunderstandings?

We are, of course, a new nation ourselves—less than 200 years old. Like all the lands of the world today the United States attained its status as an independent country forged in the process of revolution and evolution. We revolted against Europe but are still conscious of the bonds that unite us with Europe. We came into the world as a new, underdeveloped nation in the time of our great grandfathers. We are a land of recent immigrants from all the corners of the earth. Many of them became Americans less than one generation ago. I am, for example, married to a first-generation immigrant, and my children therefore could be labeled hyphenated Americans. Part of the great American heritage is the seed of evolution, the quality that all Americans share of never standing still. But this is not a unique American quality, and we share our impatience today with most of the modern and restless world. We are particularly conscious of this restlessness, of this ambition, and of the high goals for which the new nations of this era are striving.

The new American generation—of which you ladies of the press are to such a large degree the spokesmen—now coming into its own, admires

the vigor of the new generations that are coming into their own all over the world. We Americans admire national pride, economic progress, and the desire for independence from those interests which may be out to exploit the hopes and aspirations of any new country. We are out to make friends among sovereign equals. We are out to enrich and to be enriched. We do not want dependent satellites but strong and healthy independent countries which can maintain and can share a proud position in world brotherhood as equals among equals, and, as such, fit to take their place in the parliament of man. Our one word of advice, if our unsolicited advice is desired, is to say to these new nations: "Be able to guard your independence jealously, as jealously as we have guarded ours." I think it is now safe to say that we no longer consider those who are not with us as being against us. In fact, our basic concern is not at the growing independence of other nations but at their ability to maintain it.

Duties of Chief of Protocol

It shall be my endeavor as Chief of Protocol of the United States to see to it that the ambassadors and their staffs from these newly independent countries get all the proper assistance required in order to carry on their mission among us. Visiting delegations will, I can assure you, be greeted in the same spirit. They will be assisted in penetrating to the heart and core of America—to see us at home intellectually, politically, spiritually, and productively.

Our country is so extensive! A person newly arrived in the United States has a hard time making such a synthesis of our national character, and diplomats in particular, who remain in our country either for a short mission or for a few years, need all the courtesies and understanding that we can give them in evaluating our country for what it is.

It is with this in mind that I am specially aware of the need for a social and cultural center in Washington which will deepen relationships between our multifaceted national life and foreign representatives. Congress will soon consider a Foreign Service center as part of title XI, section 1101(a) of the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, an amendment which would provide clublike facilities to bring our Government people, educators, men and women

in business and labor, artists, and journalists together with their counterparts from abroad. I would like to give my support to such a Foreign Service center and international club to be founded in Washington under Government sponsorship. Such a club is not a new idea, and when I speak of it I am thinking as much or more of lower ranking embassy personnel in Washington as I am of chiefs of mission, those rising secretaries and attachés who are the ambassadors and sometimes the prime ministers of tomorrow.

Though Protocol is not in a position to direct citizen participation in other paradiplomatic matters, perhaps we can channel the great interest that already exists in Washington and throughout the country through such civic organizations as the B'nai B'rith, veterans' groups, women's organizations. In this context I would like to draw attention to a colleague and friend, Mrs. Louchheim² and her activities. I am sure there is an area here where she and I can be mutually helpful in seeing that interested citizens' groups are more effective in revealing the real America to those who visit us. Many of our guests and visitors look at us at first with skepticism but always with great curiosity. Let us channel that interest.

I see my work in the State Department not as having to do with a broadening or changing of my particular assignment but more as a deepening of the functions that have always been performed as part of the duties of the Chief of Protocol.

I can say that, far from being concerned with formalities only, the Protocol Office has always functioned within a microcosm of the entire field of international relations. In our contacts with the visiting and permanently accredited missions in Washington we have an opportunity to personalize policy in some instances, to explain it in others, and to give an example of our good will with the hope that we may facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of our country and its policies.

The President of the United States, with the Secretary of State and his area specialists, decides the course of our foreign policy and our official attitudes toward the policies of other nations. That policy must not be jeopardized or interfered with by private individuals pursuing their own irrelevant views. I see it as an integral part of

² Mrs. Kathleen Louchheim, consultant to the Department of State.

my job in Protocol to do the utmost within my power to avoid incidents whereby a barber in the District or a drive-in theater attendant in Falls Church may have a detrimental influence on the success of our foreign policy by improper treatment of an official guest.

Perhaps my own role is modest, but at the very least I am a part of the new team in Washington. All through the new administration you know the atmosphere to be one of very real purpose, resolution, and will to succeed. We are admittedly earnest; we are serious. With an angry and fiery world around us—each day a day of decision, each decision destined to affect our very lives—we need, and I believe we have, the best of America right here.

There is so much to be done and so much to be undone that we know there can be no quick or miraculous changes. We know that, as has been said in the inaugural address,³ none of this will be finished,

. . . in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet.

President Kennedy in his inaugural address summoned up ideas and ideals which polarize the drives, hopes, and ambitions of our new leadership team in Washington today. Thank God that team is here—and I am also thankful to you for giving me this chance to tell you a little of my own role in it today.

Views Invited on 1961 GATT Talks on Import Restrictions

Press release 100 dated March 1

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

The Committee for Reciprocity Information (CRI) on March 1 issued a notice inviting the public to submit views in connection with consultations scheduled during 1961 under the provisions of articles XII and XVIII:B of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The consultations will be conducted

by a panel of 14 countries, including the United States, at meetings in April and October and will relate to the use of import restrictions for balance-of-payments reasons by the following countries:

<i>April</i>	<i>October</i>
Austria	Denmark
Burma	Finland
Chile	Japan
Indonesia	New Zealand
Turkey	Norway
Union of South Africa	Israel

The consultations will afford the opportunity for the panel to review the economic and financial situation of the consulting countries individually, to explore in this context the possibilities for further relaxation of their import restrictions, and to discuss moderation of particular policies and practices that have proved unduly burdensome to exporters in other countries.

Written statements concerning problems caused by import restrictions in the countries listed above should be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C. The notice sets forth in detail the types of information which American traders, business firms, labor organizations, and other interested individuals or associations may wish to submit. If the statements are to be useful in connection with the scheduled consultations, they should be received by March 31, 1961, for those countries consulting in April and by September 1, 1961, for those countries consulting in October. The statements should be as completely documented as possible and include specific details.

The CRI is an interagency group within the U.S. Government which receives views of interested persons regarding proposed or existing trade agreements and actions related to such agreements. It is prepared to receive at any time statements from the public regarding import restrictions imposed by any contracting party to the GATT.

If the countries involved are not scheduled for formal consultations, statements submitted in accordance with the instructions set forth at the end of the Committee's formal notice attached to this release will nevertheless be helpful in preparing for informal bilateral discussions conducted by the U.S. Government from time to time.

The United States, through participation in multilateral and bilateral discussions under the GATT such as those described above, has en-

³ BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

deavored to obtain the removal of certain trade barriers. Through these continuing efforts to achieve the removal of quantitative import restrictions, increasing opportunities are opened to U.S. exporters to share in expanding overseas markets.

NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARINGS

COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION

CONSULTATIONS with certain contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade regarding the application of quantitative import restrictions imposed for balance-of-payments reasons, under the provisions of articles XII and XVIII:B.

SUBMISSION of information to the Committee for Reciprocity Information regarding these consultations.

CLOSING DATES for submission of written statements: March 31, 1961, for April consultations; and September 1, 1961, for October consultations.

It is the intention of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to enter into consultation with certain of the parties regarding their application of quantitative import restrictions imposed for balance-of-payments reasons, under Articles XII and XVIII:B of said Agreement.

The consultations will be conducted separately with each consulting country during 1961 by a panel of fourteen countries including the United States. The consulting countries and the expected timing of their consultations are as follows:

<i>April</i>	<i>October</i>
Austria	Denmark
Burma	Finland
Chile	Japan
Indonesia	New Zealand
Turkey	Norway
Union of South Africa	Israel

During each consultation the Contracting Parties will have the opportunity (1) to review the country's financial and economic situation and (2) in this context to discuss the possibilities for further relaxation of the level of its import restrictions, a lessening of the discriminatory application of these restrictions and the moderation of particular policies and practices which are especially burdensome to the exporters of other countries adhering to the General Agreement.

American traders, business firms, labor organizations and other individuals or associations which have an interest in exporting to one or more of the consulting countries may, as a result of their own experience, wish to submit information relating to (2) above which will be useful to the United States Government during the course of the consultations.

Representations to the Committee in response to this invitation, which should contain all available supporting information, might include views along the following lines:

1. Quantitative import restrictions affecting goods

available from the United States have resulted in unnecessary damage to the commercial or economic interest of the United States, its citizens or organizations;

2. Not even minimum commercial quantities of imports of specific commodities from the United States are permitted, to the impairment of regular channels of trade;

3. Trade is being restrained by complex or arbitrary licensing procedures, or lack of adequate information available to traders regarding import regulations;

4. Reasonable access to a traditional foreign market has not been restored for a particular commodity, even though the country concerned has substantially relaxed its restrictions on imports in general;

5. The long-standing application of import restrictions by a country on a particular product has been accompanied by the growth of uneconomic output of that product within the country; or

6. Discrimination exists in the treatment of goods available from the United States as compared with the treatment afforded similar goods from other countries with convertible currencies.

In order to permit adequate consideration of views and information, it is requested that all responses be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information by March 31, 1961, regarding the countries consulting in April, and by September 1, 1961, regarding the countries consulting in October. Information submitted to the Committee after these dates will be considered to the extent time permits.

All communications on this matter should be submitted in fifteen copies to: The Secretary, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington, D.C. Information may be submitted in confidence if desired.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 1st day of March 1961.

LEONARD H. POMEROY
Executive Secretary
Committee for Reciprocity Information

New Tariff Rates Established for Bicycles and Pineapples

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 89 dated February 25

The President has proclaimed tariff rates for bicycles on which agreement has been reached in negotiations with the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Austria.

The newly negotiated rates are the same as those set forth in the bicycles escape-clause proclamation issued August 19, 1955.¹ The rate for

¹ For text of Proclamation 3108, see BULLETIN of Sept. 5, 1955, p. 400.

large-wheel lightweight bicycles is \$1.87½ each, but not less than 11¼ percent nor more than 22½ percent ad valorem. The range of ad valorem rates for all other bicycles is 22½ percent to 30 percent, with specific minimum rates of \$3.75 each for large-wheel bicycles weighing 36 pounds or more; \$3 each for bicycles with wheels over 19 but not over 25 inches in diameter; and \$1.87½ each for bicycles with wheels less than 19 inches in diameter. Each of these rates is 50 percent higher than the rates in the trade agreement concession which the United States made in the tariff negotiations at Geneva in 1947.

The negotiations leading to proclamation of these rates were carried out, following notice given December 22, 1960,² and subsequent public hearings, to remove the doubt cast on the validity of the escape-clause rates by the decision of the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals in the case of *United States v. Schmidt Pritchard and Company*. Thus the net effect of the proclamation is to restore the customs duty treatment contemplated in the original escape-clause proclamation. The United States in 1956 granted tariff concessions to compensate for the increases in rates in the bicycles escape-clause proclamation, and no further compensatory concessions were made by the United States in the negotiations, the results of which have now been proclaimed.

The proclamation also places into effect on February 28, 1961, increases in the rates of duty for pineapples in bulk. These are the only tariff rate increases resulting from termination in part of the trade agreement of 1935 with Honduras on January 18, 1961.³

PROCLAMATION 3394⁴

MODIFICATION OF TRADE AGREEMENT CONCESSIONS ON BICYCLES AND PINEAPPLES

1. WHEREAS, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Constitution and the statutes, including section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1351), the President, on October 30, 1947, entered into a trade agreement with certain foreign countries, which consists of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including a schedule of United States concessions (here-

² 25 *Fed. Reg.* 13248; for a Department announcement, see BULLETIN of Jan. 9, 1961, p. 50.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1961, p. 178.

⁴ 26 *Fed. Reg.* 1751.

inafter referred to as Schedule XX-1947) and the Protocol of Provisional Application of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, together with a Final Act Adopted at the Conclusion of the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment (61 Stat. (pts. 5 and 6) A7, A11, and A2051), and by Proclamation No. 2761A of December 16, 1947 (61 Stat. (pt. 2) 1103), proclaimed such modifications of existing duties and other import restrictions of the United States and such continuance of existing customs or excise treatment of articles imported into the United States as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out such trade agreement, which proclamation has been supplemented by subsequent proclamations including Proclamation No. 2769 of January 30, 1948 (62 Stat. (pt. 2) 1479), and Proclamation No. 3140 of June 13, 1956 (70 Stat. C33);

2. WHEREAS United States tariff concessions on bicycles provided for in paragraph 371 of the Tariff Act of 1930 were included in such trade agreement, such concessions, and the appropriate headings, being set forth in item 371 [first] in Part I of Schedule XX-1947 as follows:

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of Products	Rate of Duty
371	Bicycles with or without tires, having wheels in diameter (measured to the outer circumference of the tire): Over 25 inches: If weighing less than 36 pounds complete without accessories and not designed for use with tires having a cross-sectional diameter exceeding 1½ inches. Other	\$1.25 each, but not less than 7½% nor more than 15% ad val. \$2.50 each, but not less than 15% nor more than 30% ad val.
	Over 19 but not over 25 inches.	\$2 each, but not less than 15% nor more than 30% ad val.
	Not over 19 inches . .	\$1.25 each, but not less than 15% nor more than 30% ad val.

3. WHEREAS Article XXVIII of the said General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (8 UST (pt. 2) 1790) provides that a contracting party may, pursuant to procedures provided for therein, modify or withdraw concessions in its schedules to that agreement;

4. WHEREAS due notice of intention to enter into negotiations under the said Article XXVIII with a view to the modification or withdrawal of the concessions represented by item 371 [first] in Part I of Schedule XX-1947 was

given, and the views presented by interested persons were received and considered, and information and advice with respect to such negotiations were sought from the Departments of State, Agriculture, Commerce, and Defense and from other sources, and an investigation and report to the President under the provisions of section 3 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1360), have been made by the United States Tariff Commission with respect to the products involved in such negotiations;

5. WHEREAS, agreement for the modification of the said concessions in the manner set forth below in this recital having been reached pursuant to Article XXVIII of the said General Agreement, I determine that it is required or appropriate in order to carry out the agreement specified in the first recital hereof that Part I of Schedule XX-1947 be applied as though the said item 371 [first] and the appropriate headings read as follows:

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of Products	Rate of Duty
371	Bicycles with or without tires, having wheels in diameter (measured to the outer circumference of the tire):	
	Over 25 inches:	
	If weighing less than 36 pounds complete without accessories and not designed for use with tires having a cross-sectional diameter exceeding 1½ inches.	\$1.87½ each, but not less than 11¼% nor more than 22½% ad val.
	Other	\$3.75 each, but not less than 22½% nor more than 30% ad val.
	Over 19 but not over 25 inches.	\$3 each, but not less than 22½% nor more than 30% ad val.
	Not over 19 inches . .	\$1.87½ each, but not less than 22½% nor more than 30% ad val.

6. WHEREAS a proclaiming of the application of Part I of Schedule XX-1947 as set forth in the fifth recital of this proclamation would supersede Proclamation No. 3108 of August 18, 1955 (70 Stat. C4), relating to such concessions;

7. WHEREAS, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Constitution and the statutes, including the said section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, the President, on October 30, 1947, entered into an exclusive trade agreement with the Government of the Republic of Cuba (61 Stat. (pt. 4) 3699), which includes certain portions of other documents made a part thereof and provides for the treatment in respect of ordinary customs

duties of products of the Republic of Cuba imported into the United States of America, and thereafter by Proclamation No. 2764 of January 1, 1948 (62 Stat. 1465), proclaimed such modifications of existing duties and other import restrictions of the United States of America in respect of products of the Republic of Cuba and such continuance of existing customs and excise treatment of products of the Republic of Cuba imported into the United States of America as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out such exclusive trade agreement on and after January 1, 1948, which proclamation has been supplemented by subsequent proclamations, including Proclamation No. 3105 of July 22, 1955 (69 Stat. c44), Part III of which amended the list set forth in the ninth recital of the said Proclamation No. 2764 of January 1, 1948;

8. WHEREAS Proclamation No. 3390 of January 18, 1961 (26 F.R. 507), terminated in part the proclamation of February 1, 1936 (49 Stat. (pt. 2) 3851), proclaiming the trade agreement entered into on December 18, 1935, with the President of the Republic of Honduras (49 Stat. (pt. 2) 3852), including item 747 in Schedule II annexed to that trade agreement;

9. WHEREAS, in view of the termination by Proclamation No. 3390 of the said proclamation of item 747 in Schedule II to the trade agreement with Honduras, it is required or appropriate in order to carry out the trade agreement specified in the first recital of this proclamation that, effective as of the beginning of February 28, 1961, item 747 in the list set forth in the seventh recital of Proclamation No. 2769 of January 30, 1948, as amended by Part III (a) of Proclamation No. 3140 of June 13, 1956, be amended to read as follows:

Tariff Act of 1930, paragraph	Description of Products	Rate of Duty
747	Pineapples:	
	In crates	35¢ per crate of 2.45 cu. ft.
	Not in crates and not in blk.	27¢ per crate of 2.45 cu. ft.;

and

10. WHEREAS, in view of the termination by Proclamation No. 3390 of January 18, 1961, of the proclamation of item 747 in Schedule II to the trade agreement with Honduras, it is required or appropriate to carry out the trade agreement specified in the seventh recital of this proclamation that the rate of duty in item 747 in the list set forth in the ninth recital of Proclamation No. 2764 of January 1, 1948, as amended by Part III of Proclamation No. 3105 of July 22, 1955, be amended to read ".84½¢ each":

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority of the Constitution and statutes, including the said section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, do proclaim as follows:

Part I

To the end that the trade agreements referred to in the foregoing recitals may be carried out :

(a) Effective at 5 P.M. on the day following the date hereof, at the respective ports of entry, Proclamation No. 3108 of August 18, 1955, referred to in the sixth recital of this proclamation is terminated ;

(b) Effective at the opening of the Customs House, at the respective ports of entry, on the second day following the date hereof, Part I in Schedule XX-1947 shall be applied as though item 371 [first] therein read as set forth in the fifth recital of this proclamation ;


(c) Effective at the beginning of February 28, 1961, the list set forth in the seventh recital of Proclamation No. 2769 of January 30, 1948, as amended by Part III (a) of Proclamation No. 3140 of June 13, 1956, is further amended as set forth and described in the ninth recital of this proclamation.

Part II

To the end that the trade agreement referred to in the seventh recital of this proclamation may be carried out, effective at the beginning of February 28, 1961, the list set forth in the ninth recital of Proclamation No. 2764 of January 1, 1948, as amended by Part III of Proclamation No. 3105 of July 22, 1955, shall be further amended as set forth in the tenth recital of this proclamation.

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 twenty-fifth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.



By the President :
DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State.

New FSI Area Training Program

The Department of State announced on February 27 (press release 92) that a new program of introductory area training was formally inaugurated at the Foreign Service Institute on that day by Raymond A. Hare, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and Ambassador-designate to Turkey.

Under the new program the Institute will offer concentrated 3-week courses of training in each of eight geographical areas: Eastern Europe, the Near East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, China, Northeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

The program is designed for Foreign Service officers and officers of other Government agencies who are about to be posted to areas abroad with which they are not familiar through previous residence or study. The courses are intended to offer a systematic basis for understanding of an area and to stimulate and equip the participants to attain maximum usefulness in the shortest possible time at their posts abroad through further research and experience.

Previously training of this kind has been available only to officers in training as area specialists, in a course of study which requires at least a year of academic preparation in addition to appropriate field service.

The first week of each course will be devoted to the concepts and techniques of area analysis (value systems, institutional analysis, social change, demographic factors, etc.), and the second and third weeks to small regional seminars on the history, geography, ethnology, and culture of the countries and areas concerned. Initially the 3-week courses will be scheduled at least seven times yearly. Twenty-six officers of the Department of State and the Foreign Service, including the International Cooperation Administration, and 27 from other agencies are taking part in the first series, which began classes on February 20.

The new program is responsive to the expression of policy by the Congress in Public Law 86-723, which provided, *inter alia*:

It is the policy of the Congress that chiefs of mission and Foreign Service officers appointed or assigned to serve the United States in foreign countries shall have, to the maximum practicable extent, among their qualifications, a useful knowledge of the principal language or dialect of the country in which they are to serve, and knowledge and understanding of the history, the culture, the economic and political institutions, and the interests of such country and its people.

In further pursuit of these ends, special language training has also been provided at the Foreign Service Institute for the newly appointed chiefs of mission. A number of these officers have already availed themselves of these facilities or have indicated their intention to do so. The Department has also developed a new program of hard-language incentive payments to encourage the attainment and maintenance of difficult-language skills by increased numbers of Foreign Service officers.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Adjourned During February 1961

IAEA Board of Governors: 20th Session	Vienna	Jan. 24-Feb. 3
SEATO Heads of Universities Conference	Karachi	Jan. 25-Feb. 1
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 13th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 26-Feb. 3
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: Working Party on Perishable Foodstuffs.	Geneva	Jan. 30-Feb. 3
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: 4th Meeting	Tokyo	Jan. 30-Feb. 4
U.N. ECE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	Feb. 1-3
UNESCO Meeting on Development of Information Media in Latin America.	Santiago	Feb. 1-14
FAO Cocoa Study Group:		
Statistical Committee	Rome	Feb. 3 (1 day)
Working Party on Price Stabilization	Rome	Feb. 6-15
Working Party on Consumption	Rome	Feb. 16-17
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 3d Session	Addis Ababa	Feb. 6-17
U.N. ECOSOC Population Commission: 11th Session	New York	Feb. 6-17
14th World Health Assembly.	New Delhi	Feb. 7-24
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport and Communications Committee: 9th Session.	Bangkok	Feb. 9-15
GATT Panel on Subsidies and State Trading	Geneva	Feb. 13-17
International Sugar Council: Statistical Committee	London	Feb. 20-21
Meeting of Experts on Technical Assistance	Washington	Feb. 20-24
International Sugar Council: Executive Committee	London	Feb. 21-22
International Sugar Council: 9th Session	London	Feb. 22-23
GATT Balance-of-Payments Consultations	Geneva	Feb. 23-24
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission	Panamá	Feb. 23-24
U.N. ECOSOC Committee on Nongovernmental Organizations	New York	Feb. 27-28

In Session as of February 28, 1961

Conference on Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests (scheduled to reconvene Mar. 21, 1961).	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
GATT: 5th Round of Tariff Negotiations	Geneva	Sept. 1, 1960-
U.N. General Assembly: 15th Session (recessed Dec. 20, 1960, until Mar. 7, 1961).	New York	Sept. 20, 1960-
U.N. ECOSOC Plenipotentiary Conference To Adopt a Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.	New York	Jan. 24-
U.N. ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights: 17th Session.	New York	Feb. 20-
GATT Contracting Parties: Council of Representatives	Geneva	Feb. 22-
U.N. ECE Conference on Water Pollution Problems in Europe	Geneva	Feb. 22-
ILO Governing Body: 148th Session (and its committees)	Geneva	Feb. 27-
IBE Executive Committee.	Geneva	Feb. 28-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Feb. 28, 1961. Following is a list of abbreviations: 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; ILO, International Labor Organization; SEATO, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

CENTO Celebrates Sixth Anniversary

Following is the text of a congratulatory message sent by Secretary Rusk to M. O. A. Baig, Secretary General of the Central Treaty Organization, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of CENTO, together with Mr. Baig's reply.

Press release 84 dated February 24

Secretary Rusk to Mr. Baig

FEBRUARY 22, 1961

DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL: It is a pleasure to extend best wishes and congratulations to CENTO on its sixth anniversary. I am looking forward to the opportunity of working with you and your associates in furtherance of our common objectives. The United States remains dedicated in its support of the collective efforts of the CENTO Regional States to provide for their common defense, for the economic development of their region, and for the advancement of their peoples.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN RUSK

Mr. Baig to Secretary Rusk

FEBRUARY 24, 1961

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Thank you for your message on the occasion of CENTO's sixth anniversary. This region, which our organization is destined to serve, owes much to the warm interest and the practical support of the United States in our common effort to inspire the security, economic development and the general welfare of nations who are endeavoring to find their way into a happy and progressive future.

Yours sincerely,

M. O. A. BAIG
Secretary General

United States Delegation Named to 15th General Assembly

Following is a list of the U.S. representatives and alternate representatives to the 15th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which resumes on March 7 at U.N. headquarters at New York:

Representatives

Adlai E. Stevenson
Francis T. P. Plimpton

Charles W. Yost
Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt
Philip M. Klutznick

Alternate Representatives

Jonathan B. Bingham
John Howard Morrow
Charles P. Noyes

The nominations of Ambassador Stevenson, Mr. Yost, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Mr. Klutznick were confirmed by the Senate on March 2, the others on March 7.

TREATY INFORMATION

Agreement Supplementing FCN Treaty With Italy Enters Into Force

Press release 104 dated March 2

Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Manlio Brosio, Ambassador of Italy, on March 2 exchanged the instruments of ratification of an agreement¹ supplementing the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation of February 2, 1948,² between the United States and the Italian Republic. By its terms the supplementary agreement enters into force immediately. The agreement, signed at Washington on September 26, 1951, has been approved by the U.S. Senate and the Italian Parliament.

It contains nine articles amplifying various provisions of the treaty of 1948 or establishing mutually agreed standards in matters not covered by that treaty. These articles deal with such diverse subjects as the nondiscriminatory treatment of legally acquired rights and interests of an economic nature, the application of exchange regulations, and employment of technical personnel. A noteworthy feature is article VI, which establishes rules governing recognition and enforcement of arbitration agreements and awards. In particular this article rules out the foreign nationality of the arbitrator or the foreign place of the arbitral proceedings as grounds for refusal to enforce an agreement or award.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1951, p. 568.

² 63 Stat. 2255.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

- Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. Done at Washington January 15, 1944. Entered into force November 30, 1944. 58 Stat. 1169. *Signatures*: Brazil, February 15, 1961.¹
Adherence deposited: Argentina, February 8, 1961.
- Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.²
Signatures: Bolivia and Brazil,³ February 15, 1961.
Adherence deposited: Argentina, February 8, 1961.

Health

- Constitution of the World Health Organization. Opened for signature at New York July 22, 1946. Entered into force April 7, 1948. TIAS 1808.
Acceptances deposited: Cyprus and Malagasy Republic, January 16, 1961.

Law of the Sea

- Convention on the territorial sea and contiguous zone. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.²
Ratification deposited: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, January 12, 1961.³
- Convention on the high seas. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.²
Ratification deposited: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, January 12, 1961.⁴
- Convention on the continental shelf. Done at Geneva April 29, 1958.²
Ratification deposited: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, January 12, 1961.

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: Nicaragua, January 13, 1961.

Shipping

- Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Signed at Geneva March 6, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958. TIAS 4044.
Acceptance deposited: Cambodia (with declaration), January 3, 1961.

Telecommunications

- 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: Portugal, January 16, 1961; Portuguese Overseas Provinces, January 25, 1961.

¹ With a reservation.

² Not in force.

³ Reservations made at time of signing confirmed in ratification.

⁴ Reservations and declaration made at time of signing confirmed in ratification.

⁵ Not in force for the United States.

⁶ Subject to an understanding.

International telecommunication convention with six annexes. Done at Geneva December 21, 1959. Entered into force January 1, 1961.⁵
Ratification deposited: Denmark, January 18, 1961.

Whaling

- Amendments to paragraphs 6(2), 6(3), 7(a), and 8(a) of the schedule to the international whaling convention of 1946 (TIAS 1849). Adopted at the 12th meeting of the International Whaling Commission, London, June 1960.
Entered into force: Paragraph 8(a) on January 23, 1961, except for Japan and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; paragraphs 6(2), 6(3), and 7(a) on January 26, 1961, except for Japan, Norway, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom.

BILATERAL

Chile

- Agreement relating to investment guaranties pursuant to section 413 (b) (4) (B) (i) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 847; 22 U.S.C. 1933).
Entered into force: February 15, 1961.

China

- Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of August 30, 1960, as amended (TIAS 4563, 4628, and 4634). Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei February 9, 1961. Entered into force February 9, 1961.

Greece

- Agreement amending the agreement of April 23, 1948, as amended (TIAS 1751, 3037, 3280, and 4087), on U.S. educational foundation in Greece. Effected by exchange of notes at Athens January 23, 1959, and November 22, 1960. Entered into force November 22, 1960.

Italy

- Agreement supplementing the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation of February 2, 1948 (TIAS 1965). Signed at Washington September 26, 1951.
Ratifications exchanged: March 2, 1961.⁶
Entered into force: March 2, 1961.

Korea

- Agreement providing for the furnishing of economic, technical, and related assistance, with agreed minute and related exchange of notes. Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul February 8, 1961. Enters into force on the date of notification by Korea of the consent thereto by the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.

Norway

- Agreement relating to a mutually financed shipbuilding program of the Norwegian Navy. Effected by exchange of notes at Oslo November 29, 1960. Entered into force January 31, 1961.

United Arab Republic

- Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of August 1, 1960, as amended (TIAS 4542). Effected by exchange of notes at Cairo February 13, 1961. Entered into force February 13, 1961.

United Kingdom

- Agreement relating to rights of the United Kingdom in connection with the use of oceanographic research stations and parts of the long-range proving ground, which are now to be operated under the agreement of February 10, 1961, concerning U.S. defense areas in the federation of The West Indies. Effected by exchange of notes at Port-of-Spain February 10, 1961. Entered into force February 10, 1961.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on March 2 confirmed the following nominations:

Thomas K. Finletter to be the U.S. permanent representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 115 dated March 7.)

William B. Macomber, Jr., to be Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 116 dated March 8.)

Roger W. Tubby to be an Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 128 dated March 10.)

Clifton R. Wharton to be Ambassador to Norway. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 120 dated March 9.)

Appointments

Adolf A. Berle as Consultant to the Secretary of State, effective January 25. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 77 dated February 20.)

Richard N. Gardner as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, effective April 1. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 108 dated March 3.)

Byron L. Johnson as a consultant to the International Cooperation Administration, effective February 24. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 86 dated February 24.)

Arturo Morales Carrión as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, effective February 14. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 72 dated February 17.)

Carl T. Rowan as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, effective February 27. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 95 dated February 28.)

Philip M. Stern as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, effective February 20. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 51 dated February 3.)

Harlan P. Bramble Designated Food-for-Peace Liaison Officer

George S. McGovern, Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, has requested the Secretary to designate a Departmental

representative to maintain liaison with the White House on food-for-peace matters. Harlan P. Bramble, Deputy Director, Office of International Resources, has been named as the Department's representative. Mr. Bramble will be responsible for coordinating the activities of the various bureaus so far as they bear on the Food-for-Peace Program and for maintaining liaison with Mr. McGovern's office.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: February 27-March 5

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to February 27 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 82 of February 23, 84 of February 24, and 89 of February 25.

No.	Date	Subject
*91	2/27	Adams sworn in as ICA representative in Mali (biographic details).
92	2/27	FSI area-training program (rewrite).
*93	2/27	Harriman represents President at funeral of Mohamed V of Morocco.
*94	2/27	Rusk: death of Mrs. Victoria Geaney.
*95	2/28	Rowan appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (biographic details).
*96	2/28	Hays sworn in as Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations (biographic details).
97	2/28	Rusk: U.S. defense policies.
98	2/28	Duke: Women's National Press Club.
*99	2/28	Rusk: death of Mohamed V of Morocco.
100	3/1	1961 GATT talks on import restrictions.
*101	3/1	Baldwin sworn in as Ambassador to Malaya (biographic details).
*102	3/1	Gavin sworn in as Ambassador to France (biographic details).
*103	3/1	Labouisse sworn in as ICA Director (biographic details).
104	3/2	Supplementary agreement to 1948 FCN treaty with Italy.
*105	3/2	Cultural exchange (Libya).
*106	3/2	Salter sworn in as ICA Deputy Director for Congressional Relations (biographic details).
*107	3/3	Hill designated ICA regional director for Latin America (biographic details).
*108	3/3	Gardiner appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs (biographic details).
*109	3/3	Bruce sworn in as Ambassador to United Kingdom (biographic details).
110	3/4	Rowan: "The World's Two Great Hungers."

* Not printed.

Africa. The United Nations, Guardian of Peace (Stevenson) 410

Agriculture. Harlan P. Bramble Designated Food-for-Peace Liaison Officer 426

American Principles. The World's Two Great Hungers (Rowan) 405

American Republics. Morales Carrión appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs 426

Congress, The. Peace Corps Created on Pilot Basis; President Seeks Permanent Legislation (Kennedy, text of Executive order) 400

Department and Foreign Service

Appointments (Berle, Gardner, Johnson, Morales Carrión, Rowan, Stern) 426

Confirmations (Finletter, Macomber, Tubby, Wharton) 426

A Fresh Look at the Formulation of Foreign Policy (Rusk) 395

Harlan P. Bramble Designated Food-for-Peace Liaison Officer 426

New FSI Area Training Program 422

Peace Corps Created on Pilot Basis; President Seeks Permanent Legislation (Kennedy, text of Executive order) 400

Perspectives in Protocol (Duke) 414

Economic Affairs

New Tariff Rates Established for Bicycles and Pineapples (text of proclamation) 419

Views Invited on 1961 GATT Talks on Import Restrictions (text of notice of public hearings) 418

Human Rights. The World's Two Great Hungers (Rowan) 405

International Organizations and Conferences

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings 423

CENTO Celebrates Sixth Anniversary (Baig, Rusk) 424

Italy. Agreement Supplementing FCN Treaty With Italy Enters Into Force 424

Japan. Trade Union Leader From Japan Meets With President Kennedy 404

Jordan. Macomber confirmed as Ambassador 426

Middle East. CENTO Celebrates Sixth Anniversary (Baig, Rusk) 424

Military Affairs. Strengthening of U.S. Defense (Rusk) 399

Mutual Security

Johnson appointed ICA consultant 426

Peace Corps Created on Pilot Basis; President Seeks Permanent Legislation (Kennedy, text of Executive order) 400

U.S. Grants Additional Aid to Nigeria 404

New Zealand. President Kennedy Holds Talks With Prime Minister of New Zealand (Holyoake, Kennedy) 403

Nigeria. U.S. Grants Additional Aid to Nigeria 404

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Finletter confirmed as U.S. permanent representative on NATO Council 426

Norway. Wharton confirmed as Ambassador 426

Presidential Documents

New Tariff Rates Established for Bicycles and Pineapples 419

Peace Corps Created on Pilot Basis; President Seeks Permanent Legislation 400

President Kennedy Holds Talks With Prime Minister of New Zealand 403

Public Affairs. Rowan and Stern appointed Deputy Assistant Secretaries for Public Affairs 426

Treaty Information

Agreement Supplementing FCN Treaty With Italy Enters Into Force 424

Current Actions 425

United Nations

The United Nations, Guardian of Peace (Stevenson) 410

United States Delegation Named to 15th General Assembly 424

Name Index

Baig, M. O. A 424

Berle, Adolf A 426

Bramble, Harlan P 426

Duke, Angier Biddle 414

Finletter, Thomas K 426

Gardner, Richard N 426

Holyoake, Keith J 403

Johnson, Byron L 426

Kennedy, President 400, 403, 419

Macomber, William B., Jr 426

Morales Carrión, Arturo 426

Rowan, Carl T 405, 426

Rusk, Secretary 395, 399, 424

Stern, Philip M 426

Stevenson, Adlai E 410

Tubby, Roger W 426

Wharton, Clifford R 426

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300
(GPO)



A NEW SERIES

the
Department
of
State

The Newly Independent Nations

Since 1944 the world has seen the emergence of more than a score of newly independent nations. They represent over three-quarters of a billion people—one-quarter of the world's population. Pamphlets have been prepared by the Department of State designed to give readers a few highlights on the peoples and the lands which make up these nations. Now available in the series are leaflets on the following countries:

	Publication Number	Price
India	7029	5 cents
Israel	7041	5 cents
Jordan	7030	5 cents
Korea	7042	15 cents
Libya	6966	5 cents
Malaya	6967	5 cents
Pakistan	7073	5 cents
Philippines	6968	5 cents
Sudan	7044	5 cents
Viet-Nam	7031	5 cents

Order Form

Please send me copies of leaflets for the following countries

To: Supt. of Documents
Govt. Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Enclosed find:

\$.....
(cash, check, or money
order payable to
Supt. of Docs.)

Name:

Street Address:

City, Zone, and State:

Bulletin

Vol. XLIV, No. 1135

March 27, 1961

SECRETARY RUSK'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF
MARCH 9 431

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY IN A PERIOD
OF CHANGE ● *BBC Interview With Secretary Rusk* . . 439

A NEW FRONTIER IN FREE-WORLD ECONOMIC
COOPERATION ● *by Under Secretary Ball* 449

THE UNITED NATIONS' CAPACITY TO ACT ● *by*
Assistant Secretary Cleveland 447

ACCELERATING ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ASIA AND
THE FAR EAST ● *Statement by Isaiah Frank* 460

DEBT AND EQUITY FOR DEVELOPMENT: NEW
USES FOR OLD TOOLS ● *by Frank M. Coffin* . . . 455

For index see inside back cover

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLIV, No. 1135 • PUBLICATION 7156

March 27, 1961

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.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$8.50, foreign \$12.25
Single copy, 25 cents

Use of funds for printing of this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 19, 1961).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9

Press release 122 dated March 9

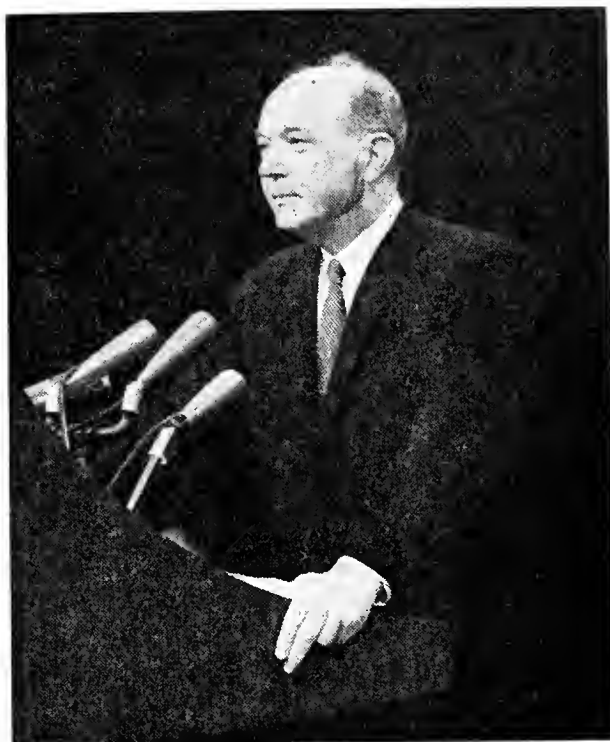
Secretary Rusk: I have one or two comments to make. I have invited several hundred radio and television commentators and public affairs program directors and newspaper editorial writers and columnists to attend two foreign policy briefing conferences in Washington next month. These will come from different parts of the country. The radio-television session is scheduled for April 3 and 4, and the conference for newspaper writers will be held April 24 and 25.

President Kennedy personally will join me and key officials in the State Department and other Government agencies in these briefing sessions. The Department has arranged these conferences as part of its effort to see that the American people have access to basic facts about, and fundamental understanding of, our foreign policy, and it will give us an opportunity to go into many matters about which they might have some questions.

Secondly, President Kennedy has this morning—I believe just a few minutes ago—announced the acceptance by President [Habib] Bourguiba of Tunisia of his invitation to pay a state visit to the United States beginning May 3.¹ The invitation was extended some weeks ago. His will be the first state visit to take place during the new administration, and we look forward to it with warm anticipation.

The President has already indicated in his announcement the high regard in which we hold President Bourguiba as the leader not only of his own nation but as a statesman of vision and good

¹ For a White House announcement, see p. 448.



will whose energies have been devoted to the broader welfare of North Africa. We have very much in mind the recent meeting between President de Gaulle of France and President Bourguiba, following which the two leaders expressed their belief that a positive and speedy evolution of the Algerian problem might now be possible. We have in mind also the subsequent consultations between President Bourguiba and other North African leaders looking to the same goal. It will be a great privilege and pleasure to see President Bourguiba here in Washington.

We are facing a rather busy period ahead of us in our foreign policy. As you know, the General Assembly is in session now, with meetings of the Security Council undoubtedly being interspersed with that meeting; the nuclear test negotiations will resume on March 21, with Mr. Arthur Dean in charge; and I personally will be running out to the University of California on March 20 for their annual Charter Day exercises to discuss some aspects of our foreign policy. Shortly thereafter I will be leaving for the SEATO [Southeast Asia

Secretary Invites News Executives to Two Foreign Policy Briefings

Press release 119 dated March 9

Secretary Rusk announced on March 9 that he is inviting radio and television public-affairs program directors and commentators and newspaper editorial writers and columnists from all 50 States of the Union to attend two foreign policy briefing conferences to be held next month.

President Kennedy will personally participate with him in both conferences, he announced.

"The purpose of the conference," the Secretary wrote, in a letter of invitation to the broadcasting executives, "will be to examine a number of current international issues and to provide opportunity for discussion between you who report and comment on these issues and senior officers of the Department and other government agencies who are responsible for dealing with them.

"It is our hope that these discussions will provide you with useful basic information and, at the same time, help us to improve our understanding of your information needs."

The first of the conferences will be held on April 3 and 4, for the radio and television group. The second will be held on April 24 and 25, for the newspaper editorial writers and columnists.

The Secretary's invitations to the radio and television officials have already gone out and will be followed in the near future by invitations to the editorial writers and columnists.

Senior policymaking officials of the Department and key officials of other Government agencies will take part in both of the conferences.

Some 300 persons are expected at each of the briefings.

Treaty Organization] meeting in Bangkok, which meets on March 27-29; and then Lord Home [U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] and I will come back directly to Washington to be here for Prime Minister Macmillan's working visit in early April. I expect in April to be going out to the CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] meeting in Ankara, April 27-29.

I do want to have an opportunity to meet my colleagues who are foreign ministers of the other countries with whom we are closely allied. I also think that we foreign ministers must discuss among ourselves a bit how we conduct our business over the months and years ahead. It has been suggested that foreign ministers perhaps ought to organize a trade union to try to establish more

tolerable working conditions, but that is something for us to think about and talk about.

But I owe you gentlemen a considerable amount of back time; so I will stop talking and open the way for your present questions.

Position on Berlin

Q. Mr. Secretary, Mr. Harriman [W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador at Large] at a news conference in Berlin said yesterday that the Kennedy administration didn't feel itself bound by any of the actions of the previous administration with regard to Berlin, and, in his words, the discussions should start from the beginning. Does this mean that you do not consider yourself bound by any of the proposals which were made by Secretary Herter at the Geneva foreign ministers meeting in 1959? ²

A. Well, I think there are a number of details in the past negotiations of a problem of this sort which have to be reviewed and looked at again as a new administration accepts responsibility. But the essential elements, the key core of our attitude on the Berlin problem, of course has not changed at all. President Kennedy has made that clear. I have attempted to myself. We are strongly committed to the freedom of West Berlin. We are strongly committed to the freedom of the people of that city, and we expect to sustain our own position in that city as we look into the future.

Q. Mr. Secretary, starting anew or from zero, if that is in fact our policy, does this eliminate any understanding that might have existed between former President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev at the Camp David meeting, or does it affect Mr. Eisenhower's statement that he considered Berlin to be an abnormal situation?

A. Well, I think that it is important on a question of that sort not to go back and pick up all of the words and rhetoric and the possible sources of misunderstanding but to take a look to see where we go from where we are. Now it may well be on many of these questions, and indeed it has already proved to be, as we looked at a number of them, that we shall find ourselves in approximately the same position as we were before. In certain other problems we may have some additions or changes to suggest, or some fresh ap-

² For background, see BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1959, p. 265.

proaches. But I would not wish to get into questions of rhetoric here in looking to the past. We start from where we are and go on from here. The central aspect of our policy is that Berlin should be free.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what can you tell us about the prospects for the nuclear test negotiations, particularly with respect to the duration of the moratorium on test explosions? Precisely how long do you think the United States can continue to refrain from testing weapons without possibly jeopardizing our security?

A. Well, we are going into these nuclear test negotiations with the utmost seriousness in the hope that we can find an agreement which will be internationally acceptable and in every way in conformity with the American security interests. We shall negotiate, we hope, clearly, specifically, and, of course, in utmost good faith. It is too early to predict what the results of those negotiations will be. It is certainly too early to indicate what the decision of the President might be if we find that those negotiations are not coming to a conclusion.

Q. Could you give us at least an indication, Mr. Secretary, of what aspects of the Eisenhower policy on Berlin are under consideration for possible change or under review?

A. I don't think there is any implication at this point that there are aspects which are under change. We are studying the entire problem, and we shall have to deal with that at the appropriate time.

Q. The 1942 Protocol of Rio de Janeiro ceded half of Ecuador's territory to Peru, and the President of Ecuador now claims that this was brought about by pressure from the United States wanting to present a united hemisphere during World War II and that the treaty is null and void. The United States was one of the four powers guaranteeing that settlement. Do we have a position on Ecuador's complaint at this time?

A. I have not reviewed the earlier history of that question. At the present time we do know that there are exchanges between Ecuador and Peru on this problem. We are working with both of those Governments in the hope that we can help them work this out on an amicable basis.

Q. Mr. Secretary, has the decision been reached on the importation of Cuban molasses, tobacco, fruit, which is netting Castro some \$70 million a year?

A. That question is under very urgent study indeed, and we should have our conclusions on this in a very few days indeed.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in your first press conference³ you said we now regarded the question of Cuba as a problem common to all of the nations of the hemisphere. Brazil and Argentina have indicated that they are opposed to a meeting of foreign ministers of the hemisphere to study collective steps against Cuba. Have we given up the hope of such a conference?

A. Well, there was no formal proposal for a meeting of ministers to consider this question. We do, as you know, believe that the Cuban problem is a hemispheric problem. There are elements in the Cuban problem which point to a strong intrusion into this hemisphere of outside controls and outside influence. We think these run counter to the idea as well as the basic understandings of the inter-American system. We are consulting closely with our friends in Latin America to determine with them what the appropriate steps and attitudes might be. Of course we can anticipate that there will be some differences of view. We are talking those over with various governments at the present time.

U.S. Naval Task Force Off African Coast

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you give us a little of the background on the change of orders to the U.S. Naval Task Force off Africa and what channels the orders are executed through?

A. Yes. I can not only give you the background; I can give you the exact facts on that. Some, I think, 2 weeks ago the presence of this small task force in the Congo waters was beginning to stir up some speculation. They had been there on a good-will visit as part of a long-scheduled visit to the west coast of Africa, but they had been called upon to undertake certain chores for the United Nations while they were in that vicinity. When their presence there gave rise to some questions, which we felt were unnecessary, the Secretary of Defense [Robert S.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1961, p. 296.

McNamara] and I consulted and the task force resumed its earlier schedule to go down the west coast before heading north again. Then this week, or several days ago, the American Ambassador in Léopoldville [Clare H. Timberlake], faced with a situation in the Congo of fighting between U.N. and Congolese forces and himself carrying heavy responsibilities for American citizens involved, and considering the possibility that the U.N. itself might call for some assistance in this situation, requested the commander of the force to turn north. The commander, as was proper, got immediately in touch with Washington through his own command channels, which operate very quickly, and the Secretary of Defense and I again consulted and agreed that he should turn north. Then, after the situation in the Congo was clarified and we found that the situation was not deteriorating in the way that might have happened, given the circumstances in which the Ambassador found himself, the task force was ordered to resume its normal visit to the south.

Q. The President yesterday said that in his message to Mr. Khrushchev he had emphasized the confidence that he placed in the Ambassador to Moscow [Llewellyn E. Thompson]. Was it the intention of this to emphasize to Mr. Khrushchev that it is now less necessary than before, perhaps, to consult in talks and negotiations direct with the President?

A. I think the intention was just what appeared on the face of that remark. It is very important for other governments to understand that the American ambassador speaks with the full and clear authority of his own Government and, in our case, of the President as well, when he is negotiating with the other government. It is our hope that diplomatic channels can be used for serious discussion and negotiations from time to time. The position of the ambassador, and the demonstrated confidence of the President in our ambassador, is an important element in that situation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that same connection, there has been a great deal of criticism in the past about the Secretary of State traveling too much. The criticism went to the fact that he had enough things to do back here in developing and formulating policy. Now you seem to have joined this itinerant group. Could you tell us what the com-

pulsions were on you that forced you to do this? (Laughter.)

A. Well I suppose in your question you were quoting me.

Q. Among others.

A. I am not certain of that.

Q. Yes.

A. Well, this is, quite frankly, a problem. I personally have felt that my time can be spent to best advantage here in Washington, and I hope to make good on that over the years.

On the other hand, it was important for us to be in close and responsible touch with our SEATO allies in this forthcoming meeting in Bangkok. The psychology of the past led to an expectation that the ministers would be there. I think it will be a useful opportunity for us to review the role of SEATO, to think hard about its future, to confirm its commitments, and to give the foreign ministers a chance, among other things, to discuss how best we can conduct our business in such affairs for the future. I would not want to fall into, as I have indicated to you ladies and gentlemen before, a dogmatic position on this. I think that we are moving in the direction of conserving the Secretary of State's time for his main job. I am going straight to Bangkok and coming straight back, without any side trips on the way, because there is so much to be done here.

Question of Admission of Red China to U.N.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there are mounting indications from Brazil and from countries within the British Commonwealth, and elsewhere, of a position on the admission of Red China to the United Nations which runs counter to our own. Can you tell us, sir, what the United States, the State Department in particular, is doing to face up to this situation?

A. Well, we shall be consulting with these and other governments about this question in the weeks ahead. The problem of the China seat in the United Nations is governed by the moratorium which was adopted at the beginning of the 15th Assembly⁴ and, presumably, lasts until the beginning of the 16th Assembly next autumn.

There is in this problem a very serious issue, of

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1960, p. 678.

course, not only politically but in terms of the structure and the organization of the U.N. If this matter is treated as purely a credentials question, as a question as to which delegation sits in a particular seat, and the effect of the action taken on that question would be to attempt to seat Peiping and to exclude Formosa, then we should have a very serious problem indeed.

On the other hand, the authorities in Peiping have made it clear over and over again that, if any recognition of any sort is given to the Government of the Republic of China on Formosa, they would not accept any solution that involved that result.

So this is a complex question. It has far-reaching ramifications which go far beyond the technical question of credentials, and it is one on which we shall have to be in constant consultation with other governments between now and next September.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said our policy is based with respect to Berlin on the freedom of the city of Berlin. But these same words have been used by the Soviets. Could you say will our policy also continue to be based on the occupation status of Berlin?

A. Well, I thought I indicated that we expect to maintain our own position there. And I would not suppose that when I used the word "freedom" it means the same thing as that word means in the mouth of someone else.

Q. Mr. Secretary, besides the big powers many of the smaller nations soon will have the capability of producing, and subsequently testing, atomic weapons. Are you taking this into consideration in the coming Geneva talks, and what provisions, if any, are you considering to include this into a full agreement that will be internationally acceptable?

A. Well, it is our present hope that, if a satisfactory agreement can be concluded, other governments and nations will join the arrangements which will be established by such a treaty.

Q. Mr. Secretary, at yesterday's press conference President Kennedy indicated that he thought boycotts were an improper way to handle the question of imports. And a couple of weeks ago the Japanese Government made representations about the proposed boycott that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the electrical union in

Chicago had scheduled for May 1. Has the State Department taken any action to forestall or in any way head off these proposed boycotts?

A. There has been some discussion with representatives of the unions in regard to this matter. I thoroughly agree with and support the remarks made by the President yesterday. It greatly complicates the conduct of our foreign relations if private organizations take the conduct of foreign policy into their own hands on questions of this sort.

We have enormous foreign trade relations both on the export and the import side. The management of this foreign trade from a policy point of view in relation to governmental policy is complicated and delicate. It greatly impairs the effectiveness of our discussions abroad in opening up opportunities for American trade if on particular items private groups make it difficult for us to accept other people's trade here in this country.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you are now on record as saying that you favor a strengthening of conventional forces.⁵ Would you discuss with us your reasoning for thinking this, and especially in relation to the question of relying on nuclear weapons?

A. Well, those are questions which, as certain recent publicity clearly brought out, are under discussion in the higher circles of the Government. I don't believe that now is the appropriate time, in advance of programs which will be submitted to Congress and discussions which will be undertaken, for me to get into questions of strategy on issues of that sort.

Nuclear Weapons Testing and Disarmament

Q. Mr. Secretary, in relation to the nuclear weapons testing, there have been indications of reaching a common policy with our British allies that there might be a new approach. Could you discuss this? Is there a new approach, or are we going to be back on the same old wicket?

A. Well, we, under the leadership of Mr. [John J.] McCloy and Mr. Arthur Dean, have been reviewing the entire position on this. We want to get a treaty which provides a good basis for an international understanding and agreement, if there is a serious purpose among all those at the table. We also want an agreement which

⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 20, 1961, p. 399.

is consistent with our security. I do believe that if all three of these governments come to the table seriously determined to get an agreement, then an agreement can be reached.

I would not want to get into the question of what modifications and earlier positions might be acceptable. Obviously, when you are in a negotiating situation, those are questions which you keep to yourself if you gentlemen will let us.

Q. Mr. Secretary, has this administration given any thought to the possibility of a resumption of the Disarmament Committee talks in Geneva?

A. That is now being discussed in New York. We ourselves will be attending to the problem of general disarmament, reduction in arms, and arms control, as soon as we get our nuclear test positions launched and under way.

This is a very serious range of problems of great magnitude and complexity. Part of the problem will be in which forums it will be most advantageous to take up which kinds of questions. Undoubtedly a commission could have its use, a discussion in the United Nations could have its use, a diplomatic negotiation could have its use. I would not want to get specifically into that problem of the kind of commissions today.

Situation in Laos

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Communist buildup of arms in Laos has continued unabated, while efforts to reach a political solution or to neutralize the country have broken down. Can you say what efforts the United States—what new efforts the United States—might be making in behalf of reaching our objectives there?

A. Well, the situation in Laos is at the moment in a state of negotiation rather than stalemate. There seems to be formal agreement among the governments concerned that a neutral and independent Laos is the end result. The problem is whether all those who agree that this is the objective would describe that result in the same way or think about it in the same way.

The second problem is, assuming agreement, how do you get there, how do you get there specifically on the ground, in Laos? What does that mean in terms of the people, the forces, the parties in that country?

Now, I believe the tickers today indicated that

General Phoumi is down in Phnom Penh, having a talk with Mr. Souvanna Phouma. One of the possibilities, of course, is that, with a broadened government in Laos, a sounder basis could be laid for the kind of neutral country which will be accepted by the Laotians themselves, with general approval, as well as accepted by the peoples of southeast Asia and indeed peoples to the north.

We are of course very much concerned about the Communist buildup—the Soviet supply which has been going in there. That has been substantial. But we hope that we can find a basis on which both sides can agree. The problem in Laos is not for one or the other side to try to seize it, nor for two sides in the so-called cold war to try to divide it, but to let the Laotian people themselves follow their own inclinations and their own announced purposes and have a country which is not committed or allied to either side—which both sides would leave alone, to live in peace.

Q. Mr. Secretary, not too many months ago an American spokesman said that President [Kwame] Nkrumah of Ghana had moved into the Soviet camp, because he made a speech supporting a Soviet move up at the U.N. Now, Mr. Nkrumah was greeted very handsomely here yesterday, and President Kennedy said some very enthusiastic things about him.⁶ Could you say whether this view, if it ever existed in the State Department, has now been changed, and whether you regard Mr. Nkrumah in a far more friendly light?

A. One of the problems in a change of administration is to know what to do about questions about those who came before us. I don't believe that there is any profit in trying to compare or contrast here. We start from where we are.

We had a most interesting and fruitful visit with President Nkrumah. He has made some proposals to the United Nations about the Congo which have in them some very constructive elements and points. We were happy he came out very strongly indeed for a United Nations effort in the Congo at a time when support for the United Nations is very important. I think his visit yesterday was helpful, productive, very much worthwhile, and that both the two Presidents felt that it had been exceedingly profitable.

⁶ See p. 445.

Promoting the Development of Latin America

Q. Mr. Secretary, about Latin America: I don't believe anyone fairly expected you gentlemen to settle the problems of Latin America in 2 months. But I don't believe they expected either that they would go to pot in 2 months down there. And there are some signs that the thing is pulling apart. Without taking advantage of the golden opportunity to beat the President to the story Monday, I wonder if you could give us some of your viewpoints on how you think this problem ought to be met, such situations as have developed in Argentina, where apparently we were out of communication with them on what we were thinking and what they were thinking, and situations in Brazil, where the reports say Mr. [Adolf A.] Berle got a very unhappy reception.

A. Those reports of Mr. Berle's reception, by the way, are either inaccurate or greatly exaggerated. His talk with President [Janio] Quadros was very friendly, cordial, and extremely useful.

I would not of course want to anticipate the remarks to be made by the President next Monday. I think a number of things have been said about Latin America which are relevant. I don't think I need just to repeat those here.

But we do feel that the governments of Latin America must themselves do everything possible to enlist the interest and support and loyalties and the enthusiasm of their own people in the great tasks of economic, social, and educational growth in those countries. And that these are the areas in which the critical contests in the years ahead are going to occur. And that in this type of development the United States can play a very useful and key role, by assistance at critical points, in which we will ourselves get abreast of and become a part of the changes which are clearly on the way in that continent, and ally ourselves with these changes and not attempt to thwart them or to let peoples in that area believe that we are disinterested in them.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is the situation about the negotiations which we have been having with the British Government on the Proteus polaris base in Scotland? I understand there is one outstanding item which has precluded this from being signed. Can you tell us what it is?

A. Well, there are some discussions going on, having to do with the specific arrangements and

perhaps, I will say, the legal and technical problems. But there is no problem whatever about the joint action of the two Governments in establishing arrangements which are important to the defense of the free world.

We have been pleased that there has not been more difficulty there, as far as demonstrations and public reactions are concerned. We of course can understand and sympathize with the deep concern of people in our own and other countries about nuclear weapons and problems of nuclear warfare. This is a human concern, and indeed I think the Governments themselves are just as deeply concerned about the same problem. These are related to the problems of security and defense, the security of free institutions. And we hope that we can make some real headway in reducing the threat that comes from such weapons hanging over the human race. But the arrangements with the British Government are in good order on this question.

Q. Going back to Berlin for a minute. As you know, they are still using the DC-3's to fly into Berlin. It's a very uneconomical plane and it's very inconvenient, and I wondered if the administration considered asserting our airpower services' right to fly them in there at an optimum altitude or if we are going to continue to let the Russians name our altitude for us?

A. I have not personally looked into that question in the last—well, since I have taken office, in terms of the planes. I am among many Americans who rise promptly to the defense of the DC-3 under any circumstances. But on the point you raised, I frankly am not prepared today.

Q. Mr. Secretary, recently the United States has concluded a revised economic aid agreement with Korea which aroused some controversies there. The American position, I believe, was that the hostilities period had ended and there was no longer a need for special concessions to Korea, that the agreement should be similar to those agreements that we have around the world. Taking up that point, the Korean Government at present is urging the United States to apply the same reasoning to the status-of-forces agreement and conclude one governing U.S. forces there. Can you state your position on that, sir?

A. I am discussing my position on that with Secretary McNamara at the present time, and I

think I had best postpone any public statement until he and I have discussed it fully.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there have been several reports from London that this Government has been notified by Britain that, if the question of admission of Communist China does come to a vote in the United Nations, Britain will vote for the admission. Have we been so notified?

A. I am not aware of any official notification.

Q. Mr. Secretary, according to some reports, sir, the present administration does not subscribe to Mr. Herter's proposal he made at the NATO meeting last December,⁷ aimed at furnishing NATO with an independent nuclear force. Can you explain, sir, to us what is the situation?

A. Well, I have seen some speculation on that point. This is one of the questions, among many, which is being discussed within Government now in connection with the group which has come to be known as the Acheson group. Those discussions are moving along very well, and we hope to get some conclusions on that in the very near future, indeed. Incidentally I should say that it's not anticipated that there will be an Acheson report. Mr. [Dean] Acheson is working with us as a distinguished citizen, a former Secretary of State, who is working with us in Government, while we are shaping up our own policy attitudes and proposals in the NATO field. So that we do not expect that there will be a formal Acheson report. He is helping us to develop our normal governmental views within the Department.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there is one more point I'd like to clear up on Berlin, looking forward to writing a story on this. (Laughter.) You say that we intend to maintain our own position there. What do you mean? Forever, or until the situation is settled when you eliminate any responsibility for previous actions of the administration? I'd like to get a cutoff point on this. How long do you intend to maintain your position there? (Laughter.)

A. I think it was Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who once said forever was a very long time. I wouldn't know, quite frankly, how to answer that question. This is a question for the future, frankly. There is no doubt whatever about the

⁷ For background, see paragraph 7 of the final communique, BULLETIN of Jan. 9, 1961, p. 40.

present position of the West in Berlin and of the West's attitude toward the rights and security of the people of Berlin.

Q. Mr. Secretary, this relates to the dollar balance in a peoples-to-peoples relationship. There seems to be a growing feeling among Americans planning vacation trips that it might be unpatriotic to visit a foreign country. Do you feel that? (Laughter.)

A. No.

Q. Mr. Secretary, with the rejection of the efforts by the Kennedy administration to secure the admission of newsmen into Red China, do we have a starting point with them now for further talks, or how do you regard that situation, please?

A. Well, quite frankly, we were disappointed that the talks yesterday, the day before, did not show any prospect of opening up that question. We observed, however, that the general tenor of the talks was civil, that the raising of this question did not seem to create a great disturbance. And we shall certainly return to it because we believe that it would be important for American newsmen to get over there and to let some of their news people get over here on a reciprocal basis.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you say something about the American prisoners while you are on that subject?

A. There was no advance whatever on that, no.

The German Question

Q. If you reject the word "forever" in terms of Berlin, do you accept "indefinitely" in the sense that it is the American position that we will maintain our position in Berlin indefinitely?

A. This term is on the settlement of what's called the German question in its whole context, in its broadest terms. This is not something which can be tied, I think, to a calendar, nor can it be the subject of prediction. The German question is an important one, a central one. It's going to take time. How much time, who can say? But if anyone has in mind that we are thinking about or considering yielding the rights of the West in Berlin or the rights of the people in Berlin in any compromise or in any surrender, they should revise their thinking because that just isn't the case.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I think what was in the minds

of some of us was that in the previous negotiations there was some consideration given, some talk more or less on the record, about a possible reduction in the number of forces there. Also in the minds of some of us is the fact that the policy in the past insofar as Berlin is concerned has generally looked toward some plan for unifying Germany or making some kind of present settlement in Germany. Is there anything further you could say on this matter in relation to those specific points?

A. I think that the question is under study. I think these are questions on which I should defer.

Q. On Germany again, Mr. [Heinrich] von Brentano [German Foreign Minister] made a statement where it was reported that as far as he was concerned the question of the seized assets is not yet settled and that he had some talks here

that would, at least he indicated might, lead him to believe that this problem would be continuing until settled more in line with what he had wanted. Could you comment on this? Have we planned to renegotiate an agreement that the Germans have made and return these assets?

A. Well, I would not wish to comment on Mr. von Brentano's remarks. I haven't seen them, actually. But we are continuing our discussions, as we earlier indicated, on the two questions of the dollar balances as a multilateral problem in which Germany has perhaps a special role at the present time, as well as both multilateral and bilateral discussions on the question of aid and assistance which the West can give to underdeveloped countries.⁸ I would not want to go beyond that, in commenting on the Foreign Minister's statement, until I have had a chance to see it.

United States Foreign Policy in a Period of Change

Following is the transcript of an interview filmed at Washington on March 3 between Secretary Rusk and Robert Kee of the British Broadcasting Corporation and televised over the BBC network on March 6.

Press release 111 dated March 6

Mr. Kee: Mr. Secretary, as I'm sure you will have heard by now, it's been said that your appointment just over 2 months ago to the post of Secretary of State set off a puzzled reaching for reference books all over the world to find out just who you were. Now, although, of course, you occupied a post in the State Department under the Truman administration and since then you've been president of the Rockefeller Foundation, I wonder has this projection from a position of relative obscurity to one of the most important posts in the world filled you with trepidation or anxiety at all?

Secretary Rusk: Well, Mr. Kee, it's a very sobering responsibility, of course, but one has to do what one is asked to do in the world in which we live. If there are those—and I'm sure there are many in different parts of the world—who are

somewhat surprised by my appointment, I can say that I was too.

Q. You are, of course, now the head of a team of individuals, some of whom, like Mr. Harriman and Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Chester Bowles, are all for the moment much better known in the world than yourself. Do you find this inhibits you at all?

A. No, the Secretary of State, by tradition, law, and by the confidence of the President, has the responsibility for giving leadership to the formulation of our foreign policy. The Secretary is the principal adviser to the President on foreign policy, and the Department of State is his principal arm in foreign policy.

Q. Well, now, however, do you see yourself as taking the initiative in having ideas for foreign policy, or is it really the President's role to do that?

A. Initiative should be taken by all who can come up with ideas—the President, the Secretary

⁸ *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1961, p. 369.

of State, and all of his colleagues. We live in a world situation which is marked by the most far-reaching and revolutionary change. It requires new ideas and many of them—fresh approaches and imagination. There is plenty of room for ideas and imagination from any source.

Q. Well, now, we've heard a great deal about this "new frontier" that's represented by the new administration. Do you think it's really possible for there to be a new frontier in foreign policy when the whole world is imprisoned in this stalemate of the cold war?

A. I don't believe that the world situation is properly called a "stalemate." Indeed, we are in a period of great change.

Q. In what way?

A. We are witnessing at the present time the disintegration of older political forms, among them colonial empires. We are seeing coming into being international organizations, both regional and worldwide, at almost a breathtaking pace, whether one is thinking of the Common Market or the United Nations or the discussion of a Central American common market or SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] or the Colombo Plan or any of the hundreds of international organizations who are meeting right around the year.

Q. Yes, but now these are all surely marginal areas, whereas the real issue is the one whether we can live in peace with the Communist powers. Is there any room for fresh thinking there?

A. Well, this problem of peace is affected by what's going on with the rest of these things. One speaks in this country, I suppose in yours, of the revolution of rising expectations, another powerful force toward change. The Communist bloc has entered this world of change in these recent years with great new energy, and, I must say, some considerable skill and sophistication.

Peace is not a bilateral relationship between Washington and Moscow or, indeed, between the West and Moscow. Peace is going to be worked out in relation to these changes that are going on. I would not say "stalemate" at all.

Protection of Berlin

Q. Now, you criticized the previous United States administration because you said that it

tended to wait for a crisis to arise before formulating a policy to deal with it. Now, how would you deal with a new crisis that might arise over the old problem of Berlin, for instance?

A. Well, there are some questions which just because they're old do not necessarily require new treatment. The people of Berlin want to be free. They have been free in a viable city since the end of the war. I think that that is the central problem in Berlin, and we and our friends in the West are determined that the Berliners will remain free.

Q. Would you consider a free, demilitarized city of Berlin, in the way in which there was a free city of Danzig before the war, a possible solution?

A. Well, I would not want, at this early stage of the new administration, to get into many alternatives that are going to be proposed over the months or years ahead from many quarters. The central thing is the freedom, the protection of the city of Berlin, and I think there is no doubt that the West is determined to see that that occurs.

Q. Do you think it's foreseeably possible that we might one day be able to have some sort of disengagement in Europe or even a complete withdrawal of conventional forces? That is to say, provided the Russians did the same, of course?

A. Well, I doubt very much that peace is going to come about by a general formula. Peace is a matter of hard work, detailed negotiation, application to specific problems to determine whether on specific issues, small as well as large, there is any possibility for any constructive arrangement.

Now, on such a question as disarmament there has never been any doubt about the willingness or readiness of a democracy to disarm. The historical record of this question is that democracies will disarm at the least pretext. One of our problems since World War I has been that the people in the world who are committed to peace have not been strong enough to deter the aggressor.

Q. Yes, but now surely we feel confident that with our nuclear power we have got a real deterrent. What, then, is the case for maintaining conventional forces in Europe?

A. Well, the problems which are likely to arise and have arisen in the past are problems which

require great flexibility of means. I think it is the flexibility of means that's important.

The Problem of Formosa

Q. If we can turn from Europe then and take another very old problem, the problem of Formosa, do you think it's possible for there to be fresh thinking there?

A. Well, if you mean Formosa itself, the United States has very specific commitments to the Government on Formosa and to the security of that island.

Q. When you say "the Government on Formosa," what about the Formosan people themselves? Do you distinguish them from the Government on Formosa?

A. No. That is, we think of the Government and people on the island of Formosa. Those commitments stand, and there is no question about them.

If you also mean the authorities on the mainland—Peiping—we have seen no indication of any fresh thinking on their side that has any bearing upon anything like normal relations. They have continued a most vituperative campaign against the United States and against Americans. They have shown themselves to be the most aggressive leader apparently of the Communist bloc in the doctrinal discussions between Peiping and Moscow. They have insisted that no normal relations are possible unless the rest of us all yield Formosa to them. So I would suppose that the prospects for normal relations are not very bright.

Q. Now, some years ago you yourself said that you thought that Chiang Kai-shek represented more authentically the people of the mainland of China than the Peking regime. Have you had any fresh thinking since then?

A. I think, if I recall that statement correctly, that I was referring to the Government in Formosa at that time, and, of course, the United States Government recognized that Government at that time as the Government of China.

Q. It still does, doesn't it?

A. Of course it does. And more than that, the leadership from the mainland, not just Government officials but their professors, their scholars, their scientists, their artists, that came over there,

were to us and are a much more genuine representation of the China that we have known and the great traditions of China than what appeared on the mainland at that time.

Q. So you would still say that Chiang Kai-shek's government is an authentic representative of the people of China?

A. I'm talking in this context about the great cultural heritage of China. I think you would find a more direct expression of that in Formosa than you would in another regime.

Q. Would you say that there is any danger of a United States administration's policy being cramped by the need to maintain certain conventional, prefixed, traditional attitudes at home?

A. Well, I don't quite know what one means by "cramped" in this condition. A government, particularly a government in a democratic society such as yours or ours, is to a very considerable degree responsive to the attitude and general orientation of its own people. For example, there is a very simple notion that most Americans, almost all Americans, really believe. This is the notion that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. That helps to explain our instinctive reaction toward colonialism. That helps to explain our concern about the situation of the countries in Eastern Europe, why we instinctively find ourselves working most closely with other democratic societies, why we are worried about some of our own failures in our own society to live up to our own ideals.

Now, of course, there are great streams of policy like that which are guidelines for any government regardless of its party orientation.

Relationships With New African Nations

Q. On the subject of colonialism which you mentioned just now, perhaps we could turn to Africa. President Kennedy has come out very strongly supporting Mr. Mennen Williams' [Assistant Secretary for African Affairs] statement about Africa being for the Africans. Now, do you think the previous administration was perhaps a little insufficiently categorical in backing such a view?

A. Well, if I could go back to the remarks that I have just made, I think that one of the fresh

approaches which the new administration can make is to take a look at some of these revolutionary changes and try to decide what our relation to these changes ought to be.

Now, to a considerable extent you and we in the West should be thinking about how we can regain the leadership of our own revolutions— independence. I mean, if you walk into the General Assembly of the United Nations, you will see sitting there more than 20 independent members who used to be a part of the British Empire. You people—beginning with the United States, of course—you people carried notions of freedom with you wherever you went. You couldn't help it.

Well, now, we in the West have tended to lose the leadership of our own revolutions for economic and social progress, for national independence, for freedom itself, for constitutional government. And you have the curious phenomenon that Mr. Khrushchev stands up in the General Assembly proposing that he is the leader of the nationalist revolution, that he is the champion of national independence—Mr. Khrushchev, who never gave away anything. And he makes some headway with this notion at the expense of you and us, who invented this idea.

Q. Do you therefore think that governments such as, for instance, the South African Government and even the Portuguese Government in Africa are prejudicing the cause of the West?

A. Well, I believe that it is important for us in the West to come to a right and reliable relationship with people in the non-West and that the whites come to a right and permanent relationship with people of other colors. I think that everyone has a great admiration for the way that you people have been able to work out national independence on the one side followed by close, friendly relationships with those same peoples after the divorce has occurred. This is a remarkable performance.

Q. What would you say is the most important lesson we must learn from the Congo?

A. That the road to independence must be planned with care, that leadership should be trained along the way, that a cadre of responsibility must be in place in order to take responsibility effectively, and that, when areas of this sort go through this painful, sometimes traumatic

experience, the rest of us should be careful not to embroil these areas in the great, tumultuous rivalries that are going on in other parts of the world if we can avoid it.

Nuclear Disarmament

Q. If we could leave Africa now and return to the general scene, you said on the subject of neutrals that, unlike others who have been concerned with United States foreign policy, you don't necessarily think that those who are not for you are against you.

A. I have said that.

Q. Well, now, there are, as you know, people in Britain today—a minority, I think, but quite a strong minority—who are not anti-American but who nevertheless think that the best way to reduce general tension in the world between the two big powers and to arrive at general disarmament would be for Britain to disarm as a nuclear power unilaterally. Now, what effect do you think that would in fact have on world tension?

A. Well, I think this question tends to get turned around. When one says "neutral," it's important to know what it is we're neutral about. We hope very much that all governments and all peoples will commit themselves firmly and strongly to, say, the principles that appear in the preamble and articles 1 and 2 of the United Nations Charter.

Q. Yes, but then these—

A. That is, neutrality is not indifference. Now, my remark which you quoted was directed to the notion that we do not insist on an alliance or a commitment to us as a price for our friendship or our support or interest. That's all that I had in mind there.

On the second part of your question, it might be worth noting that very few of the problems between Washington and Moscow are bilateral problems between the United States and the Soviet Union. If we have our problems with them, it is because of the anxiety which we and others have about what they might do to people somewhere else—Western Europe, Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, wherever. Now, if these areas were strong, independent, free, leading their

own lives, and with a sense of security, the tensions between Washington and Moscow would drop very fast indeed.

Q. But, of course, they would have that security from the American deterrent, wouldn't they?

A. That is one of the purposes of the American deterrent.

Q. But, then, what is the case for these nations becoming nuclear powers themselves?

A. Well, that is a rather involved question that I wouldn't like to get into at this time. I think that there is considerable danger in a wide distribution of national nuclear power, because it greatly increases the chance of mishap or accident or misuse.

Q. But you wouldn't agree with the unilateralists that unilateralist nuclear disarmament by Britain is likely to lead to general disarmament?

A. Well, I wouldn't want to comment on the specific point of unilateral nuclear disarmament on the part of Britain or any other particular country. I'm just saying that in general the attempt of any nation to pull out of this problem as though it were not directly concerned would miss the main point, because the security of these areas is at least a primary problem between Washington and Moscow.

Hopes for Agreement With Soviets

Q. Do you think there are hopes of perhaps reaching some progress with disarmament?

A. We hope so. And we expect to approach that question very seriously. As you know, we're going into the nuclear test talks on March 21. We shall do our best to reach an agreement, and after that, after those talks, we will, of course, be getting into the problems of more general disarmament. These are very complex questions, and the negotiations will be undoubtedly difficult, but we should like to see some progress made.

I think all of us would agree that the burden of armament in the world today is a burden which we could be without. I think also we're interested in not letting the arms race spread into areas where it has not been before, and if some way could be found to help the newly independent countries to avoid an arms race among themselves

so that their resources could be used for their own economic and social development rather than for such other purposes, they would be much better off and so would the rest of us.

Q. Do you think there is a chance of getting the Russians into some agreement to stop that happening?

A. We don't know. We don't know.

Q. Your own record as being rather against the idea of what's been called "summitry," now, does that stand?

A. Well, as a private citizen I did express some views on this subject. I felt, thinking of it as an American, that the noticeable American reluctance to get into summit diplomacy over the years is, from the American point of view, sound.

Under our constitutional system it is not easy for our President to be away a great deal of the time, and under our system of government there are problems in his relations with the Congress and in the way in which we dispose of our matters here at home which require him to be at his post most of the time.

Also, again as a private citizen, I pointed out that over the past the record of summit diplomacy is not necessarily encouraging. I, being somewhat old-fashioned in these matters, feel traditional diplomacy should be used a great deal but that we should not give up any means for settling disputes, that we should not abandon any technique, that we should keep ourselves flexible, so that any of us who are carrying public responsibility can do what has to be done to get on with the main job, which is to maintain peace.

Q. One last question, Mr. Secretary. Do you believe that the Russians really believe in coexistence?

A. Well, there are many words on which you would need perhaps a bilateral glossary as between the free peoples and the Communists. "Freedom" is one. "Peace" is one. Perhaps "coexistence" is one. I think that there have been times when they seem to be quite convinced that coexistence, as we might understand it, is possible. But when one reads declarations such as the recent declaration of the Communist summit about Communist purposes or Mr. Khrushchev's speech on January 6th, one wonders if we're not

back to the problem of definition and understanding.

I wouldn't want to be categorical about such an important concept as this. We intend, on our own side, and I'm sure that you people do yourselves—we intend to work earnestly, with care, with imagination, to find out whether coexistence is possible.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

A. Thank you.

Presidents of U.S. and Yugoslavia Exchange Greetings

White House press release dated March 4

The White House on March 4 released the following exchange of messages between President Kennedy and Marshal Josip Broz Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

President Kennedy to Marshal Tito

FEBRUARY 25, 1961

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I wish to acknowledge belatedly the congratulations and the good wishes conveyed in your message of January 20 on the occasion of my inauguration as President of the United States. I deeply appreciate your message.

I share fully your confidence in the continuing favorable development of relations between our two countries and your recognition of the need for the utmost efforts to solve by peaceful means the critical problems facing the world.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

His Excellency
Marshal JOSIP BROZ TITO,
President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia,
Belgrade.

Marshal Tito to President Kennedy

JANUARY 20, 1961

His Excellency JOHN F. KENNEDY
President of the United States of America

On the occasion of your inauguration I am addressing to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the peoples of Yugo-

slavia and in my own name my sincere congratulations and best wishes for success of your work.

I trust that your personal efforts in the present complex and serious situation will contribute to the improvement of the international relations and the peaceful solution of the burning world problems.

I am confident that the relations between our two countries shall further develop towards deepening of mutual respect, understanding and cooperation.

JOSIP BROZ TITO

President Asks for Wider Discretion on Aid to Eastern Europe

The White House on March 7 made public the following letter from President Kennedy to Vice President Johnson. An identical letter was sent to Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

White House press release dated March 7

FEBRUARY 21, 1961

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In the State of the Union address¹ I asked the Congress for increased discretion to use economic tools as an aid in re-establishing our historic ties of friendship with the people of Eastern Europe.

I urge the Congress to take early action on legislation to accomplish this purpose. Such legislation—along the lines of the amendment to the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 which was passed by the Senate on September 12, 1959—accompanies this letter.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

HONORABLE LYNDON B. JOHNSON
President of the Senate
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

A B I L L

To amend the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 102 of title I of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (22 U.S.C. 1611a) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 102. Responsibility for giving effect to the purposes of this Act shall be vested in the Secretary of State

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 13, 1961, p. 207.

or such other officer as the President may designate, hereinafter referred to as the 'Administrator'."

SEC. 2. Section 303 of title III of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (22 U.S.C. 1613b) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 303. (a) This Act shall not be deemed to prohibit furnishing economic and financial assistance to any nation or area, except the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Communist-held areas of the Far East, whenever the President determines that such assistance is important to the security of the United States: *Provided*, That, after termination of assistance to any nation as provided in sections 103(b) and 203 of this Act, assistance shall be resumed to such nation only in accordance with section 104 of this Act. The President shall immediately report any determination made pursuant to this subsection with reasons therefor to the Committees on Foreign Relations, Appropriations, and Armed Services of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"(b) The Administrator may, notwithstanding the requirements of the first proviso of section 103(b) of this Act, direct the continuance of assistance to a country which knowingly permits shipments of items other than arms, ammunition, implements of war, and atomic energy materials to any nation or area receiving economic or financial assistance pursuant to a determination made under section 303 (a) of this Act."

Letters of Credence

Tunisia

The newly appointed Ambassador of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, Jr., presented his credentials to President Kennedy on March 10. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 124 dated March 10.

Ambassador Harriman Visits Iran

Press release 131 dated March 11

The Department of State announced on March 11 that Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman has accepted the personal invitation of His Majesty the Shah of Iran to visit Tehran following the Ambassador's current European trip. Ambassador Harriman expects to be in Tehran from March 12 to March 15.

The Ambassador's visit will afford an opportunity for a friendly exchange of views with regard to matters of mutual interest to the two countries. The Shah and Ambassador Harriman have been close friends since 1951, when the Ambassador undertook a special mission to Iran.

March 27, 1961

President Kennedy Holds Talks With President of Ghana

On March 8 President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana made an informal visit to Washington at the invitation of President Kennedy. Following are an exchange of remarks made upon Mr. Nkrumah's arrival, the text of a joint communique issued following the meeting between the two Presidents, and remarks made when President Kennedy introduced President Nkrumah to news correspondents at the White House.

WELCOMING REMARKS

White House press release dated March 8

President Kennedy

I want to take this opportunity to welcome again to the United States, which he knows so well, the first citizen of Ghana, President Nkrumah.

Yesterday, in his speech at the United Nations, he quoted a common hero, I believe, Thomas Jefferson. Thomas Jefferson also once said, "The disease of liberty is catching."

It has been the object of our guest's life to make sure that that disease of liberty spreads around the globe. He has fought for it in his own country. He fights for it in Africa—he fights for it in the world.

We share the same basic aspiration for the United States as he works for his own country. We share the same basic aspiration for Africa that he wishes for—and for the world.

It is therefore a great honor and a great pleasure for me, as President of the United States, to welcome a distinguished citizen of a friendly country and also a distinguished citizen of the world, the President of Ghana, President Nkrumah.

President Nkrumah

Mr. President, as this is our first meeting since your assumption of responsibility as President of the United States, may I be permitted to offer you my personal and hearty congratulations and those of the Government and people of Ghana. We all look forward to a period of continued cooperation and understanding between our two countries.

I hope that our meeting today will strengthen our relations and contribute toward the establishment of lasting peace and stability in Africa and in the world.

These are troublous times. They are also times of opportunity for action. Let us, therefore, emphasize and consolidate the very many things that unite us and from that starting point tackle the problems which confront us in our time. I am sure, Mr. President, that success will crown our efforts.

I thank you and the people of the United States for the warm welcome that has been accorded to me.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

White House press release dated March 8

President John F. Kennedy and President Kwame Nkrumah exchanged views this afternoon regarding the general situation in Africa as well as various aspects of current relations between the United States and the Republic of Ghana.

The two Presidents reviewed economic and political problems of common interest and reaffirmed their desire to work together toward increasing the existing fund of respect and good will shared by the Governments and peoples of Ghana and the United States. The importance of mutual confidence and understanding was emphasized by the two Presidents.

The two Presidents recognized the central importance of the role of the United Nations in Africa and the importance of the African countries and their leaders working together for the peaceful development of that great continent. In particular, they are convinced of the need for unflinching and genuine support, both moral and material, of United Nations efforts to bring peace to the people of the Congo and to promote peace and stability in the continent as a whole. They also agreed that the nations of Africa should be supported in the development of their natural resources so as to benefit the continent as a whole and provide a promising future for their peoples in full and unfettered freedom.

Both expressed gratification at this opportunity occasioned by Dr. Nkrumah's visit to the United Nations, for this informal meeting.

INTRODUCTION OF MR. NKUMAH

White House press release dated March 8

Remarks by President Kennedy

I know that all of you are anxious to speak to the President, and I will release him immediately.

I do want to say that the communique is going to go out very shortly, as soon as we can get some copies of it, which will be available to you all, which covers the main points which we wanted to mention.

I just want to say, speaking personally, that we have had a most fruitful talk. I think it's most helpful. We have a very high regard for the President. As I said at the airport, it is a great source of pride to us as Americans that he studied here in the United States, that he knows our country well, that he spent over 10 years of his life here. I think he knows the traditions of our country, and I am sure he knows its aspirations; and I am sure that he knows that we wish for him and for his country the best of good fortune and speedy and swift progress toward a constantly improving standard of living, that we mean to do our part in cooperation with his efforts.

In addition, I emphasized to him that we are anxious for peace in Africa so that the people of Africa can develop their resources. We are anxious also to see the people of Africa living in freedom. This has been a long tradition of this country, stretching back to our earliest beginnings. We ourselves are a revolutionary people, and we want to see for other people what we have been able to gain for ourselves.

So we have been honored to have the President here, and we regard him as a strong figure in his own country and as a strong figure in Africa; and therefore this exchange of views has been most helpful to this administration. And I am sure he realizes how welcome he is, and it was a great pleasure for me to have an opportunity to introduce him to Mrs. Kennedy and to my daughter. He has young children who are younger than mine, so that it shows how vital Africa is.

Remarks by President Nkrumah

May I add this, that meeting you has been a wonderful experience for me, and I really mean that. Thank you.

The United Nations' Capacity To Act

by Harlan Cleveland¹

The most striking thing about the United Nations, and the most hopeful for the future of an organized world community, is that the United Nations has developed a large and rapidly growing capacity to act. It has demonstrated that an international organization can in fact mobilize funds and people for economic development, that it can in fact supervise the administration of dependent areas, that it can in fact put together a military force and a group of civilian administrators to bring a modicum of order and security where there might otherwise be civil war and communal rioting.

Each time the Organization takes on a new and bigger task the skeptics wonder if it can survive the test. If the World Bank had tackled the Indus project 10 years ago, it might have failed. If the United Nations had tackled the Congo or even the Gaza Strip 10 years ago, it is doubtful that it had the executive leadership or could have developed the executive energy to carry it off. Ten years ago, indeed, the only way the United Nations could act was by delegating the executive side of the job to one or a group of its members—as the Security Council did in setting up a defense force for Korea under American military leadership.

But now, after smaller political and military tryouts in several parts of the Middle East, the community of nations has come face to face in the Congo with the question whether it can develop and maintain a truly international operation—whether it can make internationalism operational. It is a big operation—18,000 troops and perhaps eventually 25,000, several hundred civilian administrators, scheduled to cost at least \$135 million this year.

It would have been more orderly to proceed from the Gaza Strip to the Congo in smaller steps, developing more gradually the United Nations' military and administrative capability for field operations, instead of having to put together so

¹ Address made before the 11th annual conference of national organizations, sponsored by the American Association for the United Nations, at Washington, D.C., on Mar. 12 (press release 129 dated Mar. 11). Mr. Cleveland is Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs.

Need for Public Understanding of U. N. Stressed by President Kennedy

The following is the text of a message from President Kennedy to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, chairman of the Board of Directors, and Herman W. Steinkraus, president, of the American Association for the United Nations.

MARCH 12, 1961

DEAR MRS. ROOSEVELT AND MR. STEINKRAUS: The opening on March seventh of the General Assembly has again focused attention on those crises in the world which, if unresolved, can only invite conflict. The United Nations offers by far our best channel for finding reasonable and just solutions to them. Never has there been a greater need for the people of this country, and indeed for those of all the members of the United Nations, to understand these critical issues. The United Nations must succeed because the alternative is the abandonment of the principle of a world governed by law to a world dominated by force.

The Eleventh Conference of National Organizations on the United Nations, which is taking place under the sponsorship of the American Association for the United Nations, has a vital task in helping to project the urgent need for strong and vigorous public understanding and support of our participation in the United Nations. In this effort, you have my full encouragement.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

large a field organization in one giant executive stride. It is a tribute to the nations who have served on the Security Council that they not only made it possible to start in the Congo but they continued and strengthened the mandate when the going got rough last month.²

It is a tribute above all to the imagination and pertinacity of Dag Hammarskjold that he did not shrink from this opportunity to show that an international organization can act as well as talk. Even the Soviets found a backhanded way to express their admiration: In their impugning attack on the office of the Secretary-General they said they would refuse to "recognize" him, unconsciously using about a secretariat official the language usually reserved in diplomacy for relations among sovereign states.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Mar. 13, 1961, p. 359.

If the Congo operation can be maintained long enough and strong enough to set the Congo on a new path of relatively peaceful politics, there is more executive work ahead of the United Nations. There will be other vacuums to fill with pacifying troops and administrative know-how and economic aid. And there might be other kinds of operations: eventually, for example, a control system for the hundreds or thousands of satellites hurtling through the heavens.

Our Soviet friends are alarmed by the demonstration that an international agency can develop the capacity to act, and act on a substantial scale under emergency conditions. They prefer the sort of competitive, bilateral intervention in which each victory takes the form of a "compromise" by splitting a weak country in half and establishing another miserable satellite on earth. And in the longer run they are alarmed by the possibility that the growing operational capability of the United Nations to carry out a charter which is full of dangerous thoughts about freedom of choice for all men may simply bury the Communist version of history without even a major war to show for it.

This is why the Soviets have zeroed in on the Secretary-General. They know, from their own administrative experience as well as from the experience of bureaucracies everywhere, that executive power can only be effectively organized if some one person is ultimately in charge. They know that to put a committee in charge of a complex operation is a device for making sure that the operation will sicken fast with timidity and indecision, those universal symptoms of administrative failure.

But there is today in being a United Nations operation. There will have to be more and better ones in the future. That is why we have to make the Congo program work—and pick up our very large share of the tab. That is why we also need to help the United Nations get itself organized in the field of technical assistance and investment financing, so as to bring its many instruments to bear more effectively in support of each country's economic development program. That is why we have to press for cooperative operations in many fields of scientific and technical exploration.

That is why, finally, it is possible for every citizen to distinguish between phony disarmament proposals and real ones. The real ones will con-

tain plans for an international organization with the capacity to act—to inspect, to control, to publish, perhaps even to restrict to international use some of the more dangerous of mankind's toys. The phony proposals will be those which envisage a sweeping legislative act by the Parliament of Man but cripple or reject the executive follow-through.

And so I suggest to you a criterion for every action we take that affects the United Nations system of organizations: Does it enhance, or does it tend to destroy, the Organization's capacity to take executive action?

Pakistan Finance Minister Calls at White House

White House press release dated March 7

Pakistan Finance Minister [Mohammed] Shoaib and Pakistan Ambassador Aziz Ahmed called on President John F. Kennedy at the White House on March 7.

The President assured Mr. Shoaib that his administration has the highest regard for, and confidence in, the close ties of friendship and alliance which bind Pakistan and the United States.

The President and Mr. Shoaib then discussed various aspects of United States-Pakistan relations, and the President expressed the continuing intention of the United States to cooperate with Pakistan in its economic development efforts. President Kennedy confirmed that the United States is prepared to negotiate a 4-year program to provide under Public Law 480 agricultural commodities to assist Pakistan's development programs.

The President also expressed to Mr. Shoaib his pleasure that President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan had accepted his invitation to pay a state visit to the United States in the latter part of November.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia To Visit United States

White House press release dated March 9

President Kennedy announced on March 9 that President [Habib] Bourguiba of Tunisia has accepted his invitation to make a state visit to this country. The Tunisian President will arrive at

Washington on May 3 for a 3-day stay and will then visit several other cities in the United States. He will stay in this country approximately a week.

President Kennedy stated, in making the announcement, "Tunisia is a new state, but it has already won great respect for its devotion to princi-

ple and its determination to develop its resources and promote the welfare of its people. In greeting President Bourguiba we will not only be welcoming a dynamic leader but a statesman whose courageous advocacy of international understanding and cooperation is universally admired."

A New Frontier in Free-World Economic Cooperation

by Under Secretary Ball¹

I have been expatriated from Chicago for almost 20 years, and each time I return I am struck anew with the changing face of this ebullient city. It seems to me sometimes that between my all-too-rare visits you have torn down most of your buildings and replaced them with even larger and more elegant structures. Glass and aluminum and stainless steel have supplanted the brick and stone and concrete familiar to my boyhood. Chicago seems busier, more vital, and more vigorous than it did even when I was a young, confused, and overpaid lawyer—long before I became an aging, confused, and underpaid bureaucrat.

These symbols of progress are not confined to Chicago—nor are they confined to the United States. It is, I suppose, one of the most familiar clichés of our day that we live in a world of enormously rapid change. Most of us have learned that, if we Americans are to flourish as a people, as a nation, as a society, as a civilization, we must adapt our thinking and our actions to change. We must strive to direct it and not merely be moved by it.

What extraordinary things have happened in this generation! How different is the world from that of even 15 years ago! Then the most brutal war in history had just drawn to an agonizing close, leaving a great part of civilized society

shattered and in grave disorder. Nowhere was this more evident than in Europe, where the great land battles were fought. The armies that retreated or advanced across France, the Low Countries, and into Germany had left an appalling trail of devastation. And what the armies had only damaged, a massive air offensive had destroyed. Shattered cities, broken bridges, railroad yards that looked like a child's playroom the day after Christmas, factories mere bricks and rubble—I need not continue this dolorous list. Many of you were there. You remember it all too well.

In sharp contrast to this devastation the United States emerged from the war as the single strong and prosperous nation of the West. Our cities were untouched, our roads and bridges and railroads undamaged, our industrial plants unscathed. During the war years our total production had increased by nearly 100 percent. We had 60 percent of all the gold in the world. We were, in fact, the Mount Everest among world powers.

But this situation of unique prosperity was neither to our liking nor in our interest. A man cannot forever exist strong and healthy in a community where everyone else is ill. Even from a narrow economic point of view, if we were to realize our great potential for growth and development we had to have world markets. That meant we needed prosperous neighbors. What would have been desirable from a narrow economic

¹Address made before the 24th Chicago World Trade Conference at Chicago, Ill., on Mar. 7 (press release 113 dated Mar. 6).

interest was made imperative by the growing shape and threat of Soviet power.

We can be proud that at that critical point in our history we acted with great wisdom. In 1947 we undertook through the Marshall plan to help rebuild the economies of our friends and neighbors. With the perspective of history we can measure the abundant success of that effort. In the 4 intensive years of the Marshall plan, the major nations of Europe recovered their strength and vitality, found a second wind, and began to march toward previously unknown levels of production at an accelerating pace. Today, as we all know, Europe is not merely prosperous but strong. Not only have the European people rebuilt their economies; they have made great progress toward unifying and combining their energies in common institutions. And as a result of these efforts, we face a wholly different relationship with our European friends and with the other advanced economies of the world.

What is the meaning of this new relationship? It is no longer a relationship of the weak to the strong, of the followers to the leader. It is something far healthier—the relationship of the strong to the stronger. We are no longer the single giant among nations. We are rather the largest giant in a world of giants, the strongest among the strong, the first among equals.

This relationship, I need hardly insist, is as it should be. It does not mean that we have failed to grow. On the contrary, we have grown enormously since those immediate postwar days. Our gross national product is 2½ times what it was then. Our commercial exports are nearly twice as high.

It is, of course, inevitable that such a fundamental change in economic relations must bring far-reaching implications. It is of two of the most important of these implications that I want to speak to you tonight. I suggest that they can be summed up by two words: interdependence and partnership.

Interdependence of Economically Advanced Nations

Let me comment first on the new element of interdependence that marks our relations with the other economically advanced nations. In the pre-war years, of course, dependence was all in one direction. When we were the single towering eco-

nomic power in the Western World, cyclical changes in the European economy had little effect upon our own. Our economic strength was so overwhelming that we could very well have been virtually an island unto ourselves. Our economy was largely unaffected by whatever economic policies other states might individually pursue.

Today the situation is wholly changed. In a world where currencies are widely convertible, where capital moves freely, where the windows of most of the major trading nations have been opened wider and wider to world competition, the implications of interdependence become more and more clear.

I know of no better demonstration of the full nature of this interdependence than our recent problems with our balance of payments. Our deficit, about which there has been so much discussion in the last few months, is not primarily an American problem; it reflects a basic disequilibrium in the balance of accounts of the whole free world. It is not a problem for the United States alone, and it is imperative that we not attempt to rectify it solely by our own actions.

If we attempted to eliminate our balance-of-payments deficit merely by unilateral measures—and we could do so quite easily—we would weaken the free world. We would get rid of our deficit by passing it on to countries that could sustain it only at enormous cost.

We are, therefore, determined to seek situations that will not merely shift but will diminish the imbalance in free-world accounts. Our persistent balance-of-payments deficit is to a large extent a reflection of the persistent balance-of-payments surpluses of certain other free-world countries. The solution of the free-world problem must lie, therefore, in action by surplus and deficit countries alike to restore a general and healthy equilibrium.

An appreciation of this fact underlay President Kennedy's balance-of-payments message to Congress,² and I am happy to say we have found general agreement on this point during recent discussions with certain of our European friends.

This past weekend the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany gave tangible expression to its responsibility as a surplus country when it revalued the deutsche mark by about 5 percent. This was a modest, but helpful, step toward re-

² For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 27, 1961, p. 287.

moving the basic disequilibrium in free-world accounts. It should also serve to discourage the short-term movements that have been inspired by uncertainty as to the future value of the deutsche mark.

The Netherlands, whose reserves have also increased markedly in the past year or so, took similar action, raising the exchange rate of the guilder by approximately 5 percent. This also should contribute to a better balance in the international payments pattern.

Later this month I shall visit Germany and England. I expect that in the course of my conversations in Bonn, and in the London discussions that will follow, there will be indications of additional measures along other lines which the German Government will take toward restoring the imbalance in free-world accounts.

I do not intend tonight after such a pleasant dinner to impose upon your good humor with a detailed analysis of our balance-of-payments problem. I should like, however, to take just a moment to call attention to two contentions which have been greatly overstated:

The first is that our deficit means that American merchandise can no longer compete in the world market and, hence, we must adopt new protectionist measures. One can hardly reconcile this with our performance last year, when we had a \$4.7 billion surplus of United States merchandise exports over merchandise imports. I do not mean to suggest that there is reason for American industry to be complacent. If we do not continue to increase our productivity and if we do not restrain the pressures that can lead to a new wage-price spiral, we may yet lose our place in the world markets. I need hardly remind this audience that in today's highly competitive world American industry must compete as aggressively as it ever has in our history. There is certainly no reason for us to fear competition. But compete we must.

The second fallacy is that our balance-of-payments problem results principally, or even in substantial part, from our aid to less fortunate countries. In actual fact it has been a relatively minor influence in the past and will be even less this year. As a temporary measure we are now insisting that the dollars provided through assistance programs must be substantially spent in the United States. Two-thirds of the Mutual Security Program and about four-fifths of the overall foreign aid pro-

gram are spent in the purchase of goods and services in the United States and therefore have no effect of any kind on our balance of payments. Ninety percent of the money spent in our military assistance program goes directly to American industries and pays wages to Americans. Of the money spent abroad for these programs, most of it is repaid in the United States.

Achieving Common Tasks Through Partnership

In discussing interdependence I have emphasized the potential damage the Western nations could do to one another if each were to pursue separate economic policies without reference to the effect on others. Interdependence also has a more positive aspect—the ability of the Western nations, acting in partnership, to multiply their strength for the achievement of common tasks.

The most pressing of those tasks is, of course, to defend the free world from military aggression. Almost as pressing is the need to help raise the level of life in the newly developing countries. Conditions have markedly changed since 1947, when the United States was the sole nation able to contribute substantial resources to the rebuilding of Europe. Now the Western European nations, who have recovered remarkably with our help, face, in partnership with us, a common task of assisting the less developed nations.

I am sure that I need not spell out for this knowledgeable audience the critical importance of this undertaking. Much has been said and written in recent years about the revolution of rising expectations which is sweeping the world. Primarily in the Southern Hemisphere nations are emerging from colonial status, while others are beginning to shake themselves free from centuries of lethargy.

The peoples of these areas have caught the ferment in the air. They are impelled by a great hunger for economic, political, and social advancement.

If the more prosperous free-world nations offer them the hope and the reality of such advancement, the less fortunate countries will gain the strength and self-respect to turn their energies to constructive ends. But if they are met only by frustration and disappointment, if progress appears merely a delusion, they may, in bitterness, renounce those values which our society holds most

important. Indeed, many of them may be drawn helplessly into the Communist orbit.

To help these nations develop their economies and institutions at a sufficiently rapid pace to provide the necessary promise and reality is not a task which we can or should undertake by ourselves. The very magnitude of the problem makes it necessary to mobilize our resources in concert with those of the other advanced countries if we are to succeed.

By coordinating our efforts, we can do much. Each age has its own distinctive character, and the 1960's may well, I think, be known as the Decade of Development. It is in the next 10 years that the peak effort of development must be made if we are to succeed in this great undertaking. And it is within the next 10 years that concentrated effort, by a partnership of the advanced nations, can produce fruitful results. In that decade some of the less developed countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—nations, for example, such as India, Pakistan, Turkey, Brazil, and the Republic of China—may be brought to the point where they can continue to grow on their own, without the need for extraordinary external assistance.

This is part of a new approach to economic development: the idea that aid should be managed in such a way that the recipient nations are encouraged to plan so that resources are concentrated within a comprehensive development program on projects calculated to get them on a self-sustaining basis at some definite future point. This approach contrasts constructively with assistance that does no more than keep a desperate economic situation from total collapse.

It would be misleading, however, to suggest that all emergency assistance can be converted to what I have referred to as long-term programmed aid. There are critical and sensitive areas in the world, such as Korea, where the constant pressure of the cold war effectively prevents an early prospect for transition to this new concept of foreign assistance.

If the economic development goals of the free world's underprivileged are to be achieved, it will come about only if the Atlantic Community recognizes the fact of interdependence and partnership. Appreciation of this situation is growing among us and our partners. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to assure such understanding merely by sporadic discussion.

We Americans recognized this fact in the field of defense in 1949, when we took the lead in the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Today in Washington we are taking a fresh look at NATO to see how the alliance can be strengthened and our common defense efforts made more effective.

Institutions for Economic Cooperation

But now the need for common understanding and coordinated action has expanded from defense to economics. We must not hesitate to take the next step toward the creation of a mechanism that will encourage systematic cooperation among the advanced nations in the economic field.

Such an institution has existed for more than 12 years among the Western European nations in the form of the OEEC—the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. The OEEC was conceived at the very beginning of the Marshall plan in recognition of the interdependence of the weak—the European nations with a common problem of reconstruction. Now that those nations have become strong, the hard facts of economic life widen the circle of interdependence and partnership to encompass the United States and Canada as well.

These developments clearly call for a new approach. Recognizing this the United States Government in December 1959 proposed that a new Atlantic Community organization be created to supersede the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.³ The United States and Canada would both be full members of this new organization, to be known as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

During the past year a long series of negotiations resulted in the drafting of a convention among 20 nations to bring such a new organization into being. This convention, the equivalent of a treaty, was signed in December and was submitted to the U.S. Senate as one of the final acts of the Eisenhower administration.⁴ It is now before the Senate for ratification. In fact I testified only

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1960, p. 43, and Feb. 1, 1960, p. 139.

⁴ For text of the OECD convention, see *ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1961, p. 11. For an address on the OECD by Secretary Rusk and statements by Mr. Ball and Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, see *ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1961, pp. 323, 326, and 330.

yesterday afternoon at a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to consider that ratification.

The convention as drafted is, I think, a good document. It provides a solid foundation for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. It clearly states a basis on which the industrialized nations of North America and Europe agree to consult and cooperate and the reasons why they are prepared to do so. It provides the means for converting common policy objectives into effective action. It neither restricts nor impinges on the sovereign rights which each of the member countries is determined to preserve. In short the convention provides a simple, sturdy platform from which the countries of the Atlantic Community can launch cooperative and constructive action to meet the major economic problems facing us today.

The work of the OECD will fall into three main categories. First, in an implicit recognition of economic interdependence, it provides a forum in which the member countries can review and discuss their economic policies and coordinate those policies to avoid or correct distortions—including that type of distortion which has created balance-of-payments difficulties not only for the United States but for the other Western Powers. In the Western World of today such distortions will inevitably occur unless all of the major industrial powers pursue adequate policies of growth. By making it possible for the member nations to discuss and review the economic policies of other members, the total economy of the free world should function with greater efficiency and much less friction.

The second major purpose of the OECD is to provide a means for coordination in helping to move forward the sound economic expansion of the less developed countries. The OECD will carry out this work through a Development Assistance Committee. Through this committee, cooperation on ways and means of increasing the flow of development assistance as well as for an equitable sharing of the burdens of assistance may be advanced. The problems of assistance can be studied in common, and the technical knowledge of the Western industrial powers—as well as of Japan—can be put to the service of this great undertaking. This source of strength has an enormous potential. The OECD countries have

an aggregate population of almost a half a billion. They are a vast reservoir of economic resources, technical skills, and intellectual talents. They should, by coordinating their efforts, contribute greatly to helping the peoples of the newly developing lands help themselves.

In pursuing these objectives the member governments will take fully into account the political and social realities of the newly developing areas. I think it well to point out that the Development Assistance Committee will in no way operate as a monolithic “creditors’ club” to impose conditions upon recipient countries, nor will it administer aid programs. Its main purpose will be to bring about a more equitable sharing of the burdens of assistance. By mobilizing resources which have not previously been utilized for this purpose, a much higher level of assistance can be achieved during these critical years when many nations are on the verge of a breakthrough to the point where self-sustaining growth is possible.

A third and final purpose of the OECD is to make possible the consideration of broad trade policies in an international context. I think it should be emphasized that the OECD will neither establish nor administer trade rules nor have any authority regarding the trade rules of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]. The OECD will not conduct tariff negotiations.

On the other hand the OECD offers a special advantage which may prove of great importance both to the United States and the other member countries. It provides a forum in which there can be a free discussion of the problems involving the “Six” and the “Seven”—the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Association. By making possible a discussion of these problems in a forum of OECD, the influence of the larger Atlantic Community, including the United States, can be brought to bear.

I think you will agree that these three broad aims of the OECD attest to the determination of the Atlantic community of nations to meet the pressing economic challenges of the sixties. We have come a long way from the depressed period when the OEEC was established as a group of nations faced with the common task of rebuilding their damaged and weakened economies. The OECD will be a grouping of strong nations, determined to increase the strength of the free world not only for their individual benefit but for the

benefit of the developing countries whose future course may well determine the shape of the world of the seventies.

We have, I believe, arrived at a new frontier in free-world economic cooperation. The promise that lies beyond holds out great hope for all free peoples to achieve their legitimate aspirations for a better and more fruitful life. But we and our allies shall not cross that frontier unless we Americans lead the way.

Let me remind you the OECD grew out of an American initiative. It is in every sense a bipartisan effort. It was proposed by the last administration, and it is supported by the present one. It is an American initiative which must not falter nor fail.

I do not think that the OECD will come into being until the United States has ratified the convention. Other countries will be likely to delay their legislative processes until the new organization has been assured of our full participation. But even before the OECD comes into being, we can still work with our allies to deal with the pressing problems of the day—provided that by an early ratification of the convention we demonstrate our intention of playing a continuing part in the new institution which we are creating.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can sum up all I have to say to you tonight in two sentences:

If the Western World is to survive, it must be strong.

If it is to be strong, the individual national states must not work at cross purposes.

That is why I am hopeful that through the new organization which is being brought into being we shall be able to multiply our strength through cooperation and dedication to common purpose.

Special Economic Mission Visits Bolivia

The Department of State announced on March 9 (press release 121) that President Kennedy on the previous day had announced the departure that evening of a special mission to review the status and effectiveness of U.S. economic policies in Bolivia. The mission expects to spend approximately 2 weeks in Bolivia before returning to Washington with their recommendations. The

members of the three-man commission are Willard L. Thorp, professor of economics, Amherst College, *chairman*; Jack C. Corbett, vice president of Checchi & Co., Rome, Italy; and Seymour J. Rubin, Washington attorney. Wymberley DeR. Coerr, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, will act as adviser to the mission.

U.S. Contributes \$1.6 Million To Close Refugee Camps in Austria

Press release 127 dated March 10

Richard R. Brown, Director of the Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs, Department of State, announced on March 10 that the United States, responding to a request from the Government of Austria, the special representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, will provide \$1.6 million to close refugee camps in Austria. This contribution brings to over \$71.5 million the amount spent by the U.S. Government for refugee purposes during World Refugee Year.

To generate this contribution the U.S. Government will provide corn to Austria. The proceeds from sale of this corn will be used, together with funds contributed by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees as well as by various groups in other countries in connection with the World Refugee Year, toward the construction of permanent apartment dwellings for 3,000 refugee families. The Austrian Government is financing \$10 million of this program, which calls for an overall expenditure of \$15.5 million.

Construction under this program has already been started. It is hoped that the dwellings will be completed by the end of 1962, thus allowing for the removal of all refugees from 43 old refugee camps in Austria. Most of the refugees who will become permanently settled through this project are naturalized Austrian citizens who were formerly under the mandate of the U.N. High Commissioner. Aside from the 3,000 refugee families who will thus remain in Austria, there are several thousand foreign refugees still in Austria waiting for resettlement opportunities in other countries and new refugees continue to arrive. In 1960 alone, 5,094 refugees escaped into Austria.

Debt and Equity for Development: New Uses for Old Tools

by Frank M. Coffin

Managing Director, Development Loan Fund¹

This administration in its very brief life to date has shown a remarkable tendency to take various bulls by the horns. The President, the Secretary of State, and Ambassador Stevenson have had to deal with Laos and the Congo. Arthur Goldberg [Secretary of Labor] has helped mediate two strikes. And I am addressing this meeting of the American Society of International Law. For one whose claim to any international status, legal or financial, is less than 2 weeks old, this act demonstrates fortitude if not prudence.

For my part, this is one of the more pleasant experiences of my first 2 weeks. It compares most favorably with testifying before the Appropriations Committee seeking funds. As a Member of Congress I had always wondered why witnesses from the executive branch appeared nervous, chain smoked, and stumbled over the simplest sentences. Now I know.

Even though I speak to you without the advantage of long experience, this is not as formidable an obstacle as it might be. For the fields of international law and international economic development are alike in that ancient knowledge is less important than sensitive insight; what has been achieved is less important than what must be achieved; and each is dependent on the other.

Tonight I would dwell on two concepts of law which are also potent weapons in the arsenal of economic development—debt and equity, in the balance-sheet meanings of the terms. The history of lending and investing is much of the history of the Western World. The lower right section on the balance sheet tells much of the story of the

Industrial Revolution, the development of the United States, the power of Western Europe.

Sometimes we wonder if anything is ever really new. We read of deliberations in the new International Development Association about making loans for very long terms to developing countries, with long grace periods and low rates of interest. Then we reflect on the financing of railroads in this country in the last half of the 19th century and realize that this kind of “soft loan” for development is hardly new.

But there is something new—the temper of the times. There is a compulsiveness that begets impatience with the slow processes of decision-making by myriads of investors of capital. There is a corrosive distrust of those whose capital would make possible the extraction of the earth's wealth, to the enrichment of those who extract rather than those who reside.

The traditional uses of debt and equity seem to have greatest utility where values, customs, and traditions are shared. Where such common hallmarks of civilization are lacking and where even color is a divisive force, debt and equity require new conceptual frameworks if they are to serve the late 20th century as well as they have served earlier centuries.

Their very goals—insofar as the developing countries are concerned—are different. Increasingly we see investment, whether by debt obligation or certificates of ownership of shares, not as keys to the control of vital strategic resources, not as access to pyramiding profits, nor as steppingstones to political power. Any or all of these motives may be present, but the most farsighted of us see a link between the sound management of resources and sensitive management practices and the achievement of our ultimate political goal: a

¹Address made before the American Society of International Law at New York, N.Y., on Mar. 2.

world of nations enabled through reasonably rapid economic growth to realize and preserve the basic conditions of freedom.

It is in the light of this perspective that I would like to discuss some of the new uses of our old tools—debt and equity.

DLF's Unique Role

As the new Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, I take pride in the essential truth about this new instrument of policy: that its purpose is to use the old concept of debt for the new goal of conscious development. It does not exist to make profits. It does not pretend that development is either cheap or painless. Those who dismiss its soft-currency loans as grants in disguise miss this basic truth—that intelligent lending is one of the most effective tools of development.

As you may know, I spent 4 years on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. I was a member of that committee during the time when our Government was trying to find some way by which the less developed nations might obtain the capital they needed for economic growth. We had learned since World War II that the problem of foreign aid actually consists of several quite different problems. For example, it is one thing to help rehabilitate the damaged economy of an industrialized nation which only needs some restoration of physical facilities. But it is a different thing altogether to try to establish a modern economic system in a nation which has never had one.

We realized that in order to accomplish this latter task we needed a new agency. Existing agencies, like the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank, were well equipped to help countries which could afford to borrow dollars and repay dollars in relatively normal repayment terms. But the less developed nations will not be substantial dollar earners for some time to come. Nevertheless, they need dollar financing in large amounts if they are going to carry out their development in a manner consistent with political freedom. The alternative is to meet their foreign exchange needs with rubles.

Our discussions led to the establishment of the Development Loan Fund as an agency authorized to lend money for economic growth on terms so adjusted as to avoid the trap of burdening the recipient nation with a crushing annual debt-

service load. DLF may, for example, accept repayment in the national currency of the borrowing nation rather than in dollars. We are proud of our unique role as a bank of last resort.

Thus, as you see, I have had a kind of paternal interest in the Development Loan Fund ever since it was just a gleam in Congress' eye. As a result of my studies of the agency, I contributed some amendments to the original legislation—amendments which I now must live with. There are times when I can't help remembering the man who invented the guillotine and who wound up testing his own invention.

Though it is still gathering experience, I think that the Development Loan Fund is successfully fulfilling its intended function of using debt in new ways for development. It enables us to carry out the task of aiding the emerging nations in a way that does full justice to both parties to the transaction. It makes use of the loan mechanism to put appropriate segments of our foreign aid on the basis of a businesslike, borrower-lender relationship rather than a donor-recipient relationship, which always involves some suspicion of dependency. To put it another way, DLF represents the application of proven business practices to some of our economic dealings with other nations.

The loan mechanism has many advantages. It enables us in effect to build a management overlay into our financial assistance. From the very outset, even before a loan is approved, we and the applicant work together in applying economic, technical, and financial criteria to a businesslike evaluation of the proposal. It is made clear that these factors remain dominant throughout our consideration of the proposal. And after the loan is approved and signed, the loan mechanism provides us with a legitimate and acceptable means of representing our interest in the carrying out of the undertaking.

Furthermore, a loan set up with due observance of the circumstances of both parties involves less long-range burden on their ultimate resources than any other form of aid. Finally, the general effect of the whole transaction is to help link the development effort of the borrowing nation into the business and commercial network of the free world. The practices and relationships of our free-enterprise system are built into and exemplified by the assistance transaction itself.

Our Government will still have to render a con-

siderable amount of its assistance in the form of grants. Grants are probably the most appropriate means of contributing to mutual defense efforts, of helping to meet emergencies such as famines or earthquakes, or of aiding certain noneconomic undertakings such as programs for teaching people to improve their agricultural or sanitation methods.

There may well be changes in our lending approach. Loans which now are confined to projects may underwrite overseas imports of needed commodities. Much needs to be learned about relending local currencies received in payment. There is much to be said for making loans repayable in dollars over a very long term. But whatever the changes, in the fields where they can appropriately be used I think that the new uses of debt will become increasingly valuable as time goes on.

Encouraging Flow of Private Resources

In speaking of the new uses of debt, I have been talking about a challenge to government. But government alone cannot begin to accomplish the development task. No government on earth, nor all the governments on earth combined, could muster the resources of money and talent needed fully to develop the world's opportunities for the benefit of the world's people. The underdeveloped nations include the most populous, the most fertile, the warmest and most naturally hospitable parts of the globe. They contain a good share of the world's natural resources and well over a billion people. Most of these people are living near or below the subsistence level.

What we have learned in recent years is that Government agencies like the Development Loan Fund, while providing limited financial assistance to economic projects overseas, can do so in such a way as to support and encourage a much greater flow of private resources into the development task. They can do this by helping to overcome some of the obstacles and problems that have hitherto tended to keep private enterprise out of the developing nations.

As recently as 1958, the total U.S. private investment in all the nations of the world outside of Europe and the Western Hemisphere, in all forms of activity combined, except for oil, amounted to less than \$60 million a year. Many American counties have budgets bigger than that. With investment at such a low rate, U.S. private

enterprise was not making a very significant contribution to, nor exercising much influence over, the growth of the emerging nations of Africa, Asia, and the Far East. The ironic fact was that the nations who would have much to say about the future security of enterprise as we know it were not exposed to it.

Yet in the past American enterprise has not been reluctant either to take risks or to take advantage of opportunities. And Heaven knows the emerging nations present opportunities that are both rich and varied. They are today's economic frontiers. What has kept our businessmen out of these practically virgin fields?

One outstanding obstacle is the political or economic instability that exists in many of the emerging nations. Our investors have the unfortunate image of a constant threat of invasion or insurrection, the danger of creeping or outright expropriation, the fear of governmental harassment of business operations. A disturbance of this kind in any of the developing nations tends to impair confidence in all the others. Perhaps the most pervading fear is that of the unknown. It is a fact that the less developed nations represent cultures quite different from those we are accustomed to. Their laws and methods of doing business are different, and unfortunately many of our businessmen are reluctant to operate in an unfamiliar environment and therefore have no opportunity to influence it. I sometimes wonder which comes first, investment or law. The theme of this meeting is the role of law in overseas investment. An argument could be made for the theme, the role of investment in overseas law.

Finally, demands exist here at home for most of our available talent and capital. Here, in the short run, profits are more sure. The unfortunate result of all these influences is that we risk seeing rich opportunities in some extremely important regions preempted by enterprisers from other nations, friendly or unfriendly. The risk ventures of today cut the pattern of tomorrow's trade channels.

Extent of DLF's Guaranty Authority

I submit that we have gone a long way in recent years—longer than many of you may realize—toward meeting and overcoming those problems. Today the United States Government is prepared to cut down to manageable size the risk in ventures

in emerging nations. The International Cooperation Administration is prepared to write guaranties against inconvertibility, expropriation, or war losses in 45 nations with which we have appropriate treaties. The Development Loan Fund can go even farther. It can guarantee against collection failure, repayment failure, political risk, credit risk, riot and civil commotion risk—in fact, virtually everything except normal business risk—for both loans and equity investments, in virtually any underdeveloped country regardless of treaty status—provided only that the enterprise meets DLF's normal lending criteria and that the enterprisers make an appreciable contribution of their own to the undertakings in the form of financing and management know-how. I realize that many potential American investors do not appreciate the extent of our guaranty authority. It is like the modesty of a modern maiden—not terribly obvious. I hope you will help us spread the word, for we would like to see it used more fully than it has been.

Furthermore, under appropriate circumstances, when financing is not available elsewhere, the Government is prepared to share the risk of a venture by participating in the financing on very reasonable terms. And it offers many other services that can go a long way toward overcoming the handicaps of operating in an unfamiliar part of the world.

In discussing the new opportunities for investment, I would be less than candid if I did not couple them with the new uses of investment. Your Government has struggled to work out these techniques, not to make windfall profits possible for the few but out of a faith that our competitive, risk-taking private enterprise is one of our best and most persuasive traditions. When we give economic assistance in any form, unless we increase the management consciousness and capacity of the aided country, we have merely transferred physical goods. Investment in developing countries today serves our deepest purposes only if it is a vehicle for planting the seed of sound management.

Therefore the new uses of investment in the emerging countries involve a proposal that will contribute to the economic development of the host country: enough conviction to invest some effort and money in the proposal; the determination to provide the management know-how to

make it work; often, concern for social problems connected with the enterprise; and, sometimes, the willingness to take a "turnkey" attitude—to plan for the eventual transfer of the enterprise to local management.

If a private enterpriser can subscribe to these new uses—and not all of them are legally required—he can lay before his board of directors an overseas proposition of minimal risk that may yield profits in dollars at an attractive rate. And he will be helping export management, an important ingredient of the kind of growth that nurtures freedom.

A Pattern of Tomorrow's Trade

There is a final point to make about the new uses of debt and equity for development. It is that these uses will come home to roost. I said earlier that the risks of today cut the pattern of tomorrow's trade.

There is no surer way to increase American exports in the long run than to open the vast potential market represented by the billion and a quarter people in the emerging nations of the world. If we could increase the income of each of those people by only \$4 a year, we would be creating \$5 billion worth of extra purchasing power annually. I feel little doubt that this and more will be done. Those people and those nations are driving forward, and I don't think anything in the world is going to stop them. But the extent to which their new purchasing power is directed toward the United States, the extent to which their emerging development yields benefits to American workers and producers and businessmen, is likely to depend on the extent to which we Americans participate now in the task of creating that purchasing power. We cannot abandon the development field to others and still expect to reap its harvest.

There is much more to be said on these topics. I have not told you of the many things the Development Loan Fund is doing to help improve the climate for, and stimulate the growth of, private enterprise in the developing nations. I haven't said anything about how we are trying to encourage small private enterprises through loans to development banks, nor of the assistance we are giving to economic-overhead undertakings, nor of our attempts to create opportunities for American investment, nor of our efforts to

encourage the formation of joint private enterprises and private consortiums.

What I have done is try to give you some indication of the spirit and philosophy with which we in the Development Loan Fund are approaching the challenges that confront us. We see a great potential if Government and private enterprise meet the challenges posed by these decades of development. We need your help. We believe we have something to offer you. We know that together we can put the old tools of debt and equity to new uses in a high endeavor.

Board of Foreign Scholarships Urges Expansion of Fulbright Program

Press release 114 dated March 7

In a 45-minute appointment at the White House on February 27, the Board of Foreign Scholarships presented President Kennedy with a report¹ urging the expansion and improvement of the Fulbright educational exchange program.

The Board, a 10-member public body consisting of distinguished educators and representatives of student and veteran groups, is appointed by the President to supervise the educational exchange program under the Fulbright Act. The Fulbright program is one of the largest of the Government's educational exchange operations and has provided for the exchange of more than 40,000 graduate students, teachers, and university professors between the United States and 41 countries the world over. The exchanges have greatly increased American knowledge of foreign countries and foreign knowledge of the United States.

The Board of Foreign Scholarships' report to President Kennedy points out that the future of the Fulbright program might be jeopardized unless early measures are taken to overcome financial difficulties confronting the program. Hitherto, financing has been through foreign currencies acquired by the American Government through the sale abroad of American surplus properties or surplus agricultural commodities. A lack of funds for some countries and uncertainty about their continued availability in other countries prevents the program from being initiated in all countries

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.

where it is needed or from being developed to an adequate level in some of the countries where it does exist.

The report urges that the size and scope of country programs be determined by the contribution they are to make to America's relationships with the countries concerned and the mutual objectives to be achieved through educational and cultural exchange rather than by the availability of foreign currencies to finance them. It also recommends that the program be enlarged, particularly in the countries of Africa, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere which need immediate assistance in fields such as education and where the Fulbright program provides an ideal mechanism for providing such assistance in a manner acceptable to the cooperating nations and with a minimum of political irritations. The program should continue to maintain and accentuate those features which give it its distinct identity and which are its principal source of strength, including its binational character and its long-range educational goals.

To facilitate expansion and improvement of the program, the report urges that three principal things be done. First, the contribution of educational and cultural exchanges to the attainment of our national foreign policy goals should be fully recognized and acknowledged as a permanent and continuing aspect of our foreign relations. To this end, a statement should be made at the highest level declaring that the encouragement, improvement, and enlargement of educational exchanges is a fundamental policy of the American Government. Secondly, larger sums of government-owned foreign currencies should be made available to the program, and, where foreign currencies are not available, dollar appropriations should be made. Third, changes in legislation permitting ample latitude for the expansion and increased effectiveness of the program should be given every consideration by the executive and legislative branches of the Government.

In receiving the Board's report, President Kennedy declared that the great value of educational and cultural exchange to improving world understanding and to strengthening our own international position had already been well proved by the gratifying results of the Fulbright and similar programs. He stated that "there is no better way of helping the new nations of Latin

America, Africa, and Asia in their present pursuit of freedom and better living conditions than by assisting them to develop their human resources through education. Likewise, there is no better way to strengthen our bonds of understanding and friendship with older nations than through educational and cultural interchange." The President

further declared that "the whole [exchange] field is in urgent need of policy development, unification, and vigorous direction" and that he was therefore looking to the Secretary of State "to exercise primary responsibility for policy guidance and program direction by governmental activities in this field."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Accelerating Economic Growth in Asia and the Far East

Statement by Isaiah Frank

*Director, Office of International Financial and Development Affairs*¹

When I say that I am truly delighted to be here, I am not simply conforming to traditional custom at gatherings of this kind. This is my first visit to the wonderful city of Bangkok, and I am indeed grateful for all the hospitality shown to us by our Thai friends. For me it is also my initiation into the work of ECAFE [Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East] on ECAFE's home ground. In the course of my duties in Washington I have become aware of the long series of important activities carried out under the aegis of this Committee. ECAFE has contributed greatly to our understanding of common problems and to the encouragement of cooperative efforts among the members to meet these problems. My Government is proud to have been associated with these efforts.

The primary focus of the work of this Committee, and indeed of ECAFE as a whole, is eco-

nomie growth. Regardless of which item on the agenda we are discussing, whether it be regional cooperation or industrial productivity or any other, we are basically concerned with how economic growth can be accelerated. For it is only through more rapid economic development that we can solve what we all recognize to be the major challenge of our times. Stripped of all the fancy words and the technical jargon, that challenge can be simply stated. It is the need to eliminate mass poverty, a condition which, sadly, is still all too common in the world. This point was discussed with great eloquence by the Philippine delegate and by many others in their opening statements.

In searching for measures to promote economic growth we are all simply trying to develop policies that will encourage the most efficient use of the resources that are presently or potentially available to our countries. This is a sound principle, regardless of the stage of economic development that a country has reached. It is the compelling urgency of the problem, however, that is so much

¹ Made on Jan. 28 before the 13th session of the ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources, held at Bangkok, Thailand, Jan. 26–Feb. 3. Mr. Frank was chairman of the U.S. delegation to the meeting.

greater in most of the ECAFE region and in other less developed parts of the world.

As you know, my Government has a keen interest in the economic growth of the countries of the ECAFE region. We have steadfastly recognized the vital role that sound industrialization must play in the economic growth of less developed countries. It contributes to diversification and thereby reduces the extreme vulnerability to market fluctuations resulting from excessive dependence on the production and sale of a limited number of primary products. Industrialization also has a spillover effect on general economic development through its generation and dissemination of new skills, new habits, and new disciplines among the people. My Government not only welcomes sound industrial development abroad but has been well aware that, over the years, the most rapidly industrializing countries have become not only our competitors but also at the same time our best customers.

Mr. Chairman, my country is interested in economic development everywhere. We recognize the interdependence of nations, and we feel that the growth of one should benefit the growth of others. In fact our purpose here is to help one another. It is not to engage in the "dance of the percentages" or in claims of the superiority of one system over another, as was done by one of the delegates yesterday.

Newly developing countries are in increasing measure realizing the interrelationship between industry and agriculture and other sectors of an economy. Countries vary a great deal. Some enjoy a high standard of living even though agriculture is the predominant source of wealth. Our distinguished colleague here from New Zealand represents a country which, I believe, is a good example of this. My own country is frequently considered to be an industrial giant. While this is true, it should be recognized that our agriculture is also of sizable proportions. Although our industrial exports far exceed the agricultural, we are the largest exporters of agricultural products in the world. We know that each sector of our economy rests heavily on the other sectors. We believe that a strengthening of our agriculture is conducive to a stronger industry. There is no magic formula which determines what is the best balance in a country between agriculture and manufacturing. And

what is the best balance, at one time, may change from decade to decade.

U.S. Development Assistance

In recent years my Government has made great efforts to cooperate with countries of the ECAFE region attempting to further the development of industry. Our industrial resources program under the United States International Cooperation Administration is designed to assist countries in accelerating their industrial development by helping them to develop the infrastructure, institutions, technology, and plant which will promote industrial and economic growth. Close to \$2 billion of U.S. assistance under this program has since 1954 gone into industrial development activities among the countries of the Far East and South Asia. The ICA has supported, in specific cases far too numerous to mention, expansion in power production and distribution, communications, mining, and manufacturing. As for manufacturing, our ICA assistance has included aid to a large number of plants in the ECAFE region in numerous fields such as cement, paper, building materials, chemicals, textiles, pharmaceuticals, glass, ceramics, metal products, plastics, soap, paint, jute, plywood, rubber products, aluminum, food processing, fertilizers, and many others.

A very substantial part of our Export-Import Bank loans to the lesser developed members of ECAFE (totaling over \$445 million since June 30, 1954) has also gone to finance dollar costs of a variety of industrial and infrastructural projects. This is likewise true of the loans to the regional members of ECAFE by the U.S. Development Loan Fund; its cumulative loan approvals to these countries amount to over \$1 billion.

Examples of projects for which credits were approved by the U.S. Development Loan Fund in fiscal year 1960 are: a cement plant in Ceylon; a glass plant in China; power plants in India; an automotive and parts manufacturing plant in Indonesia; a chemical plant in Korea; a railway in Pakistan; a pulp and paper plant in the Philippines.

In addition to the types of aid which I have mentioned, a considerable amount of the local currencies acquired from the sale of commodities under our P.L. 480 [Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act] programs is also used

in support of industrial projects. And, over and above the aid provided through United States instrumentalities, my Government has strongly supported various international agencies which in turn have assisted the area in its industrial development.

Technological Change and Innovation

In addition to capital support, my Government has tried to be of assistance in promoting technological change and innovation, which are so essential to industrial development. For example, in 10 ECAFE countries we have supported productivity and industrial development centers which are proving effective in providing technical, managerial, and financial know-how. In 1959 alone we supported over 900 industry trainees in the United States and in third countries. We have provided technical advisers. We have also assisted countries to acquire nuclear research reactors and in other ways have tried to help stimulate new forms of industry.

It is gratifying that this Committee has seen fit to devote several of its agenda items to various aspects of the subject of technological change in its relation to economic development. So much emphasis tends to be placed on the need for capital resources that I fear there is in many quarters an inadequate appreciation of the crucial role of technological change and innovation in the development process. There are many aspects to the innovation role, including the creation of new products, new methods of producing existing products, the creation of new markets and distribution techniques, new sources of supply, and new forms of organization of industry. All of these changes are of the essence of the dynamic process of economic growth.

If you will permit me once again to refer to my own country, Mr. Chairman, I should like to cite the results of a study of productivity change in the United States. The study was done under the auspices of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and the results are summarized in a small volume by Solomon Fabricant entitled *Basic Facts on Productivity Change*. The study concludes that, of the threefold increase in output per head in the United States between 1875 and 1950, an increase in tangible capital input ac-

counted for approximately 14 percent, whereas 86 percent of the increase was due to technological progress. In short, economic growth requires steady innovation widely diffused throughout the economy—in small shops as well as in large factories, in petty ways as well as in dramatic ones.

Over much of its history my country has leaned heavily on foreign investment, largely private, to support its rapid development. It has welcomed this help and tried to provide an investment environment conducive to the inflow of capital. It has also tried to maintain within its own institutions an environment hospitable to private saving, private investment, and private initiative. This has worked well for us, and we consider that it has contributed significantly to our growth as an industrial country.

The United States has done much in recent years to promote the flow of American capital into the less developed countries. Today we are actively encouraging other advanced countries to do likewise and are also supporting the efforts of international agencies toward the same end.

I would add that there is much for developing, capital-receiving countries themselves to do to help in this process of providing proper conditions to stimulate saving and to encourage investment. In fact the primary responsibility must be theirs, a point given explicit recognition in the recent General Assembly resolution² sponsored by India, which deals with the need to increase the flow of capital. I have noted also from the recent Colombo Plan deliberations that more and more Asian countries fully recognize this responsibility and are in fact taking active steps to improve these conditions. And may I refer in this connection to the recent Pakistan resolution³ passed by the General Assembly, dealing with means to encourage private capital investment such as national or international credit insurance and investment guaranty arrangements.

We hope that these efforts are sustained and successful. We believe they can significantly contribute to the growth of industry and to furthering what is the urgent goal and common hope of all of us—namely, raising the standards of living of the Asian peoples.

And may I conclude with a reaffirmation of

² U.N. doc. A/RES/1522(XV).

³ U.N. doc. A/RES/1523(XV).

American objectives, Mr. Chairman, by quoting from the inaugural address of our new President, John F. Kennedy:⁴

"To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required. . . ."

Manifestations of Anti-Semitism

*Statement by Mrs. Marietta Tree*¹

The outbreak of anti-Semitic outrages in 1959 shocked the world. These incidents were recognized as a serious potential threat to the rights and freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The question arose in anxious minds with bitter memories: Will these fires be extinguished, or will they grow into widespread conflagrations?

Faced with this disturbing question, the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities met its responsibilities in a manner characteristic of its dedicated membership. It acted promptly, by resolution, to express its deep concern over these manifestations of anti-Semitism; to affirm its belief that it is the responsibility of the international community to speak out against such manifestations; to ascertain the underlying factors and causes; and to recommend the most effective measures which can be taken against them.

Now we have before us the results of the subcommittee's initiative and the cooperation of many member states, UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization], and international nongovernmental organizations concerned.²

To a certain extent these reports are reassuring. The wave of outrages was brought under control in all countries by May or June of 1960. Public

reaction was invariably strong and condemnatory of the demonstrations, and official action was prompt and vigorous to prosecute wrongdoers and to prevent repetition.

But if the fever has subsided, there is no assurance that a disease which has for many centuries been so virulent, persistent, and widespread will not flare up again. The reports did indicate an appalling ignorance of the younger generation regarding the significance of the swastika and the crimes and horrors of which it is a symbol. In some areas remedial efforts appear to be under way. This is encouraging. But the problem, as I have indicated, is persistent and deep. It is at the same time educational, sociological, and psychological. Consequently we are glad to note from the UNESCO report that it is undertaking a number of sociological and psychological studies of youth attitudes in this vital field of people with different characteristics living together. The aim is to shed light on the underlying causes of the recent evidences of race prejudice in certain youth groups.

It is also encouraging that governments have not taken this matter lightly. Those countries reporting on incidents of anti-Semitism taking place in their countries in every instance expressed grave concern. Moreover, these governments reported that they had immediately taken steps to punish the perpetrators of incidents and to prevent recurrences.

This willingness to face the facts and to take the necessary actions is encouraging. This Commission must continue to act as a prod to the consciences of governments, to stimulate governments to face up to actual conditions in their own countries, and to take the necessary steps to correct conditions of prejudice and discrimination.

Of the documentation before us on this subject, information provided by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/208/Add. 2 is the most comprehensive. The communication from my Government on this subject is set forth in Add. 1 of this document. My Government expresses its deepest regret that any such incidents took place here. The denunciation of these incidents was immediate and spontaneous. Leaders of all groups deplored the incidents and took steps to punish and prevent further incidents. The United States Congress adopted a resolution expressing its profound sense of indig-

⁴ BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

¹ Made in the U.N. Commission on Human Rights on Mar. 6 (U.S./U.N. press release 3662). Mrs. Tree is U.S. Representative on the Commission.

² For the report of the 13th session of the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, see U.N. doc. E/CN.4/S15 and Corr. 1.

nation and shock at the epidemic of desecration and called upon all persons and governments to exert their energies to the end that these shameful events shall not recur. Comments from other countries given in document 208 and Add. 1 are along the same line.

Nongovernmental organizations have provided us in document L.216, with Adds. 1 through 6, with additional information on countries where these incidents took place. These organizations provide considerable information about the United States; for example, on pages 26 to 45 of document L.216. This same document provides information on the United Kingdom on pages 46 to 56, on Austria on pages 61 to 65, on Norway on pages 67 to 69, and on the U.S.S.R. on pages 25 to 27, and in Adds. 2 and 4 of document L.216.

Some of the countries referred to by the nongovernmental organizations had already provided an explanation of the situation in their countries. Other countries referred to, which had not initially responded to the request of the Secretary-General for information, in some instances commented on the reports of the nongovernmental organizations. Unfortunately, some United Nations member states referred to in these reports have not responded with an account of the situation in their countries, nor have they indicated an intention to punish those responsible for the anti-Semitic incidents in their countries or to take necessary steps to put an end to such incidents in the future. Let us hope that they will soon join in the fight against this virulent prejudice.

We note that the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination has decided to take up this question at a later session, should circumstances render it necessary. My delegation therefore proposes that UNESCO, the Secretary-General, and the nongovernmental organizations concerned continue to keep this question under review. Interested nongovernmental organizations should, in our view, continue to provide the Secretary-General and UNESCO with reports on any incidents or actions in this field in order to assist the Secretary-General in keeping abreast of the question. Of course, this material will be—and should be—incorporated in the periodic reports.

Mr. Chairman, anti-Semitism is a disease which none of us can afford to ignore. Its conquest will not be easy; but conquer it we must. The type of hate which can be directed blindly against any one

group can also be directed just as blindly against another just because it is different. Healthy human rights will require that no government and no individual stand aside from the struggle to wipe out anti-Semitism and other forms of racial and religious hate.

Robert S. Benjamin Appointed to U.S. Committee for U.N.

The White House announced on March 6 that the President on that day had appointed Robert S. Benjamin as national chairman of the U.S. Committee for the United Nations during 1961.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

- Exchange of communications between the Secretary-General and the President of the Republic of the Congo dated January 28 and 29. S/4643. January 29, 1961. 5 pp.
- Communication addressed to the Secretary-General by the permanent representative of Belgium concerning detention of Belgian nationals in the Congo. S/4649. January 30, 1961. 6 pp.
- Letter of February 11, 1961, addressed to the President of the Security Council from the permanent representative of the Soviet Union concerning reports of the death of Patrice Lumumba. S/4686. February 11, 1961. 3 pp.
- Report to the Secretary-General from his special representative in the Congo regarding Patrice Lumumba. S/4688. February 12, 1961, 10 pp.; and Add. 1, February 13, 1961, 4 pp.
- Report on the recent developments in northern Katanga from the special representative of the Secretary-General. S/4691, February 12, 1961, 3 pp.; Add. 1, February 16, 1961, 2 pp.; and Add. 2, February 20, 1961, 2 pp.
- Letter of February 14, 1961, from the Soviet representative to the U.N. to the President of the Security Council transmitting a statement by the Soviet Government on the death of Patrice Lumumba. S/4704. February 14, 1961. 6 pp.
- Letter of February 17, 1961, from the representative of the Republic of the Congo addressed to the Secretary-General concerning the landing of a United Arab Republic aircraft at Lisala on December 31. S/4724. February 17, 1961. 3 pp.
- Report of the special representative of the Secretary-General concerning arrest and deportation of political personalities in the Congo. S/4727, February 18, 1961, 3 pp.; Add. 1 and Corr. 1, February 19, 1961, 5 pp.; and Add. 3, February 27, 1961, 2 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.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention concerning customs facilities for touring. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Entered into force September 11, 1957. TIAS 3879.
Extension to: St. Christopher, Nevis and Anguilla, January 9, 1961.

Shipping

Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Signed at Geneva March 6, 1948. Entered into force March 17, 1958. TIAS 4044.
Acceptance deposited: Indonesia (with a statement), January 18, 1961.

Sugar

International sugar agreement, 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force January 1, 1959. TIAS 4389.
Ratification deposited: Netherlands, February 2, 1961.

BILATERAL

Australia

Agreement amending the agreement of June 22, 1956 (TIAS 3830), concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington September 14, 1960.
Entered into force: March 6, 1961.

France

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of March 21, 1959 (TIAS 4212). Effected by exchange of notes at Paris February 23, 1961. Entered into force February 23, 1961.

Peru

Agreement granting reciprocal customs privileges for Foreign Service personnel. Effected by exchanges of notes at Lima November 7 and December 28, 1960, and February 4 and 13, 1961. Entered into force February 13, 1961.

United Kingdom

The following agreements were superseded February 10, 1961, by the agreement of February 10, 1961, concerning United States defense areas in the federation of The West Indies:

Agreement for the settlement of certain outstanding matters arising out of the establishment of the U.S. Air Force Base in Trinidad. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington September 19, 1949. TIAS 1985.

Agreement for carrying out the purposes of paragraph (4) of annex III(E) of the leased bases agreement of March 27, 1941 (55 Stat. 1560), relating to the U.S. fleet anchorage in the Gulf of Paria. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington February 6 and March 6, 1951. TIAS 2431.

Agreement relating to the extension of the Bahamas Long Range Proving Ground for guided missiles by the establishment of additional sites in the Turks

and Caicos Islands, and related notes. Signed at Washington January 15, 1952. TIAS 2426.

Agreement concerning the utilization of leased base areas in St. Lucia. Signed at Castries July 29, 1952. TIAS 2673.

Agreement to permit the utilization by Trinidad and Tobago of the Five Islands for recreational purposes as well as for a quarantine station. Effected by exchange of letters at Port-of-Spain November 19, 1953, and July 19, 1954. TIAS 3096.

Agreement concerning the extension of the Bahamas Long Range Proving Ground by the establishment of additional sites in Saint Lucia. Signed at Washington June 25, 1956. TIAS 3595.

Agreement for the establishment in Barbados of an oceanographic research station. Signed at Washington November 1, 1956. TIAS 3672.

Agreement for the establishment of an oceanographic research station in the Turks and Caicos Islands. Signed at Washington November 27, 1956. TIAS 3696.

Agreement supplementing the agreement of November 1, 1956 (TIAS 3672), for the establishment in Barbados of an oceanographic research station. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington October 30, 1957. TIAS 3926.

Agreement relating to the use of the Bahamas Long Range Proving Ground for the observing and tracking of artificial earth satellites and other space vehicles. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington March 16 and April 16, 1959. TIAS 4215.

Agreement supplementing the agreement of November 27, 1956 (TIAS 3696), for the establishment of an oceanographic research station in the Turks and Caicos Islands. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington May 12, 1960. TIAS 4478.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on March 7 confirmed the following nominations:

Jonathan B. Bingham to be a representative of the United States on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated January 28.)

Philip H. Coombs to be an Assistant Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated February 9.)

George F. Kennan to be Ambassador to Yugoslavia. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated February 8.)

Francis T. P. Plimpton to be deputy representative of the United States to the United Nations, and a deputy representative of the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations. (For biographic details, see White House press release dated January 28.)

The Senate on March 8 confirmed Mrs. Gladys A. Tillet to be the representative of the United States on the Commission on the Status of Women of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 125 dated March 10.)

Appointments

Lucius D. Battle as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Executive Secretary of the Department of State, effective February 27. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 83 dated February 23.)

John L. Salter as Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration for Congressional Relations, effective March 2. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 106 dated March 2.)

Designations

Samuel C. Adams, Jr., as International Cooperation Administration Representative in the Republic of Mali, effective February 27. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 91 dated February 27.)

Eugene A. Gilmore as Director, Office of West Coast Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, effective March 6.

Rey M. Hill as Regional Director for Latin American Operations, International Cooperation Administration, effective March 9. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 107 dated March 3.)

Arch K. Jean as Executive Director, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, effective January 24.

Marshall P. Jones and William Roy Little as Special Assistants to the Assistant Secretary for Administration, effective February 28.

George A. Morgan as Deputy Counselor of the Department of State, effective February 16.

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.

Defense—Loan of Vessel to Canada. TIAS 4593. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Canada. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington July 20 and August 23 and 31, 1960. Entered into force August 31, 1960.

Defense—Weapons Production Program. TIAS 4594. 9 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Portugal. Exchange of notes—Signed at Lisbon September 26, 1960. Entered into force September 26, 1960.

Military Mission to Costa Rica. TIAS 4595. 2 pp. 5¢.
Agreement between the United States of America and Costa Rica, amending and extending the agreement of December 10, 1945, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington March 4 and October 17, 1958. Entered into force October 17, 1958. Operative retroactively December 10, 1957.

Radio Communications Between Amateur Stations on Behalf of Third Parties. TIAS 4596. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Paraguay. Exchange of notes—Dated at Asunción August 31 and October 6, 1960. Entered into force November 5, 1960.

Defense—Extension of Loan of Vessel to China. TIAS 4597. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei October 12, 1960. Entered into force October 12, 1960.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: March 6-12

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

No.	Date	Subject
111	3/6	Rusk: interview on BBC.
*112	3/6	Hare sworn in as Ambassador to Turkey (biographic details).
113	3/6	Ball: "A New Frontier in Free-World Economic Cooperation."
114	3/7	Report on future of Fulbright program.
*115	3/7	Finletter sworn in as U.S. Representative on North Atlantic Council (biographic details).
*116	3/8	Macomber sworn in as Ambassador to Jordan (biographic details).
†117	3/8	White: Columbia River treaty.
*118	3/9	Merchant sworn in as Ambassador to Canada (biographic details).
119	3/9	News executives to attend foreign policy briefings.
*120	3/9	Wharton sworn in as Ambassador to Norway (biographic details).
121	3/9	Special economic mission to Bolivia (rewrite).
122	3/9	Rusk: news conference.
†123	3/9	Joint U.S.-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.
124	3/10	Tunisia credentials (rewrite).
*125	3/10	Mrs. Tillett sworn in as U. S. representative on U.N. Commission on Status of Women (biographic details).
*126	3/10	Gulfer sworn in as Ambassador to Finland (biographic details).
127	3/10	U.S. contribution for refugees in Austria.
*128	3/10	Tubby sworn in as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (biographic details).
129	3/11	Cleveland: American Association for the United Nations.
131	3/11	Ambassador Harriman visits Iran.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

Africa. United States Foreign Policy in a Period of Change (Kee, Rusk)	439	Pakistan. Pakistan Finance Minister Calls at White House	448
American Republics. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431	Presidential Documents	
Asia. Accelerating Economic Growth in Asia and the Far East (Frank)	460	Need for Public Understanding of U.N. Stressed by President Kennedy	447
Austria. U.S. Contributes \$1.6 Million To Close Refugee Camps in Austria	454	President Asks for Wider Discretion on Aid to Eastern Europe	444
Bolivia. Special Economic Mission Visits Bolivia	454	President Kennedy Holds Talks With President of Ghana	445
China. United States Foreign Policy in a Period of Change (Kee, Rusk)	439	Presidents of U.S. and Yugoslavia Exchange Greetings	444
China, Communist. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431	Public Affairs. Secretary Invites News Executives to Two Foreign Policy Briefings	432
Congo, Republic of the		Publications. Recent Releases	466
Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431	Refugees. U.S. Contributes \$1.6 Million To Close Refugee Camps in Austria	454
The United Nations' Capacity To Act (Cleveland)	447	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431
Congress, The. President Asks for Wider Discretion on Aid to Eastern Europe	444	Treaty Information. Current Actions	465
Department and Foreign Service		Tunisia	
Appointments (Battle, Salter)	466	Letters of Credence (Bourguiba)	445
Confirmations (Bingham, Coombs, Kennan, Plimpton, Tillett)	465	President Bourguiba of Tunisia To Visit United States	448
Designations (Adams, Gilmore, Hill, Jean, Jones, Little, Morgan)	466	United Kingdom	
Disarmament		Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431
Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431	United States Foreign Policy in a Period of Change (Kee, Rusk)	439
United States Foreign Policy in a Period of Change (Kee, Rusk)	439	United Nations	
Economic Affairs		Bingham confirmed as U.S. representative on Trusteeship Council	465
Accelerating Economic Growth in Asia and the Far East (Frank)	460	Current U.N. Documents	464
Debt and Equity for Development: New Uses for Old Tools (Coffin)	455	Manifestations of Anti-Semitism (Tree)	463
A New Frontier in Free-World Economic Cooperation (Ball)	449	Need for Public Understanding of U.N. Stressed by President Kennedy	447
Special Economic Mission Visits Bolivia	454	Plimpton confirmed as deputy U.S. representative to U.N. and in Security Council	465
Educational and Cultural Affairs. Board of Foreign Scholarships Urges Expansion of Fulbright Program	459	Robert S. Benjamin Appointed to U.S. Committee for U.N.	464
Europe. President Asks for Wider Discretion on Aid to Eastern Europe	444	Tillett confirmed as U.S. representative on ECOSOC Commission on Status of Women	465
Germany. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431	The United Nations' Capacity To Act (Cleveland)	447
Ghana. President Kennedy Holds Talks With President of Ghana (Kennedy, Nkrumah, text of joint communique)	445	Yugoslavia. Presidents of U.S. and Yugoslavia Exchange Greetings (Kennedy, Tito)	444
Human Rights. Manifestations of Anti-Semitism (Tree)	463		
International Organizations and Conferences. Accelerating Economic Growth in Asia and the Far East (Frank)	460	<i>Name Index</i>	
Iran. Ambassador Harriman Visits Iran	445	Adams, Samuel C., Jr	466
Laos. Secretary Rusk's News Conference of March 9	431	Ball, George W	449
Mutual Security		Battle, Lucius D	466
Accelerating Economic Growth in Asia and the Far East (Frank)	460	Bingham, Jonathan B	465
Adams designated ICA representative in Mali	466	Bourguiba, Habib, Jr	445
Debt and Equity for Development: New Uses for Old Tools (Coffin)	455	Cleveland, Harlan	447
Hill designated ICA Regional Director for Latin American Operations	466	Coffin, Frank M	455
President Asks for Wider Discretion on Aid to Eastern Europe	444	Coombs, Phillip H	465
Salter appointed ICA Deputy Director for Congressional Relations	466	Frank, Isaiah	460
		Gilmore, Eugene A	466
		Hill, Rey M	466
		Jean, Arch K	466
		Jones, Marshall P	466
		Kee, Robert	439
		Kennan, George F	465
		Kennedy, President	444, 445, 447
		Little, William Roy	466
		Morgan, George A	466
		Nkrumah, Kwame	445
		Plimpton, Francis T. P	465
		Rusk, Secretary	431, 439
		Salter, John L	466
		Tillett, Gladys A	465
		Tito, Josip Broz	444
		Tree, Mrs. Marietta	463

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 06352 770 7

