

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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The War

PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN EMERGENCY EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL REBUILDING OF THE WAR-TORN UNITED NATIONS

[Released to the press March 31]

War is destroying the educational and cultural organizations of the countries occupied by the enemy. Universities, schools, libraries, museums, and scientific laboratories have been wrecked or greatly damaged. Books and equipment have been stolen. Retreating Axis armies are likely to do still more injury.

Teachers, students, and scientists have been singled out for special persecution. Many have been imprisoned, deported, or killed—particularly those refusing to collaborate with the enemy. In fact, the enemy is deliberately depriving his victims of those tools of intellectual life without which their recovery is impossible.

Educational disorganization and economic and social distress are connected, one intensifying the other. Increasingly the war-torn countries are likely to suffer declines of their standards of living and health to critically low levels. The whole people will suffer, but in a special degree the children. Such conditions unavoidably tend toward internal disorder and external difficulties and may create new threats to the economic stability and political security of the world, upon which, in fact, depend the well-being and peace of the American people.

The peoples who survive this ordeal will need help—in order to help themselves. They are facing enormous problems in rebuilding educational and cultural life without essential facilities and without adequate trained personnel. Plans for these tasks must be made now and the work undertaken as soon as possible.

Because of the unprecedented crisis which must be faced in this regard, the Department of State believes that the participation of the United States

Government in an international program for the rebuilding of essential educational and cultural facilities of the war-torn countries in the period immediately following hostilities is an important service in the national interest and in the interest of international security and that steps looking to this participation should be taken.

In the Department's study to date of the kind of program that would be practicable and desirable, certain conclusions have already become clear. It would be unwise for this Government to undertake to apply, much less impose, a foreign educational program or system in any liberated country or to develop a program for the placement of American teachers in the schools of these countries or for the preparation of textbooks in the United States for use in such schools.

In order to help the war-torn countries to help themselves in the rebuilding of essential educational and cultural facilities, the Department proposes to collaborate for the time being with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London and to cooperate with the nations represented in this Conference, with the other United Nations, and with the nations associated with the United Nations in the war in forming, as soon as practicable, a United Nations organization for educational and cultural reconstruction. It recognizes that a significant effort has already been made abroad and that useful work has been begun in the shaping of an emergency program to meet this need.

This program, it now appears, may consist of (1) assistance in the restocking of essential educational facilities, especially with books and scientific and other teaching aids, (2) assistance in the providing of opportunities for the training of care-

fully selected foreign students in American educational institutions, (3) assistance in reestablishing essential library facilities, and (4) assistance in the recovery and restoration to their rightful owners of educational, scientific, artistic, and archival materials looted by the Axis countries.

In this program, as in all other activities in educational and related fields, the Department will seek the advice and cooperation of other agencies and organizations, both governmental and private. It will attempt to operate in a manner equally advantageous to all the countries concerned. This reciprocal relationship is basic in any sound program of educational and cultural relations.

This statement concerning the participation of the United States in emergency restoration of essential educational and cultural facilities of the war-torn United Nations deals with only one of the important educational and cultural problems in the international field which are receiving active consideration. Also of very great significance is the long-range furtherance of educational and cultural relations among nations. The Department wishes increasingly to encourage democratic international cooperation in developing reciprocal and desirable educational and cultural relations among the nations and peoples of the world, especially looking toward the promotion of free and friendly intellectual intercourse among them in the interest of international peace and security.

No attempt is made here to deal with the important questions concerning the educational and cultural programs of the Axis countries.

CENSORSHIP

The Secretary of State was asked on March 27, 1944 whether he would comment on the statement made by Governor Dewey in his address on March 24 that "when we find the State Department requesting the British censor to suppress political news sent to American papers by American correspondents abroad, it begins to amount to a deliberate and dangerous suppression of news at home."

The Secretary made the following reply to this inquiry:

"Governor Dewey is 100 percent wrong in the accuracy of his statement. All my life I have not

only talked about a free press, I have fought for it. When these rumors of political censorship in England started in November 1942 I wrote Byron Price and cabled Ambassador Winant to tell Mr. Eden my conviction that 'fundamentally the long-range interests of international friendship are best served by permitting the people of any country to know what people in friendly countries are thinking and saying about them, however unpleasant some of those opinions may be.' Both Mr. Price and Mr. Eden expressed full agreement.

"These rumors cropped up again while I was in Florida last month, and Mr. Stettinius made unequivocally clear that that is still our policy. His statement was published widely at the time.

"I am glad to see a press dispatch from London yesterday stating that the British Government fully understands, and shares, our opposition to political censorship and our conviction that plain speaking is more healthful than suppression."

[Released to the press March 28]

At the Secretary of State's press conference March 28 a correspondent called attention to an article in the *New York Times* from London which stated that the London office took no exception to Secretary Hull's statement yesterday, but that there had been repeated instances of objections from Washington to stories by American correspondents about diplomatic developments which had been passed in regular routine through the British censorship.

Commenting on this Secretary Hull said:

"The statement I gave you yesterday is entirely accurate. We have never requested the British for any kind of censorship whatsoever except on grounds of military security or for the safety of high officials while traveling. There seems to be a confusion between the censorship of news in the possession of the press and the avoidance of premature disclosures to the press of confidential information. The disclosure of confidential information is a matter between the governments conducting negotiations, et cetera, and upon which there is usually consultation before publication. We ourselves never think of publishing something in that connection without first conferring with the other government and having an agreement. That is a matter for decisions of the governments and not a matter of censorship.

"Where there has occurred in the past premature disclosure to the press by unauthorized officials, usually anonymous, on either the part of this Government or the British Government, each Government has customarily called the attention of the other Government to the infringement of agreement between the two Governments. Any such action is in no way related to the question of censorship upon which our position is unequivocal and clear.

"Any claim that the State Department has requested the British censor to suppress political news is therefore entirely wrong."

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF CONSTITUTION OF NEW GOVERNMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA

[Released to the press March 28]

The President has sent the following message to King Peter II of Yugoslavia, now in London:

MARCH 27, 1944.

Three years ago today the Yugoslav people rallied to begin their gallant struggle against the forces of oppression and tyranny, a struggle that has become epic in the minds and hearts of Americans. In greeting Your Majesty on this anniversary I extend to the embattled people of Yugoslavia an expression of America's admiration and friendship.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

CIVIL AVIATION

[Released to the press March 31]

Mr. Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. Edward Warner, Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, are going to London for an exploratory exchange of views on civil aviation with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as a first step toward preliminary international discussion this summer.

It is expected that a group composed of Mr. Joseph C. Grew, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Mr. L. Welch Pogue, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Mr. William A. M. Burden, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and others will conduct similar exploratory conversations with representatives of the U.S.S.R. in Washington within the next fortnight.

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: REVISION VII

[Released to the press March 29]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, pursuant to the proclamation by the President of July 17, 1941 providing for the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, on March 23, 1944 issued Revision VII of the Proclaimed List. Revision VII supersedes Revision VI, dated October 7, 1943, and consolidates Revision VI with its six supplements.

No new additions to or deletions from the Proclaimed List are made in this revision. Certain minor changes in the spelling of names listed are made.

Revision VII follows the listing arrangement used in Revision VI. The list is divided into two parts: Part I relates to listings in the American republics and part II to listings in countries other than the American republics. Revision VII contains a total of 15,061 listings, of which 10,146 are in part I and 4,915 in part II.

AWARD OF THE MEDAL FOR MERIT

[Released to the press March 28]

The President has awarded the Medal for Merit to Mr. John C. Garand, head engineer, Ordnance Department, U.S. Army, and to Dr. Albert Hoyt Taylor, chief physicist, Naval Research Laboratory, for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services.

The citation accompanying the award of the Medal for Merit to Mr. Garand reads as follows:

"For exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services in designing and perfecting the United States Rifle Caliber .30, M1. Mr. Garand has devoted more than sixteen years, i.e., from 1919 to 1936, at the Springfield Armory, Springfield, Massachusetts, developing this rifle with great initiative, ceaseless patience, skill and technological brilliance.

"Mr. Garand's devotion to his work has been complete and his attitude towards his accomplish-

ments one of modesty and patriotic unselfishness. The United States Rifle Caliber .30, M1, popularly known as the Garand, capable of 100 rounds a minute, gives a single M1 rifle platoon today more fire power than an entire company had in 1918. The father of this rifle has rendered an exceptional service to his country and contributed conspicuously to the common war effort."

Mr. Garand also worked on the improvement of this rifle during the later years and brought it to a still higher state of perfection.

The citation for Dr. Taylor is as follows:

"For exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services in the line of his profession as member of the staff of the Naval Research Laboratory. Undiscouraged by frequent handicaps, Doctor Taylor labored tirelessly in a course of intensive research and experimentation which eventually resulted in the discovery and development of radar. His foresight, technical skill, and steadfast perseverance contributed in large measure to the timely introduction of a scientific device which has yielded the United States Navy a definite advantage over her enemies during the present war."

The presentation of the medals was made by the Secretary of State as chairman of the Medal for Merit Board. The other members of the Board are the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION IN LONDON

[Released to the press April 11]

The Secretary of State announced on April 1 that Dean C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College had been appointed a member of the American delegation to collaborate with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London.

American Republics

DEATH OF THE AMBASSADOR OF PERU

Statement by the President

[Released to the press April 11]

I am deeply shocked and grieved at the news of the sudden death of the Ambassador of Peru, Don Manuel de Freyre y Santander, who has been my very good personal friend for many years.

His long career as representative of Peru in Washington was characterized by an unusual and sympathetic understanding. During his years here he represented his country ably and effectively.

I join with his many friends everywhere in mourning him.

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press April 11]

I have just called at the Peruvian Embassy where I presented my sincere condolences to the family and to the staff of the late Peruvian Ambassador, His Excellency Don Manuel de Freyre y Santander. The death of Señor de Freyre fills me with a deep sense of personal loss. He was a valued friend and counselor.

An able representative of Peru to the United States, like his father before him, this descendant of one of the Liberators throughout his long residence among us—as a boy, as a young man, and finally as the distinguished Dean of the Diplomatic Corps—contributed greatly to the good relations between Peru and the United States.

The death of the Peruvian Ambassador deprives his country of a public servant of the highest order at a time when the freedom-loving people throughout the world need leaders of his outstanding qualities.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press March 28]

The Reverend Roberto Saboia de Medeiros, S.J., of São Paulo, Brazil, has arrived in Washington

as a guest of the Department of State, under whose auspices he will study social welfare in the United States.

Father Saboia de Medeiros, who is president of the Social Action Association and editor of the *Social Service Review*, has founded clinics, workers' clubs, and theatrical groups, and is planning schools of industrial chemistry and business management to train young Brazilians for the expected industrialization of Brazil. One of the objects of his present trip is to recruit in the United States several faculty members for proposed schools of industrial chemistry and business education at São Paulo.

Father Saboia de Medeiros believes that the material strength of this country has been sufficiently emphasized abroad and that it is necessary now to bring to other countries a knowledge and understanding of the ideals which have motivated this country's growth and brought it to its present position in the world. Consequently, his trip bears a direct relation to an exposition he plans to have in São Paulo of books, moving pictures, exhibits, and other materials illustrative of the ideals and spirit of the United States.

The Department

PETROLEUM DIVISION

Departmental Order 1245 of March 27, 1944 ¹

There is hereby established in the Office of Economic Affairs a Petroleum Division which shall have responsibility for the initiation, development and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to petroleum and petroleum products and, within that scope, responsibility for liaison with intergovernmental agencies concerned with international problems in this field and with the Petroleum Administration for War, the Foreign Economic Administration and other departments and agencies which are or may hereafter be concerned with petroleum and petroleum products. Since the Department's policy with regard to

petroleum and with regard to other commodities must be consistent, it is important that this Division collaborate closely with the Commodities Division. Other divisions concerned should also be consulted as occasion may arise.

Mr. Charles B. Rayner is temporarily designated Acting Chief of the Petroleum Division in addition to and concurrent with his duties as Adviser on Petroleum Policy in the Office of Economic Affairs.

Mr. James C. Sappington 3d is designated Assistant Chief of the Petroleum Division.

The routing symbol of the Petroleum Division is PED.

Departmental Order no. 1218 is amended accordingly and the following changes are made: Under Office of Economic Affairs 3. Commodities Division (a),² delete the phrase petroleum and petroleum products", (d), delete the phrase "the Office of Petroleum Administrator for War", second paragraph, delete the designation of Mr. Sappington as Assistant Chief of the Commodities Division.

CORDELL HULL

AVIATION DIVISION

Departmental Order 1246 of March 23, 1944 ³

In order to amplify and clarify the functions and responsibilities of the Aviation Division of the Office of Transportation and Communications, page 10 of Departmental Order No. 1218 of January 15, 1944, which set forth the functions and responsibilities of the Aviation Division,⁴ is amended to read as follows:

1. *Aviation Division.*

The Aviation Division shall have responsibility for initiating, developing and coordinating policy and action in all matters pertaining to:

- (a) International aviation, including the development and operation of airlines and air transportation, the acquisition of landing rights abroad, and matters relating to airports and airways.

¹ Effective Mar. 24, 1944.
² BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1944, p. 53.
³ Effective Mar. 27, 1944.
⁴ BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1944, p. 49.

(b) Discussions with foreign countries on matters relating to civil aviation and the drafting of agreements on this subject.

(c) Assembling basic material and otherwise preparing for international aviation conferences.

(d) Representation of the Department on the International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts (CITEJA), the United States National Commission of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission (CAPA) and other international bodies dealing with aeronautical affairs.

(e) Matters of policy relating to international air mail.

(f) Presentation to the Munitions Assignments Committee (Air) or other appropriate allocation authorities of foreign requests for aircraft and collaboration with other offices and divisions of the Department and of other Departments and agencies of the Government concerned in the export of aircraft.

(g) Training of foreign aircraft and ground personnel in the United States and abroad, including collaboration and coordination with the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Civil Aeronautics Administration and other Departments and agencies of the Government and with foreign agencies engaged in like activities.

(h) Obtaining military and civil flight permits for United States aircraft proceeding abroad and for foreign aircraft visiting the United States and its possessions on request of diplomatic missions accredited to the United States.

(i) Screening of non-military requests for travel priorities for civilian personnel and the presentation of these requests to military authorities.

(j) Representation on interdepartmental committees considering problems involving aviation.

(k) Miscellaneous matters involving aviation in general including liaison with the Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics, Civil Aeronautics Administration, the War, Navy, and Post Office Departments, Defense Supplies Corporation and other Departments and agencies of the Government.

In carrying out these functions and responsibilities, the Aviation Division shall work in close cooperation with all other interested divisions of the Department.

Mr. Stokely W. Morgan is hereby designated Chief and Mr. Joe D. Walstrom Assistant Chief of the Aviation Division. Mr. Stephen Latchford will continue to serve as Adviser on Air Law in this Division.

The routing symbol of the Aviation Division is AD.

CORDELL HULL

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1247 of March 29, 1944, effective March 27, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Livingston T. Merchant as Chief of the Eastern Hemisphere Division.

By Departmental Order 1248 of March 29, 1944, effective March 27, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Walter N. Walmsley, Jr. as Acting Chief of the Division of River Plate Affairs, in addition to his duties as Chief of the Division of Brazilian Affairs.

The Foreign Service

DEATH OF CLAYSON W. ALDRIDGE

[Released to the press April 1]

The Department of State has learned with regret of the death of Clayson W. Aldridge, a Foreign Service officer, who entered the Foreign Service March 29, 1925. Mr. Aldridge died at the Naval Hospital, Corona, Calif., on March 30, 1944.

DEATH OF THEODORE C. WEBER

[Released to the press April 1]

The Department of State has learned with regret of the death on March 30 of Theodore C. Weber, a Foreign Service officer, who entered the Foreign Service March 23, 1942 and was appointed vice consul at Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, August 11, 1943.

Treaty Information

LAPSE OF AGREEMENTS WITH HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC RELATING TO RECIPROCAL CONCESSIONS IN THE HAITIAN-DOMINICAN COMMERCIAL TREATY

[Released to the press March 27]

In notes exchanged between the United States and Haiti and the United States and the Dominican Republic during 1942, the United States agreed not to claim the benefit of reductions in customs duties granted by Haiti and the Dominican Republic to each other on a restricted number of products specifically provided for in the Haitian-Dominican commercial treaty signed on August 26, 1941.

That commercial treaty expired on March 24, 1944 and in consequence thereof the above-mentioned agreements in the notes exchanged by the United States and Haiti and the Dominican Republic automatically lapsed on the same date. These notes were exchanged between the United States and Haiti on February 16 and 19¹ and on April 25,² 1942, and between the United States and the Dominican Republic on November 14, 1942.³

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH IRAN

[Released to the press March 31]

On March 31, 1944 the President proclaimed the trade agreement between the United States and Iran, with an accompanying exchange of notes, signed at Washington on April 8, 1943.

Article XIV of the agreement provides that it shall enter into force on the thirtieth day following the exchange of the proclamation of the President of the United States for the instrument of ratification of the Government of Iran. Following the exchange of the proclamation and the instrument of ratification the President will issue a supplementary proclamation setting forth the date of entry into force.

The English text of the agreement, with the accompanying exchange of notes, was made public in the Department's press release 133 of April 8,

1943. An analysis of the agreement was printed in the BULLETIN of April 10, 1943, p. 299.

AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Notifications and documents relating to approval or ratification of the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed in Washington on November 9, 1943,⁴ have been received by the Government of the United States of America as follows:

The Ambassador of the Dominican Republic transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note of February 15, 1944, the instrument of ratification of the agreement signed by the President of the Dominican Republic on January 24, 1944 and two certified copies of the *Gaceta Oficial* No. 6016 of January 1, 1944, in which is published Resolution 457 of the National Congress approving the agreement.

The Ambassador of El Salvador informed the Secretary of State, by a note of March 16, 1944, that the National Legislative Assembly of El Salvador ratified the agreement on December 23, 1943 and that the decree of ratification was published in the *Diario Oficial* of El Salvador on January 10, 1944.

The Minister of Ethiopia transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a communication of February 14, 1944, the instrument of ratification of the agreement signed by the Emperor of the Imperial Ethiopian Government on January 18, 1944.

The Ambassador of Honduras informed the Secretary of State, by a note of January 27, 1944, that on January 15, 1944 the Executive Power of Honduras promulgated Decree 13 of the National Congress of Honduras approving the agreement.

The Ambassador of Mexico informed the Secretary of State, by a note of February 8, 1944, that the decree of the Chamber of Senators of the Congress of the United Mexican States approving the agreement was published in the *Diario Oficial* of his Government on January 7, 1944.

¹ Executive Agreement Series 238.

² Executive Agreement Series 252.

³ Executive Agreement Series 274.

⁴ Executive Agreement Series 352.

The Secretary of State has acknowledged the receipt of these communications and has informed the other governments or authorities concerned and the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of the approval or ratification of the agreement by the above-mentioned countries.

On March 28, 1944 the President approved an act entitled "Joint Resolution To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization" (Public Law 267, 78th Cong.). The law authorizes appropriations not to exceed \$1,350,000,000 for participation by the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

OPERATION OF PAN-AMERICAN AIRWAYS OVER BRITISH COLUMBIA

An agreement has been effected between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada, by an exchange of notes at Ottawa dated June 12, 1943 and January 26, 1944, whereby Canada grants permission to the Pan-American Airways system to operate, for a period of six months from January 26, 1944, over British Columbia and to stop at Prince George for refueling while en route between Seattle, Wash., and Juneau, Alaska. The authorization granted under the present agreement and any renewal thereof in no way commits the Canadian Government with respect to post-war commercial aviation policy.

JURISDICTION OVER CRIMINAL OFFENSES COMMITTED BY ARMED FORCES

An agreement regarding jurisdiction of offenses committed by members of the armed forces of the United States in Canada has been effected by an exchange of notes at Ottawa dated December 27, 1943, February 10, 1944, and March 9, 1944 between the United States and Canada.

Agreements regarding criminal offenses committed by members of armed forces have also been concluded by the United States with China,¹ Egypt, Great Britain,² and India.

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

The White House announced³ that on April 1, 1944 the President transmitted to the Senate, with a view to receiving the advice and consent of that body to ratification, a Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- Plantation Rubber Investigations: Agreement Between the United States of America and Nicaragua Continuing in Force an Agreement of January 11, 1941, and Text of Agreement of January 11, 1941—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Managua June 23 and 26, 1943; effective July 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 357. Publication 2085. 8 pp. 5¢.
- Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Colombia—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Bogotá October 23, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 369. Publication 2080. 5 pp. 5¢.
- The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Revision VII, March 23, 1944. Promulgated Pursuant to Proclamation 2497 of the President of July 17, 1941. Publication 2081. 374 pp. Free.
- Index to the Department of State Bulletin, vol. IX, nos. 210-235, July 3-December 25, 1943. Publication 2087. 19 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

- "Iran in 1943", by John A. Calhoun, Third Secretary and Vice Consul of the American Legation at Tehran, Iran.
- "Turkey in 1943", by Earle C. Taylor, Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Ankara, Turkey.
- "Canadian Farm Sentiment: Today's Dominant Trends", by Clifford C. Taylor, Agricultural Attaché, and Irven M. Eitrein, Third Secretary and Vice Consul of the American Embassy at Ottawa, Canada.

The first two articles listed above will be found in the April 1, 1944 issue of the Department of

¹ Executive Agreement Series 360.

² Executive Agreement Series 355.

³ White House press release, Apr. 1, 1944.

Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. The article on "Canadian Farm Sentiment" will be found in the April 8, 1944 issue of that periodical. Copies of *Foreign Commerce Weekly* may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for the price of 10 cents each.

Legislation

Amending Section 323 of the Nationality Act of 1940.
H. Rept. 1310, 78th Cong., on H. R. 2522. [Favorable report.] 4 pp.

Extension of Lend-Lease. H. Rept. 1316, 78th Cong., on
H.R. 4254. [Favorable report.] 12 pp.

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The War

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE TO PROSPERITY

[Released to the press April 2]

The text of a broadcast entitled "The Importance of International Commerce to Prosperity", which was arranged by the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation and which was given by Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of State, over Station WINX, Washington, D.C., April 2, 1944, follows:

ANNOUNCER: Plenty of jobs, security, permanent prosperity—these are the things we want most for ourselves, for our fighting men when they return, for our children, after we have won the war. Yet the United States could not long remain an island of prosperity in a world sea of poverty.

To show us why this is so, this week's "Beyond Victory" program, brought to you by the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation of Boston and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, calls upon one of the leading officials of the United States Department of State, Mr. Harry C. Hawkins. For many years Mr. Hawkins has been working closely with Secretary Hull in carrying out the reciprocal-trade agreements. He is now the Director of the Office of Economic Affairs of the State Department.

We take you to Washington, where Mr. Hawkins will be interviewed by Mr. William Harris.

HARRIS: Mr. Hawkins—to start right off with a hard question—Do you think that after the war our first consideration should be the economic welfare of other countries, bearing in mind how important that welfare is to permanent peace? Or do you think we ought to concentrate on the enormous problems of employment and production that we're going to have right here at home?

HAWKINS: Well, Mr. Harris, if we had to make such a choice that would be a hard question. However, in my opinion we can and should do everything in our power to expand employment and production here in the United States after the war. And at the same time we can and should help other nations to expand *their* employment and production. If we do that, I believe we will have the best possible basis for an enduring peace.

HARRIS: That sounds very encouraging, Mr. Hawkins—in spite of that ominous "if". But how can we help other nations expand their employment and production? By removing all our tariff barriers?

HAWKINS: Oh, no. That would be too drastic and too one-sided. What we do need is a tariff and foreign-trade policy that will call for international cooperation to bring about a substantial reduction of trade barriers, theirs as well as ours, in the real, long-run interests of all countries.

HARRIS: And if we don't adopt such a policy?

HAWKINS: If we and all other countries don't consider each other's long-run trade interests, we'll all soon be engaged in trade warfare as we have in the past, and all our hard lessons will have taught us nothing.

HARRIS: Well, by trade warfare, Mr. Hawkins, do you mean when one nation discriminates against another by refusing to admit its goods?

HAWKINS: Not necessarily, Mr. Harris. Trade warfare doesn't always start with a deliberately hostile act; it doesn't always start with discrimination against some particular nation; and it doesn't always mean flatly refusing to accept goods. What happens more often is that a country imposes high tariffs on imports, usually in an attempt to benefit some of its domestic producers and without regard to how the tariff is going to

affect foreign producers or even how it's going to affect its own export interests in the long run. The result is that producers in other countries are deprived of outlets for their products, and so those countries set up trade barriers of their own against imports. This hits still other countries and they in turn take similar action. Some countries begin to make unfair and discriminatory deals, and so unemployment and economic sickness begin to spread throughout the world.

HARRIS: And that's the way wars are caused.

HAWKINS: That's one thing that can contribute to them. We've seen that when a country gets starved out economically, its people are all too ready to follow the first dictator who may rise up and promise them all jobs. Trade conflict breeds non-cooperation, suspicion, bitterness. Nations which are economic enemies are not likely to remain political friends for long.

HARRIS: Well, that's a grim picture you've painted, but I know enough about international trade to realize that that's just what has happened sometimes in the past. Let's all earnestly hope it doesn't happen again.

HAWKINS: It is with that hope that the nations of the world—outside the Axis—have been turning to trade cooperation, to giving some consideration to the other fellow's interests, and thereby looking out for each one's own ultimate benefit.

HARRIS: Well, exactly what does that mean in terms of tariffs?

HAWKINS: A good example is the trade-agreements law which we have had in effect since 1934. This law authorizes the President to negotiate and conclude with other countries reciprocal agreements which provide for reduction, within definite limits, of our tariffs which unduly hamper their exports to us, in return for reductions by them in their trade barriers against our exports.

HARRIS: That sounds pretty complicated to me.

HAWKINS: Well, some aspects of it are technical, of course, but let me give you an example, although it is far too simple to be an accurate picture of all that a trade agreement is and how it is made. At one time the United States had a high tariff on imports of Brazil nuts. Perhaps our imports of these nuts were not very important in our whole

national economy, but they were very important to the producers in Brazil, and our tariff limited their sales and profits in this country. At the same time, United States automobile and parts manufacturers wanted to sell more of their products in Brazil, but the Brazilian tariff on such articles cut down the profits or limited the volume of such sales. In our reciprocal-trade agreement with Brazil we reduced our tariff on Brazil nuts, while they reduced their tariffs on automobiles and parts.

HARRIS: I can see how that kind of trade cooperation would make for better feeling between countries and therefore would contribute to world peace. But will trade cooperation help solve our own post-war problems in this country? After all, we can't help being interested in our own prosperity.

HAWKINS: That is just what I am talking about. I believe that we must look at post-war trade problems realistically and not sentimentally. And from a purely self-interested point of view, trade cooperation will, in my opinion, help us a great deal. As you know, we've got to plan on enormously increased production in this country after the war, and the American domestic market can't absorb all that production indefinitely. There won't be any question about our needing greatly increased foreign markets.

HARRIS: And I suppose American producers are well aware of that?

HAWKINS: Oh, yes—very well aware. Take agriculture, for example. The Farm Bureau Federation came out last spring with the statement that if farmers are to maintain their production after the war, their export outlets absolutely must be restored.

HARRIS: That's very interesting. I shouldn't have supposed that farmers would be so much interested in exports.

HAWKINS: Certainly they are. Many people don't realize, Mr. Harris, that about half of all this country's exports in normal times have been agricultural products. In fact, more than half of one crop—cotton—has been sold in foreign markets in many past years. Large percentages of our wheat, fruit, tobacco, and corn (when it has been trans-

formed into pork and lard) are exported when there are foreign markets for them.

HARRIS: Well, I confess I hadn't realized that agriculture has such a big stake in exports. I do know that American industry is talking about the necessity for large-scale foreign trade if business is to expand after the war. By the way, how about labor, Mr. Hawkins? How does it feel about trade cooperation?

HAWKINS: Many labor leaders feel the same way industry and agriculture do. Mr. William Green, president of the A. F. of L., has urged the renewal of the trade-agreements law we were discussing just now, because he says labor is determined to assure for itself a security based upon full employment in an expanding industry and trade which, in turn, require foreign markets.

HARRIS: Then I gather that agriculture, industry, and labor are all agreed there is a potential world market for our goods. Can you give us any idea as to how much of a market that might be, Mr. Hawkins?

HAWKINS: Well, there are more than two billion people in the world outside the United States—and they're all potential customers of ours if we will think of them that way. Of course, only a relatively few have living standards and purchasing power comparable to our own. The vast majority are very poor, according to our standards, and individually they can buy very little, but in the aggregate their purchasing power is enormous.

HARRIS: And I suppose that as their living standards improve, the world market for American goods will expand, too.

HAWKINS: Certainly, although its expansion will depend on a variety of things, such as the investment of capital, the development of natural resources, and so forth. But basic to everything else is the ability to trade in their products.

HARRIS: Mr. Hawkins, why do people often seem more enthusiastic about the exporting angle of foreign trade than about the importing angle?

HAWKINS: Well, Mr. Harris, in any business deal most people are more eager to sell than to buy. However, the reason a person wants to sell something is to get the wherewithal to buy other things he wants. Countries are like individuals

in that respect. The United States, to be specific, can't go on selling its products abroad indefinitely unless it accepts the products of other countries in return. If other countries can't get United States dollars by selling their goods in the United States they can't buy our things.

HARRIS: Some people are afraid of flooding our own markets with cheap imports from foreign countries with living standards lower than ours and in that way throwing Americans out of jobs or cutting their wages down to the low foreign levels. What about that fear?

HAWKINS: We must remember, first, that competitive ability depends on efficiency of production. Low living standards and low wages do not necessarily mean efficient production—in fact, misery and efficiency seldom go together. Actually, although many of our industries pay the highest wages in the world, their efficiency is also the highest in the world, and therefore the unit cost of their product, including wages, is so low that they can compete successfully in the world market where wages are far lower.

HARRIS: However, I suppose there are some industries which really do benefit from high protective tariffs.

HAWKINS: They are relatively few. A prominent labor economist has made some interesting studies along this line. He found that of 45 million people employed in this country in 1940, only 2 or 3 million were actually producing goods which, without tariff protection, might meet serious foreign competition in the domestic market. The vast majority—42 or 43 million people—are actually harmed by excessive tariffs and other trade restrictions and would gain from expansion of both our import and our export trade.

HARRIS: In other words, a minority of 5 or 6 percent of our population has been benefiting from high tariffs at the expense of 42 million of our people and their families who would be better off if their industries had more foreign markets! It seems to me that you've made out a very fine case for trade cooperation, Mr. Hawkins, and you've also made the same point for international economics which our guest on this program, Mr. Paul Hoffman of the Committee for Economic Develop-

ment, made last week for domestic economics. Mr. Hoffman emphasized that many of our economic ills result from a basic sense of fear, and it seems that may be true of nations, also.

But here's one thing I'd like to ask you, Mr. Hawkins. I know industrialists are counting on a large backed-up demand in this country for consumer goods after the war. In some cases it may be months or years before that demand is satisfied and producers can turn their attention to foreign markets. That being the case, is there any very pressing need for improving our trade relations now?

HAWKINS: Yes, we would benefit by improving them as soon as possible, partly because of the foreign-relief programs ahead in the immediate post-war period. The American interest concerned here is that of the American taxpayer, who is already heavily burdened and will be anxious to

keep down the costs of these programs. He will therefore have a direct interest in getting the war-impooverished peoples of the world off the dole and onto a productive self-sustaining basis as soon as possible.

All that I have said comes to this, Mr. Harris. From whatever angle we view the post-war situation, trade policies of nations, particularly industrial nations, are of key importance. Our farmers, our manufacturers, our workers, all of us as taxpayers and consumers, have a big stake in an expanding world market. And, as I said at the beginning, trade policies will be important in determining whether this time we win and maintain the peace.

HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Hawkins. Our guest on this "Beyond Victory" program has been Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of State.

ACCIDENTAL BOMBING OF SCHAFFHAUSEN

[Released to the press April 3]

The Secretary of State on April 3, 1944 made the following statement regarding the accidental bombing by American planes of the Swiss city of Schaffhausen on April 1:

"I desire to express my own and all Americans' deep regret over the tragic bombing by American planes of the Swiss City of Schaffhausen on April 1.

"I have been in close touch with the Secretary of War regarding this matter, and he tells me investigations which he has so far been able to complete indicate that in the course of operations against the Nazi war machine a group of our bombers, due to a chain of events negating the extensive precautions which had been taken to prevent incidents of this character, mistakenly flew over and bombed Swiss areas located on the north side of the Rhine.

"Secretary Stimson has expressed to me the deep regret which he and the American air forces feel over this tragedy. He has also asked me to assure the Swiss Government that every precau-

tion will be taken to prevent in so far as is humanly possible the repetition of this unfortunate event. General Spaatz, accompanied by Ambassador Winant, has already called on the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires in London and expressed the deep regret of himself and the men in his command at the accidental bombing of Schaffhausen.

"Naturally this Government will make appropriate reparations for the damage resulting from this unfortunate event in so far as that is humanly possible.

"I am informing the Swiss Minister in the foregoing sense and am instructing the American Minister in Bern to do likewise with the Swiss Government."

[Released to the press April 3]

The Secretary of State has received the following message, dated April 3, 1944, from the American Ambassador in London, the Honorable John G. Winant:

"This noon General Spaatz and I called at the Swiss Legation and expressed to Mr. Girardet,

who is Chargé d'Affaires in the absence of the Minister, our deep regret at the accidental bombing of Schaffhausen by our air force. General Spaatz told Mr. Girardet how sincerely sorry our airmen were that this had happened."

SOVIET STATEMENT REGARDING RUMANIA

[Released to the press April 3]

In answer to a question concerning the statement made by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. V. M. Molotov, regarding Rumania, the Secretary of State said on April 3, 1944:

"I have noted with considerable interest the statement made by Mr. Molotov in connection with the military operations now being conducted in Rumania. This statement makes clear to the Rumanian people that the main business of the armies of Soviet Russia is to defeat the enemy in the field. The political assurances which the statement contains should help the Rumanians to see that their own ultimate interests require that German forces be driven from their country."

PETROLEUM QUESTIONS

Preliminary Discussions by the United States and the United Kingdom

[Released to the press April 3]

The Department of State announced, on March 7, 1944,¹ that the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom would undertake preliminary and exploratory discussions on petroleum questions and that these discussions would be, in the first instance, on an expert technical level.

The British Government is announcing that the group which will conduct these discussions on its behalf and which is about to depart for Washington is headed by Sir William Brown, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., and that the other members are Commodore A. W. Clarke, D.S.O., R.N.; Sir William Fraser, C.B.E.; Sir Frederick

Godber; F. Harner; J. H. Le Rougetel, C.M.G., M.C.; and F. C. Starling, C.B.E. The secretary of the British group will be Mr. V. Butler.

The membership of the expert technical group which will conduct the preliminary exploratory discussions for the United States Government will be announced within the next few days.

ALBANIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Statement by the Department of State

[Released to the press April 6]

On April 7, 1939—Good Friday—the forces of Fascism struck at Albania in sudden and shameless aggression, and Mussolini proclaimed its incorporation into Fascism's so-called empire. Although the fall of Mussolini and the lifting of the Fascist yoke brought not freedom but Nazi occupation, the Albanian people have not since that Good Friday five years ago abandoned their struggle to throw out the invader and regain their freedom.

As is well known, the Government of the United States never recognized the Fascist annexation of Albania. Today it looks to the Albanian people to unite their efforts against the Nazi enemy, thus hastening the restoration to their country of the freedom they so ardently desire.

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT I TO REVISION VII

[Released to the press April 8]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Acting Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on April 8, 1944, issued Cumulative Supplement I to Revision VII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated March 23, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 1 contains 69 additional listings in the other American republics and 83 deletions. Part II contains 51 additional listings outside the American republics and 17 deletions.

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 11, 1944, p. 238.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA

By *Otis E. Mulliken*¹

An earlier article² describing the International Labor Organization concluded by posing the question: What is the future of the I.L.O.? That question will be answered in large measure by the actions taken by the representatives of over 40 nations who will convene in Philadelphia on April 20, 1944. It is possible, however, by an examination of the proposals the Office has suggested for consideration at the Conference to arrive at some tentative conclusions.

The following agenda was adopted by the Governing Body at its meeting in London:

- I. Future policy, program, and status of the International Labor Organization.
- II. Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy.
- III. The organization of employment in the transition from war to peace.
- IV. Social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war.
- V. Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.
- VI. Reports on the application of conventions (article 22 of the Constitution).
- VII. Director's report.

In connection with the first five items on the agenda, the Office has prepared reports which include a declaration of aims, seventeen suggested resolutions and recommendations, and one draft convention. This article is concerned with a brief description of the principles and programs contained in these proposals.

It is not intended to offer any critical analysis or discussion of the proposals but simply to provide for the readers of the *BULLETIN* a summary outline of the subjects to be discussed at Philadelphia. The language of the recommendations themselves or of the Office reports is frequently employed. In this article attention will be di-

rected primarily toward those items on the agenda which bear upon the future policy and status of the I.L.O. and upon its recommended solutions for some of the more important post-war problems.

I. Future Policy, Program, and Status of the I.L.O.

The social objectives of free peoples find summary expression in the Atlantic Charter,³ especially in the fifth point which states the desire "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security". At the London meeting of the Governing Body, Mr. Bevin, the British Minister of Labor and National Service, referring to the I.L.O. said, "I look upon it as the body which will be charged with the duty of assisting Governments through its advice to give effect to Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter". He continued to state later that, "This at once constitutes an opportunity but equally a responsibility for the International Labor Organization".

The Organization has accepted this charge and the first item on the agenda is a solemn declaration restating the aims and purposes of the I.L.O. The Office has proposed a draft declaration which summarizes so well the viewpoint and the objectives of the Organization that it is reproduced here. It should be noted, however, that this is not a final statement of aims and purposes but a draft which the delegates will consider. The proposed declaration reads as follows:

"The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in its Twenty-sixth Session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this

¹ The author of this article is Acting Chief of the Division of Labor Relations, Department of State.

² *BULLETIN* of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 257.

³ Executive Agreement Series 236.

day of in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four, the present Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its Members.

“The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that labour is not a commodity; that freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress; that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere, and that accordingly the war against want, while it requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, equally requires continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

“Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the Conference affirms that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, that the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy, and that all policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, must be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective.

“The Conference declares that it is accordingly a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to scrutinise all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective and that in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation may consider all relevant economic and financial factors and include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

“Among the matters to which urgent attention should be given by the International Labour Organisation, the Conference attaches special importance to the following:

- “The maintenance of full employment and the raising of standards of living;
- “The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being and, as a means to the attainment of this end, the provision under adequate guarantees for all concerned of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;
- “The application of policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and the assurance of a minimum living wage to all in need of such protection;
- “The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the initiation and application of social and economic measures;
- “The extension to the whole population of social security measures providing a basic income in case of inability to work or to obtain work, and providing comprehensive medical care;
- “The provision of adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;
- “Provision for child welfare and maternity protection, and the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;
- “The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

“Confident that the fuller and broader utilisation of the world’s productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this Declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including for example measures to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to maintain consumption at a high level, to ensure the productive investment of all savings, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure

greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the Conference pledges the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

"The Conference affirms that the principles set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world."

It would be easy to comment at length upon the implications and significance of this statement. A few remarks must suffice. It will be noted that the statement affirms the indivisibility of the prosperity of all peoples and that war against want requires not only unrelenting vigor within each nation but also continuous and concerted international action. The affirmation that the attainment of conditions which will make possible material well-being and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, economic security, and equal opportunity "must constitute the central aim of national and international policy" repeats a thought expressed by President Roosevelt in addressing the Conference in 1941. At that time he said: "We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate watertight compartments in the international any more than in the national sphere. In international as in national affairs economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives".

The stated responsibility of the Organization to examine economic and financial policies and measures in the light of the social objectives should also be noted. The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, had told the Governing Body in December: "Your Organization will no doubt scrutinize plans for economic and financial reconstruction from the point of view of the social objectives at which you

aim, and in doing this you will help to make sure that we steadily pursue the road which the United Nations have chosen to travel".

The maintenance of full employment and the raising of standards of living are listed first among the matters to which special importance is attached. These and the other matters listed cover a wide range of necessary activity, and the Office recognizes that other international organizations are likely to have the primary responsibility for the necessary international action—hence, it pledges its cooperation to these other agencies.

The I.L.O. recognizes that the functional approach to the problem of world order at present being followed raises directly the question of its relation to other international organizations. It directs attention to its cooperative activities in the past and points out that it has been the consistent policy of the Organization to establish close collaboration with new agencies as they are established and to offer any assistance which the experience of the I.L.O. may be able to contribute to their successful development. The Office states that it is increasingly acknowledged that whatever functional bodies may be established will have to be effectively coordinated in a general pattern of international economic organization and that the I.L.O., as the watchdog of those who would be the first to suffer from a failure to maintain full employment, has a primary interest in the achievement of harmonious working relations between all the constituent functional parts of the group of social and economic institutions which the world's needs require. At the same time attention is directed to the unique position of the I.L.O. as a tripartite organization and its particular competence to function as a world parliament of social and economic affairs.

Several sections of the second resolution proposed under this item on the agenda deal with this problem of the relation of the I.L.O. to other international organizations. These sections provide that the Conference and the Governing Body may invite public international organizations to send representatives to participate in or attend all or any of their meetings or parts thereof, without vote, on such conditions as they may respectively determine and that the Governing

Body may invite such organizations to be represented on any committee or at any regional, technical, or special conferences convened under the auspices of the I.L.O. In addition, the Governing Body may enter into agreements for the maintenance of joint committees.

It is recognized that the decisions of the Conference will necessarily constitute only a starting-point of the post-war program of action of the Organization. The Office in report I outlines some of the elements out of which an adequate program of international action in the social field can be evolved. There are problems of the organization of employment which involve the establishment of effective public employment services, the regularization of employment, provision for disabled workers, training, retraining, and vocational guidance. Many phases of social insurance require further development. Some of the aspects of wage policy will require further examination. Not only are there such questions as the method of wage payment, guaranteed weekly wages, the principles of fixing minimum wages, but it is suggested that there might be international fair-wages clauses in connection with projects financed by international loans.

There will be housing problems after the war involving questions of minimum standards of construction and the organization and financing of housing for low-income groups. In the rebuilding of factories, attention should be directed to conditions of health, safety, and well-being for the workers who will be employed in them. International health and safety standards are suggested and the formulation of model safety codes. Much remains to be done in the field of industrial health and hygiene.

Among the groups of workers to whom special attention should be directed are young persons, women, maritime workers, agricultural workers, and professional workers. Important problems of migration and settlement are certain to arise. In addition to improving the administration of social legislation, labor statistics—upon which successful administration is so dependent—must also be improved.

To carry out the aims of the I.L.O. and its suggested future program a resolution is proposed

to provide for a number of new practices. The sections of this resolution referring to relations with other international organizations have been noted. Although it is not possible to describe all of the proposed changes in machinery and procedures, mention may be made of two of the more important which bear on the future development of the I.L.O.

The Organization has already met with success in experimenting with regional action. The most successful experiment has been the holding of the First and Second Labor Conferences of American States in Santiago, Chile, in 1936 and in Habana, Cuba, in 1939. The Organization has long been considering holding similar conferences in the Far East. To facilitate this type of activity the resolution provides that the Governing Body may convene special conferences for particular regions, for dependent territories, and for groups of territories confronted with common or comparable social or economic problems and that it may adopt statutes defining the constitutional powers and procedure of regional or functional bodies designed to operate within the framework of the I.L.O.

The reference to functional bodies ties in with a proposal recently made by the British Government for the establishment by the I.L.O. of industrial committees for the main world industries. This proposal and the desire to make more adequate provision for the problems of special groups of workers such as agricultural, maritime, and professional workers have led to the inclusion in the resolution of a proposal to establish such special committees.

The balance of the "Proposed Resolution Concerning the Constitutional Practice of the International Labor Organization" comprises a number of technical and procedural provisions which, although important, are of less general interest and will be passed over in this résumé. Similarly, only the titles of the other three resolutions suggested under the first item of the agenda will be mentioned. They are: "Proposed Resolution Concerning the Inclusion in New or Revised National Constitutions of Provision for the Consideration by Legislative Authorities of the Decisions of the International Labour Conference", "Proposed Resolution Concerning Facilities for the Efficient

Discharge of the Responsibilities Entrusted to the International Labour Organisation", and "Proposed Resolution Concerning the Place of the Next Session of the International Labour Conference".

II. *Recommendations to the United Nations for Present and Post-war Social Policy*

The second item on the agenda affords the Conference an opportunity to assist the United Nations in amplifying their social aims and to offer suggestions for the solution of the many social problems which remain before us in the war and which will face us in the post-war period. The Office suggests four resolutions for the consideration of the Conference. The first is concerned with the economic policies for the attainment of social objectives, the second with the social provisions in the peace settlement, the third with the government and administration by the United Nations of Germany and other totalitarian countries in Europe, and the fourth with measures for the protection of transferred foreign workers and of foreign workers' organizations.

The first subject on which the I.L.O. proposes to make recommendations to the United Nations is the economic policy for the attainment of social objectives. The proposed resolution is divided into two parts: international policy and national policy.

The Conference proposes to welcome the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and to urge all states concerned to cooperate actively in the tasks entrusted to it. It is also proposed to urge the setting up of a permanent international organization, of the type provided for in resolution II of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, in an effort to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

For varying periods after the termination of hostilities many essential commodities and transport facilities will be in short supply and international arrangements will be needed to insure a fair allocation of available supplies and to prevent excessive price movements; it is therefore recommended that the Governments of the United Nations continue in operation, for such periods as serious shortages may persist, the existing ma-

chinery of international coordination and control.

In recognition of the fact that a satisfactory international monetary system is essential to the full development of economic relations between nations and consequently to the raising of standards of living, approval is given to the establishment of effective international machinery, and it is urged that in establishing such machinery the authorities be required to have regard in applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards. Similarly, a proposal for an international bank of reconstruction and development is approved, and it is suggested that the terms of all contracts for development works financed by loans of the bank should include appropriate provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labor employed.

The resolution further suggests that the United Nations should take vigorous action to promote the expansion of trade by elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and that the United Nations should facilitate the coordination, through international machinery, of the commercial policies of all countries for the purpose of promoting a steady expansion of world trade. Consideration should also be given to insuring the availability to all purchasers of adequate supplies of essential raw materials and foodstuffs at prices which afford a reasonable return to the efficient producer. Consumers as well as producers should be represented in such international arrangements, and workers engaged in the production of such goods should be assured fair remuneration, satisfactory working conditions, and adequate social-security protection.

Specific attention is directed to the oil problem. The resolution states that the United Nations should institute international arrangements for the development of the world's oil resources in the interests of all peoples on a basis that will afford fair compensation to producing countries and facilitate the attainment by the peoples of those countries of standards of social and economic well-being having a reasonable relation to the value of their contribution to the world's economy.

In connection with international migration the resolution provides that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate, by the provision of

necessary technical and financial assistance, regulated migration of labor and settlers in accordance with the economic development of the various countries.

The final provision with respect to international policy recognizes the existence of differences of opinion with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of international industrial agreements concerning such matters as patent rights, the control of production, and the allocation of markets. It states, however, that full publicity should be given to the existence and operation of such agreements and that they should be registered with an international authority to which full information should be submitted.

Simultaneously with consideration of the international policies just described, there should be prepared and applied national policies aiming at full employment, social security, and rising standards of living. Plans should be made for the rapid and orderly conversion of the national economies from wartime to peacetime requirements. Continuation of price control and rationing may be necessary to prevent a price inflation which would be followed by collapse and wide-spread unemployment. The productive efficiency of the economic system should be promoted by encouraging enterprise and technological progress. All appropriate measures should be taken to maintain a high and steady level of economic activity and employment by sustaining the volume of demand for consumers' goods and by insuring the productive investment of all savings.

In using the term *peace settlement* the Office points out that it should be understood in its widest interpretation and not limited to the political instrument whereby what is technically a state of war becomes technically a state of peace. Rather, the term is applied to all the measures which may be taken between some or all of the United Nations and which will settle the conditions of the post-war world. Such agreements may be general in scope or may deal only with some specific problem, possibly purely technical or organizational. The meeting in Philadelphia might itself be considered one of a series of such conferences.

In making recommendations for the social provisions of the peace settlement, the Conference will be fulfilling a function performed by the Labor Commission of the Peace Conference of 1919 which submitted for inclusion in the Peace Treaty the Constitution of the I.L.O. and in particular the general principles included in the Preamble and in article 41. Following these provisions as a model the Office proposes to include in the peace settlement an adaptation of the statement of aims and purposes referred to above. It also stipulates, as a provision of this recommendation, that all arrangements for economic cooperation between any of the United Nations should be framed with due regard to their social repercussions.

In connection with dependent territories it is suggested that the United Nations apply the principle that all policies affecting dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories. It is also suggested that the Office appoint a representative on any committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability.

The Office suggests that in any negotiations regarding the organization, control, and operation of merchant shipping and, in particular, in making arrangements for the disposal of merchant shipping, consideration should be given to the possibility of including stipulations relating to the standard of accommodation to be provided for crews, and other appropriate matters. Similarly, in making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterway, the United Nations should have due regard to the effects of such arrangements on the working and living conditions of the persons employed in such transport.

Recognizing the possibility of territorial readjustments following the war, it is proposed that provision should be made for the protection of the social-insurance rights of the people affected and that any arrangements for the exchange of populations should include appropriate protective provisions for the working populations involved.

A very interesting and suggestive proposal relates to the social policy to be applied in Germany and totalitarian countries in Europe during the period of military occupation. The recommendation states that the first task of the occupying authority will probably be clearing the ground for the establishment of governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles. Totalitarian institutions must be liquidated and totalitarian influences removed. The German Labor Front should be abolished, and persons who were conspicuously and actively identified with the former regime should be eliminated from all posts in the labor and social administration of the country. All discrimination in the field of social and economic legislation and administration on grounds of race or religion should be immediately abolished. Persons who have been imprisoned because of their trade-union activities should be released, and freedom of association for workers should be established.

The Office recognizes the problem involved in establishing the necessary administrative controls during the period of military occupation and recommends the appointment of a United Nations Labor Commissioner. This man would be responsible for the administration of social and labor laws and regulations including those concerning such matters as: the regulation of conditions of employment, determination of wage rates, industrial health and safety, protection of particular categories of employed persons, freedom of association, industrial relations, settlement of labor disputes, employment and manpower problems, vocational training and guidance, provision for unemployment, social insurance, factory inspection, and the cooperative movement. He would also have the power to modify existing laws and regulations on these subjects and to promulgate new ones.

To assist the commissioner an advisory board of not more than 20 persons would be established, chosen to include representatives of the workers of the country and other persons with experience with trade-union organizations to be appointed after consultation with the principal international trade-union organizations and the trade-union

movements of the leading United Nations. Provision is also made for deputy commissioners and regional advisory boards.

The commissioner should give every reasonable facility and encouragement to the reconstitution of free organizations for the promotion of the occupational and economic interests of the workers. He should be enabled to draw upon the funds of the totalitarian labor organizations to assist in this purpose and to continue the institutions of social value which provided for the recreational and cultural needs of the workers. The social-insurance system should be continued with benefits paid and contributions collected. The occupying authority should pay the employer's social-insurance contribution for the workers it employs.

Special attention should be devoted by the commissioner to the adaptation of existing institutions concerned with the civic or vocational training of young workers and for the organization of their recreation and spare-time pursuits.

Collective bargaining is to become the normal basis for the determination of conditions of employment at the earliest possible moment. The commissioner is responsible for the settlement of industrial disputes and grievances and for promoting the cooperation of the workers with the occupying authorities.

The Office recognizes the special problems of the transferred workers now in Germany and suggests certain safeguards to be applied pending their repatriation by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The United Nations Labor Commissioner should take all possible steps to prevent the involuntary unemployment of foreign workers pending their repatriation. Their dismissal should be subject to the approval of his representative charged with responsibility for protecting their interests both with respect to their employment and their feeding, housing, and so on. In cases where it is impossible to assure continued employment of foreign workers, they should receive their full wages in cash and kind at the cost of the public authority. All discrimination against foreign workers should immediately be abolished.

III. *The Organization of Employment in the Transition From War to Peace*

It is not surprising to find that employment problems occupy a central place on the agenda of the Conference. First, there is the growing emphasis in current thinking on the importance of full employment; secondly, there is the awareness that the post-war period, with its demobilization of the armed forces and of war industries, will present many difficult problems of employment adjustment.

The Office has prepared five proposed recommendations for the consideration of the Conference. The first of these states that the promotion of full employment with a view to raising standards of living throughout the world is a primary objective of the I.L.O. In order to achieve full employment the resolution points out that economic measures providing employment opportunities must be supplemented by effective organization to help employers secure the most suitable workers and the workers to find the most suitable employment. It is further recognized that the character and magnitude of the employment adjustments will necessitate special action.

In view of these problems, the Office proceeds to set forth in some detail the measures which should be taken by each nation. The importance of collecting in advance the requisite information on the employment skills of the persons to be demobilized and canvassing the probable demands for labor is stressed. Attention is called to the need of coordinating the rate of demobilization with the opportunities for employment. The employment problem will involve not only the demobilization of the armed forces but also the reconversion of war industries, both private and government-owned. There is need for cooperation between workers' and employers' organizations in making the necessary adjustments and for cooperation of both workers and employers in using the employment service. Vocational guidance and training and retraining programs will be necessary. Just as during the war period, it will be important to facilitate the geographic mobility of workers. The exigencies of war have made it necessary to employ large numbers of young people

and women. The provision to be made for them as war production terminates will constitute a pressing social and economic problem. Special attention must be given to the employment of disabled persons. The recommendation offers many constructive suggestions on these matters.

For the effective organization of employment an efficient public employment service is required. The valuable services to be rendered by such an organization during normal periods are practically indispensable during a period of such widespread employment adjustments as we face. The second recommendation therefore deals with the functions of an employment service.

Experience has demonstrated that the timing of public works and their coordination with general industrial activity are important means of reducing industrial fluctuations and stimulating economic recovery from periods of depression. A third recommendation deals with this subject.

As will be noted below, the I.L.O. has over a period of many years given attention to social-insurance problems. It is quite natural therefore that in a fourth recommendation it suggests steps to be taken in connection with providing income security and medical care for persons released from the armed services and from war employment. A mustering-out grant is suggested and also provision for unemployment benefits and sickness-insurance rights pending the absorption of the persons affected into the regular social-insurance system.

In the fifth recommendation under this agenda item, the attention of the members is called to the 15 conventions and recommendations on these problems adopted by preceding Conferences.

IV. *Social Security: Principles and Problems Arising out of the War*

Under this item the Office proposes the consideration of three recommendations, a resolution, and a draft convention—the only draft convention proposed for consideration at the Conference.

The recommendations and the resolution will be considered first. The first of the recommendations relates to income security. It states as principles that income-security schemes should relieve

want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a certain level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work or to obtain work or by reason of the death of the breadwinner. Income security should be organized, as far as possible, on the basis of social insurance. Provision for needs not covered by social insurance should be met by social assistance. The contingencies covered by social insurance should include sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death of the breadwinner, unemployment, emergency expenses, and employment injuries. The recommendation sets forth certain standards to be achieved in protection against each of these contingencies, the persons to be covered, the benefit rates and contribution conditions, the distribution of the costs, and standards of administrative procedures. Social assistance should be provided for the maintenance of children, needy invalids, aged persons, and widows.

The second recommendation is concerned with medical care. It provides for either a public medical-care service or a social-insurance medical-care service. The system should aim at covering all members of the community, whether or not they are gainfully employed, and should be coordinated with general health services. The recommendation contains provisions for assuring the quality of medical service, financing, supervising, and administering it.

The third recommendation is also included under item III on the agenda and is concerned with income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed services and war employment. It is intended to assure that these persons receive this protection pending their entry into insurable employment.

The resolution provides that the members of the Organization cooperate by making their social-insurance experts available to other countries and by making comparable the statistics of the social-security services.

The single draft convention proposed for action by the Conference is entitled "Proposed Draft Convention Concerning the Maintenance of the Pension Rights of Displaced Persons". The draft convention contains many carefully detailed provisions, but its purpose can be described in non-technical terms. The effect of the proposed con-

vention would be to maintain the social-insurance pension rights of all persons displaced during the war with respect to the pension insurance scheme to which they were subject in their country of residence. Although it has general applicability it is designed primarily for the benefit of the workers who have been taken from their native countries for employment in Germany. It would provide for the transfer from Germany, for example, to the worker's native country, of the social-insurance contributions which may be considered to have been deducted from his wages or made by the employer while he was employed in Germany. In effect it gives the worker credit in the social institutions of his native land for the period he was unable to contribute to and be a member of those institutions because of his employment in a foreign country. This is very important because social-insurance benefits are usually based on the period of contributions and their amount.

V. *Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories*

The Office has prepared a proposed recommendation containing 53 articles covering very fully the social and labor problems of dependent territories.

The statement of general principles in part I indicates the general approach to these problems. All policies affecting dependent territories are to be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories. In order to promote economic advancement, thus laying the foundations of social progress, provision should be made for financial and technical assistance in the economic development of the dependent territories. Development funds should be created to assure the necessary supply of capital. Action should be taken to establish conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living. All necessary steps are to be taken to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage earners and independent producers, social security, standards of public services, and general production. Finally, all possible steps

are to be taken to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress through their own appropriate institutions.

Each member of the Organization is to take such measures as are within its competence to promote the well-being and development of the peoples of the dependent territories through the application of the general principles cited above, and each member who is responsible for any dependent territory is to take the necessary steps to secure the application in such territory of the minimum standards provided in the recommendation.

It is not possible here to provide even a summary description of these many standards. The most that can be done is to enumerate the subjects covered, with the hope that this will convey an impression of the scope of the standards. The subjects covered include slavery; the use of opium; forced or compulsory labor; the recruiting of workers; contracts of employment; the use of penal sanctions; the employment of children and young persons; the employment of women; remuneration; the use of land; health, housing, and social security; hours and holidays; the prohibition of color and religious bars; inspection and safety; industrial organization; and cooperative organizations.

The summary description of the recommendations on social policy for dependent territories concludes this outline of the subjects on the agenda for the Philadelphia Conference. The question of the future of the I.L.O. was raised at the beginning of this article. It was there stated that the answer must rest with actions taken by the delegates. This survey, however, may have indicated the potentialities of the I.L.O. as a leader in guiding the nations to the achievement of the social objectives which are so important to the future peace and security of the world. If the Conference can formulate wise and far-sighted policies on the subjects presented for its consideration and can establish the basis of international understanding and support for their effectuation, the future of the I.L.O. is assured. The delegates who will gather in Philadelphia on April 20 meet with a

most important duty to perform—not alone for the Organization and for the United Nations but for the peoples of all the world.

INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

[Released to the press April 8]

The President has approved the appointment of Miss Mary Cannon, director of the Latin American Division, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, as the representative of the United States of America on the Inter-American Commission of Women to succeed Miss Mary N. Winslow, of Washington, who has recently resigned. Miss Winslow had served in this capacity since January 1939.

The Secretary of State expressed regret that Miss Winslow no longer found it possible to continue in this position, and in accepting her resignation expressed his appreciation of her diligent efforts during the past five years to advance the work of the Commission along constructive and practical lines.

The Commission was originally established in accordance with a resolution of the Sixth International Conference of American States in 1928 as an autonomous body to compile and assemble data concerning the civil and political rights of women. It presented reports to the Seventh Conference at Montevideo in 1933 and to the Eighth Conference at Lima in 1938. The Lima Conference recognized the important part that women play in the political and social organization of nations and considered that the Commission should be made an integral part of the inter-American organization in an advisory capacity, the members to be appointed by their respective governments.

Miss Cannon, as director of the Latin American Division of the Women's Bureau, an official agency representing the women of this country, is thoroughly familiar with the questions and problems which receive the attention of the Commission. Miss Cannon has a wide acquaintance among the women of the other American republics as well as a thorough first-hand knowledge of conditions in many of those countries.

Europe

PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE BY THE MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

[Released to the press April 3]

The remarks of the newly appointed Minister of the Union of South Africa, Dr. S. F. N. Gie, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, April 2, 1944, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT,

I have the honor to present to you the letters by which His Majesty the King has accredited me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa near the Government of the United States of America and the letters of recall of my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Ralph W. Close.

I have also the honor to convey to you the friendly greetings of Field Marshal Smuts.

I esteem it a very high privilege to represent my country here and am deeply conscious that brotherhood-in-arms is strongly inspiring and stimulating the happy and close relations long existing between our two countries.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell on South Africa's participation in the war. The part she has played and is playing is known, and Field Marshal Smuts, who shapes and inspires that part, has eloquently underlined how decisive it has been at crucial stages of the great conflict.

The most powerful propelling force behind our participation is probably the strong democratic spirit of our people. Democracy is deeply inbred in them, and they have rallied to its defense.

A special word of grateful appreciation in connection with the mobilization of our material resources for the war is appropriate here. American industrial supplies have to a very important extent rendered possible the exceedingly rapid growth and expansion of the Union's own industrial war effort.

The war has brought South Africa closer to America, and I visualize many abiding results,

spiritual and material, of mutual contacts so established. Not least among them may prove to be enhanced mutual interest and understanding in regard to American and South African problems.

And this process is but a part of a vastly greater movement. From the war, wide international collaboration has gained a new significance as a fact and a goal.

The strong and fruitful cooperation within that unique and vital combination of sovereign states, the British Commonwealth of Nations, has been strikingly made manifest, and as Axis aggression extended the conflict, the present world-embracing collaboration of the United Nations was established.

I beg your kind indulgence, Sir, when I continue to speak of matters long foreseen and grasped by you and about which you have uttered many wise words.

The evil powers that we oppose, by their philosophies, policies, and acts, have made abundantly clear that they are mortal enemies of decent relations between peoples. Their goal is domination. They have been and are being frustrated by the forces they have challenged, forces of national and human solidarity, and their complete defeat will be achieved by the collaboration of the United Nations.

It is my confident hope that the goal of coordinated international collaboration will be as zealously pursued and strongly secured after the war as during it. One would have ground for despair in visualizing the future if one could not cherish this hope.

With such feelings, and enormously impressed by the great American republic's prodigious and still mounting contributions to our common war effort, and by the very large and responsible part it will be called upon to play when world peace must be shaped and maintained, I assume my post here.

I am sure, Mr. President, that I can rely on the same cordial cooperation and assistance on the part of the administration in the execution of my duties as was so readily accorded my predecessor.

The President's reply to the remarks of Dr. S. F. N. Gie follows:

MR. MINISTER:

I am very happy to welcome you to Washington and to receive from your hands the letters by which His Majesty the King has accredited you Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa to the United States in succession to the Honorable Ralph W. Close whose letters of recall you have just handed me.

I greatly appreciate the friendly greetings which you bring to me from the people of the Union of South Africa and from their great and gallant leader, Field Marshal Smuts. Under his inspiring leadership the Union of South Africa has made and is making a heroic contribution to the final defeat of our enemies. Especially great has been South Africa's role in the driving of the enemy from the whole continent of Africa.

Thus to the common ideals and traditions which have long united our peoples in close friendship has now been added a comradeship-in-arms. I am confident that our countries and the nations associated with them shall march forward together to the happy day of victory and to the challenging tasks that lie beyond.

I hope, Mr. Minister, that your stay in Washington may be a pleasant one, and I wish to assure you that the American Government will endeavor to help you in every way to carry out your duties as Minister.

American Republics

CELEBRATION IN CHILE OF THE DAY OF THE AMERICAS

[Released to the press April 5]

Congressmen Pete Jarman of Alabama and Robert Bruce Chipfield of Illinois are leaving on the evening of April 5, 1944 for Miami en route to Santiago, Chile, where they will be the official delegates of the House of Representatives at a legislative session to be held by the Chilean Chamber of Deputies in Santiago on April 14 in celebration of the Day of the Americas. Representatives of the legislative bodies of the other

American republics will also attend the ceremony.

On their southward journey the congressmen will make brief visits to Panama and Peru; on their return trip they will also visit Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE HEAD OF THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARY OF HABANA

Dr. Fermín Peraza y Sarausa, who is head of the municipal library of Habana, Cuba, and who has edited since 1937 a bibliographical annual entitled *Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano*, has arrived in Washington for a three months' visit as guest of the Department of State. While he is here he will act as visiting consultant in Cuban bibliography of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. Dr. Peraza y Sarausa's visit to the United States is the result of the first of a series of invitations which will be extended to bibliographic experts from the other American republics to act successively as consultants of the Hispanic Foundation.

The Far East

RETURN FROM CHINA OF UNITED STATES TECHNICAL EXPERT

[Released to the press April 4]

Dr. Ralph W. Phillips, of the Department of Agriculture, who was released to the Department of State for service in China, has returned to Washington. He was in China for nine months as a technical expert under the Department's cultural-relations program and during that time traveled in many parts of west China, studying livestock-production problems and advising the Chinese Ministries of Agriculture, Communications, and War on their animal-breeding and transportation problems. During the return trip from China, he spent two months at the request of the Government of India studying livestock-production problems and the research and other organizations maintained for livestock-improvement work

in that country and making recommendations for the improvement of that work. Dr. Phillips has returned to his regular position in the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture, where he is in charge of genetics investigations.

The Department

FINANCIAL MATTERS

Departmental Order 1252 of April 1, 1944¹

Under Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, Office of Economic Affairs, is responsible for initiation, development, and coordination of policy and action pertaining to international financial and monetary matters. Under the same Order the Liberated Areas Division, Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, is responsible for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all wartime economic matters pertaining to enemy, enemy-occupied, and liberated areas. In order to concentrate in one Division responsibility for financial matters, responsibility for these matters in the above areas is hereby transferred from the Liberated Areas Division to the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs. The relationships between the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs and the Liberated Areas Division and the Division of World Trade Intelligence are hereby redefined.

Transfer of Functions From the Liberated Areas Division

Departmental Order 1218 is hereby amended by the transfer of functions listed in section (b) of the Liberated Areas Division to the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs: "(b) fiscal matters, including banking matters; and financial and property controls, including the application of Executive Order no. 8389, as amended, to property located in the United States of governments of those areas and their nationals, and questions relating to the Alien Property Custodian and to the

property control measures of other United Nations".

Relations With the Liberated Areas Division

In carrying out its responsibilities, the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs shall work in close collaboration with the Liberated Areas Division. The Liberated Areas Division continues to be responsible for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all wartime economic matters pertaining to enemy, enemy-occupied and liberated areas, except those matters covered in (b) above. The area representatives in this Division will be the focal point of contact regarding all matters in the area.

Relations With the Division of World Trade Intelligence

The Division of World Trade Intelligence shall have primary responsibility for the initiation and formulation of policy and for action with respect to the application and administration of foreign funds control (Executive Order 8389, as amended) except with respect to the governments or nationals of enemy, enemy-occupied, or liberated areas. In carrying out its responsibilities, the Division of World Trade Intelligence shall consult with the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs in the formulation of policy on foreign funds control matters, such as the extension of controls to additional countries, the lifting or relaxing of controls, modifications of control through general licenses or rulings, and arrangements for the utilization of the funds of governments or their official banks.

The Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs shall have primary responsibility for the initiation and formulation of policy and for action in matters relating to the application of foreign funds control measures to property of governments or nationals of enemy, enemy-occupied or liberated areas. The Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs shall keep the Division of World Trade Intelligence informed of policy developments with regard to these matters. As policies become established, the Division of World Trade Intelligence shall assume the handling of individual cases within the framework of these policies.

¹Effective Mar. 30, 1944.

The Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs shall also have primary responsibility for policy and action in cases involving the control of imported securities under General Ruling 5, pursuant to Executive Order 8389, as amended, and in matters pertaining to the servicing of dollar bonds. Subject to the foregoing exceptions, the Division of World Trade Intelligence shall handle all individual freezing cases and license applications.

CORDELL HULL

The Foreign Service

DEATH OF EDWIN LOWE NEVILLE

The Department of State has learned with regret of the death on April 7, 1944 in Pasadena, California, of the Honorable Edwin Lowe Neville. Mr. Neville, who entered the Foreign Service of the United States as a student interpreter in Japan in 1907, served at Foreign Service posts in Korea, Switzerland, and Japan. He was designated an Expert Assistant at the Conference on the Limitation of Armament in Washington, 1921-22, a representative on the Advisory Board to the Federal Narcotics Control Board in 1922, and a delegate to the International Narcotics Conference at Geneva in 1924-25. On May 28, 1937 he was appointed Minister of the United States to Siam. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1940.

The Secretary of State has sent the following telegram to Messrs. Richard and Edwin Neville, sons of Mr. Neville:

I have just learned with deepest regret of your father's passing. During his long and distinguished career as a public servant, he endeared himself to all who knew him and won their enduring respect. Mrs. Hull and I send you both our profound sympathy.

CORDELL HULL

CONSULAR OFFICES

The American Vice Consulate at Corumbá, Brazil, was closed, effective March 31, 1944.

General

BLAIR-LEE HOUSE

The remodeling, redecoration, and furnishing of historic Blair-Lee House, which was undertaken by the Public Buildings Administration for the Department of State, has been completed. The facilities afforded by the Blair-Lee House, which is located at 1653 Pennsylvania Avenue, across from the Department of State, and which adjoins the Blair House, will enable the Department to make suitable arrangements for the accommodation in Washington of distinguished foreign visitors, such as visiting delegates to conferences, holders of travel grants, professors, and other guests of the Government.

Treaty Information

AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Haiti

The American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Port-au-Prince transmitted to the Department with a despatch of March 23, 1944 copies of *Le Moniteur* of March 16, 1943 in which was published decree 362 of February 29, 1944 of the National Assembly of Haiti, ratifying the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed at Washington on November 9, 1943 (Executive Agreement Series 352).

FINAL ACT OF INTERNATIONAL WHALING CONFERENCE

The American Embassy in London transmitted to the Department of State with a despatch of April 1, 1944 certified copies of the Final Act of the International Whaling Conference signed at London on January 31, 1944 by representatives of

the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway. The Conference was held in London on January 4, 13, 19, and 31, 1944.

INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE

Dominican Republic

The Mexican Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Washington informed the Secretary of State, by a note of March 27, 1944, that the adherence of the Dominican Republic to the Convention Providing for the Creation of an Inter-American Indian Institute, opened for signature from November 1 to December 31, 1940, was registered on November 11, 1943 with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico in accordance with the second paragraph of article XVI of that convention.

RENEWAL OF NAVAL-MISSION AGREEMENT WITH PERU

By an exchange of notes signed at Washington January 31, February 9, and March 21 and 31, 1944 an agreement was effected between the Government of the United States and the Government of Peru for the renewal of the agreement for the assignment of a United States Naval Mission to Peru signed at Washington on July 31, 1940 (Executive Agreement Series 177).

The Governments of the United States and Peru have agreed to renew the agreement of 1940 for a period of four years from July 31, 1944, the date of termination of that agreement. The agreement of July 31, 1940 has been amended by the addition of the following article:

The members of this Mission are permitted and may be authorized to represent the United States of America on any commission and in any other capacity having to do with military cooperation or hemispheric defense without prejudice to this Agreement, during the present war emergency.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- Foreign Service List, January 31, 1944. Publication 2079. iv, 132 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.
- Military Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Iran—Signed at Tehran November 27, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 361. Publication 2084. 16 pp. 10¢.
- The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 1, April 7, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. Publication 2093. 16 pp. Free.

OTHER AGENCIES

- Dairy Industry of Honduras, by R. E. Hodgson and A. C. Dahlberg. Nov. 1943. (Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Dairy Industry.) ii, 30 pp., processed. Available from Bureau of Dairy Industry.
- General Censuses and Vital Statistics in the Americas: Annotated Bibliography of Historical Censuses and Current Vital Statistics of the Twenty-one American Republics, American Sections of the British Commonwealth of Nations, American Colonies of Denmark, France, and the Netherlands, and American Territories and Possessions of the United States. 1943. (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.) ix, 151 pp., 65¢ (available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office).
- Education in Cuba [with bibliography], by Severin K. Turosinski. 1943. (Federal Security Agency, United States Office of Education.) vi, 90 pp., illus., 20¢ (available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office).
- Nutrition Problems and Programs in Latin America in 1943, by Marjorie M. Heseltine. 1944. (Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.) 4 pp. Available from Children's Bureau.
- Labor Conditions in Latin America. 1944. (Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Latin American Series 16.) ii, 13 pp. Available from Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- Labor Conditions in the Netherlands, by Margaret H. Schoenfeld and M. Mead Smith. 1944. (Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.) i, 26 pp. Available from Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- Bolivia, Storehouse of Metals. 1944. (Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.) 12 pp., illus. Available from CIAA.
- Preliminary Bibliography of Colombia, compiled by Benjamin Keen, Guy S. Métraux, and Bernard J. Siegel.

- Dec. 1, 1943. (Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.) ii, 60 pp., processed. Available from CIAA.
- Venezuela, Land of Oil. 1944. (Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.) 16 pp., illus. Available from CIAA.
- Price Control in the Republic of Colombia, by Ben W. Lewis. Jan. 1943. [1944]. (Office of Price Administration.) ii, 68 pp., processed. Available from Office of Price Administration.
- Control of Production, Distribution, and Consumption in Norway. Nov. 1943. (Office of Price Administration.) i, 17 pp., processed. Available from Office of Price Administration.
- Description of Thirty Towns in Yucatán, Mexico [with bibliography], by Morris Steggerda. 1943. (Smithsonian Institution, American Ethnology Bureau.) i, 22 pp. Available from Smithsonian Institution.

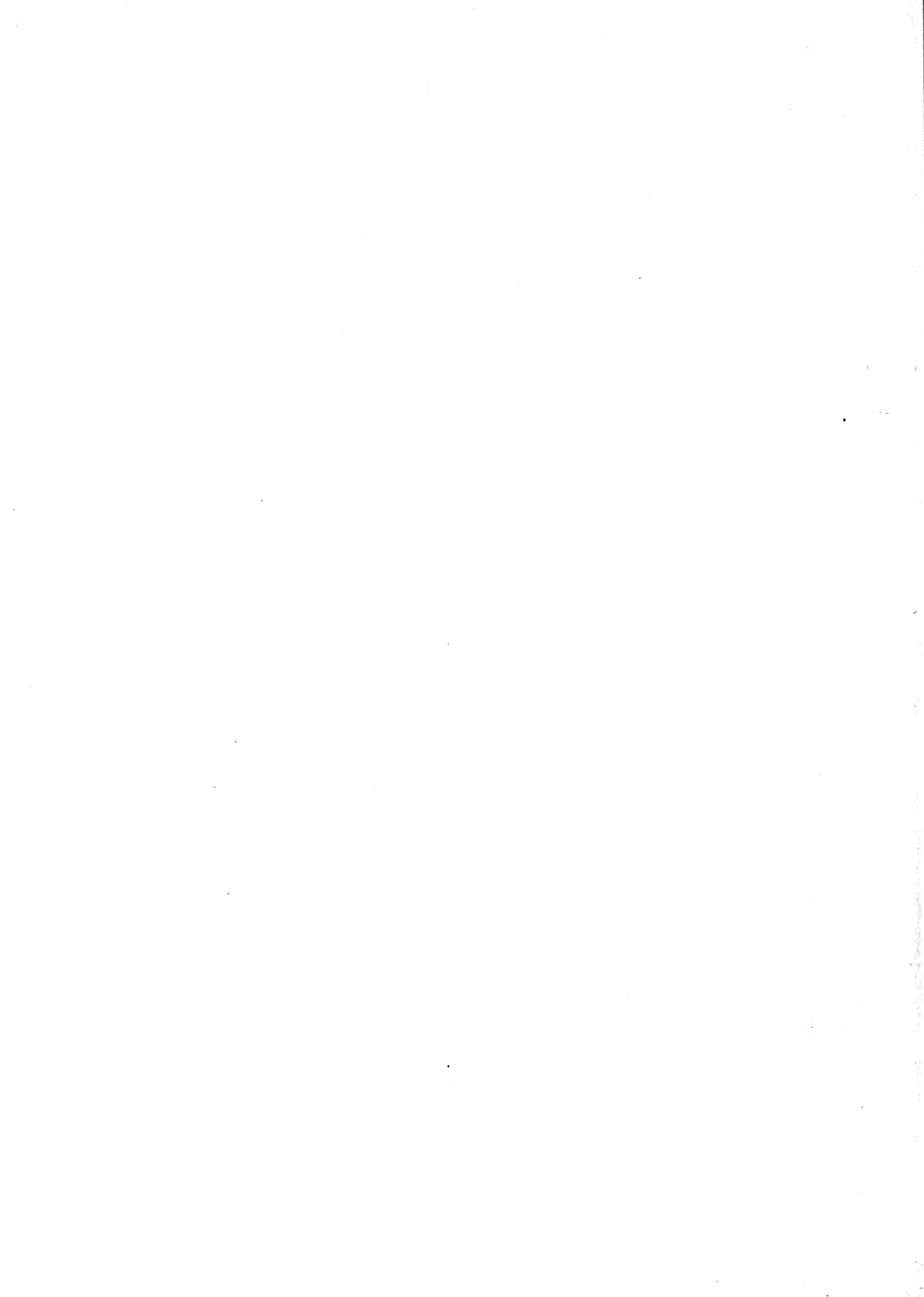
Legislation

- First Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1944: An Act Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for other purposes. Approved April 1, 1944. [H.R. 4346.] Public Law 279, 78th Cong. [Department of State, pp. 13, 26, 37, and 40.] 40 pp.
- United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: Joint Resolution To enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization. Approved March 28, 1944. [H.J. Res. 192.] Public Law 267, 78th Cong. 7 pp.

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The War

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Address by the Secretary of State ¹

[Released to the press April 9]

I want to talk with you this evening about the foreign policy of the United States. This is not, as some writers assume, a mysterious game carried on by diplomats with other diplomats in foreign offices all over the world. It is for us the task of focusing and giving effect in the world outside our borders to the will of 135 million people through the constitutional processes which govern our democracy. For this reason our foreign policy must be simple and direct and founded upon the interests and purposes of the American people. It has continuity of basic objectives because it is rooted in the traditions and aspirations of our people. It must, of course, be applied in the light of experience and the lessons of the past.

In talking about foreign policy it is well to remember, as Justice Holmes said, that a page of history is worth a volume of logic. There are three outstanding lessons in our recent history to which I particularly wish to draw your attention. In the first place, since the outbreak of the present war in Europe, we and those nations who are now our allies have moved from relative weakness to strength. In the second place, during that same period we in this country have moved from a deep-seated tendency toward separate action to the knowledge and conviction that only through unity of action can there be achieved in this world the results which are essential for the continuance of free peoples. And, thirdly, we have moved from a careless tolerance of evil institutions to the conviction that free governments and Nazi and Fascist governments cannot exist together in this world because the very nature of the latter requires them to be aggressors and the very nature of free gov-

ernments too often lays them open to treacherous and well-laid plans of attack.

An understanding of these points will help to clarify the policy which this Government has been and is following.

In 1940, with the fall of France, the peoples of the free world awoke with horror to find themselves on the very brink of defeat. Only Britain in the west and China in the east stood between them and disaster, and the space on which they stood was narrow and precarious. At that moment the free nations were militarily weak, and their enemies and potential enemies were strong and well prepared. Even before that this country had begun its preparations for self-defense. Soon thereafter we started upon the long hard road of mobilizing our great natural resources, our vast productive potentialities, and our reserves of manpower to defend ourselves and to strengthen those who were resisting the aggressors.

This was a major decision of foreign policy. Since that decision was made we have moved far from the former position. We and our Allies are attaining a strength which can leave no doubt as to the outcome. That outcome is far from achieved. There are desperate periods still before us, but we have built the strength which we sought and we need only to maintain the will to use it.

This decision which we have made and carried out was not a decision to make a mere sporadic effort. An episode is not a policy. The American people are determined to press forward with our Allies to the defeat of our enemies and the destruction of the Nazi and Fascist systems which

¹ Broadcast over the network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Apr. 9, 1944.

plunged us into the war. And they are also determined to go on, after the victory, with our Allies and all other nations which desire peace and freedom to establish and maintain in full strength the institutions without which peace and freedom cannot be an enduring reality. We cannot move in and out of international cooperation and in and out of participation in the responsibilities of a member of the family of nations. The political, material, and spiritual strength of the free and democratic nations not only is greatly dependent upon the strength which our full participation brings to the common effort but, as we now know, is a vital factor in our own strength. As it is with the keystone of an arch, neither the keystone nor the arch can stand alone.

This growth of our strength entails consequences in our foreign policy. Let us look first at our relations with the neutral nations.

In the two years following Pearl Harbor, while we were mustering our strength and helping to restore that of our Allies, our relations with these neutral nations and their attitude toward our enemies were conditioned by the position in which we found ourselves. We have constantly sought to keep before them what they, of course, know—that upon our victory hangs their very existence and freedom as independent nations. We have sought in every way to reduce the aid which their trade with the enemy gives him and to increase the strength which we might draw from them. But our power was limited. They and we have continually been forced to accept compromises which we certainly would not have chosen.

That period, I believe, is rapidly drawing to a close. It is clear to all that our strength and that of our Allies now makes only one outcome of this war possible. That strength now makes it clear that we are not asking these neutral nations to expose themselves to certain destruction when we ask them not to prolong the war, with its consequences of suffering and death, by sending aid to the enemy.

We can no longer acquiesce in these nations' drawing upon the resources of the allied world when they at the same time contribute to the death of troops whose sacrifice contributes to their salvation as well as ours. We have scrupulously re-

spected the sovereignty of these nations; and we have not coerced, nor shall we coerce, any nation to join us in the fight. We have said to these countries that it is no longer necessary for them to purchase protection against aggression by furnishing aid to our enemy—whether it be by permitting official German agents to carry on their activities of espionage against the Allies within neutral borders, or by sending to Germany the essential ingredients of the steel which kills our soldiers, or by permitting highly skilled workers and factories to supply products which can no longer issue from the smoking ruins of German factories. We ask them only, but with insistence, to cease aiding our enemy.

The allied strength has now grown to the point where we are on the verge of great events. Of military events I cannot speak. It is enough that they are in the hands of men who have the complete trust of the American people. We await their development with absolute confidence. But I can and should discuss with you what may happen close upon the heels of military action.

As I look at the map of Europe, certain things seem clear to me. As the Nazis go down to defeat they will inevitably leave behind them in Germany and the satellite states of southeastern Europe a legacy of confusion. It is essential that we and our Allies establish the controls necessary to bring order out of this chaos as rapidly as possible and do everything possible to prevent its spread to the German-occupied countries of eastern and western Europe while they are in the throes of reestablishing government and repairing the most brutal ravages of the war. If confusion should spread throughout Europe it is difficult to over-emphasize the seriousness of the disaster that may follow. Therefore, for us, for the world, and for the countries concerned, a stable Europe should be an immediate objective of allied policy.

Stability and order do not and cannot mean reaction. Order there must be to avoid chaos. But it must be achieved in a manner which will give full scope to men and women who look forward, men and women who will end Fascism and all its works and create the institutions of a free and democratic way of life.

We look with hope and with deep faith to a period of great democratic accomplishment in Europe. Liberation from the German yoke will give the peoples of Europe a new and magnificent opportunity to fulfill their democratic aspirations, both in building democratic political institutions of their own choice and in achieving the social and economic democracy on which political democracy must rest. It is important to our national interest to encourage the establishment in Europe of strong and progressive popular governments, dedicated like our own to improving the social welfare of the people as a whole—governments which will join the common effort of nations in creating the conditions of lasting peace and in promoting the expansion of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples.

It is hard to imagine a stable Europe if there is instability in its component parts, of which France is one of the most important. What, then, is our policy toward France? Our first concern is to defeat the enemy, drive him from French territory and the territory of all the adjacent countries which he has overrun. To do this the supreme military commander must have unfettered authority. But we have no purpose or wish to govern France or to administer any affairs save those which are necessary for military operations against the enemy. It is of the utmost importance that civil authority in France should be exercised by Frenchmen, should be swiftly established, and should operate in accordance with advanced planning as fully as military operations will permit. It is essential that the material foundations of the life of the French people be at once restored or resumed. Only in this way can stability be achieved.

It has always been our thought in planning for this end that we should look to Frenchmen to undertake civil administration and assist them in that task without compromising in any way the right of the French people to choose the ultimate form and personnel of the government which they may wish to establish. That must be left to the free and untrammelled choice of the French people.

The President and I are clear, therefore, as to the need, from the outset, of French civil administration—and democratic French administration—in France. We are disposed to see the French Committee of National Liberation exercise leadership to establish law and order under the supervision of the allied commander in chief. The Committee has given public assurance that it does not propose to perpetuate its authority. On the contrary, it has given assurance that it wishes at the earliest possible date to have the French people exercise their own sovereign will in accordance with French constitutional processes. The Committee is, of course, not the government of France, and we cannot recognize it as such. In accordance with this understanding of mutual purposes the Committee will have every opportunity to undertake civil administration and our cooperation and help in every practicable way in making it successful. It has been a symbol of the spirit of France and of French resistance. We have fully cooperated with it in all the military phases of the war effort, including the furnishing of arms and equipment to the French armed forces. Our central and abiding purpose is to aid the French people, our oldest friends, in providing a democratic, competent, and French administration of liberated French territory.

In Italy our interests are likewise in assisting in the development at the earliest moment of a free and democratic Italian government. As I said some moments ago, we have learned that there cannot be any compromise with Fascism—whether in Italy or in any other country. It must always be the enemy, and it must be our determined policy to do all in our power to end it. Here again, within these limits, it is not our purpose or policy to impose the ultimate form or personnel of government. Here again we wish to give every opportunity for a free expression of a free Italy. We had hoped that before this enough of Italy would have been freed so that we might have had at least a preliminary expression of that will. Events have not progressed according to our hopes.

The present situation, then, is this: In October 1943 the President, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin accepted the active cooperation of the Italian Government and its armed forces as a co-

belligerent in the war against Germany under the supervision of an Allied Control Commission. The declaration regarding Italy made at Moscow by the British, Soviet, and American Governments confirmed the policy initiated by the British and American Governments that the Italian Government shall be made more democratic by the introduction of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism; that all institutions and organizations created by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed; that all Fascists or pro-Fascist elements shall be removed from the administration and from the institutions and organizations of a public character; and that democratic organs of local governments shall be created. Finally, it recites that nothing in the declaration should operate against the right of the Italian people "ultimately to choose their own form of government".

This policy has been and is being carried out. Only that part which calls for the introduction into the central government of more democratic elements has not yet been put into effect. This does not signify any change in the clear and announced policy. Thus far it has been thought by those chiefly responsible for the military situation that it would be prejudiced by an imposed reconstruction of the government, and a reconstruction by agreement has not yet been possible. But there is already promise of success in the activities of the political parties which are currently holding conferences with a view to drawing up a program for the political reconstruction of their country along democratic lines. The Permanent Executive Junta is seeking a solution which will provide for the cooperation of the liberal political groups within the government. Thus, after 21 years, we see a rebirth of political consciousness and activity in Italy, which points the way to the ultimate free expression of the Italian people in the choice of their government.

What I have said related to some of the most immediate of our problems and the effect of our policy toward them as we and our Allies have moved from a position of weakness to one of strength. There remain the more far-reaching relations between us and our Allies in dealing with our enemies and in providing for future peace, freedom from aggression, and opportunity for ex-

panding material well-being. Here I would only mislead you if I spoke of definitive solutions. These require the slow, hard process, essential to enduring and accepted solutions among free peoples, of full discussion with our Allies and among our own people. But such discussion is now in progress. After two years of intensive study, the basis upon which our policy must be founded is soundly established; the direction is clear; and the general methods of accomplishment are emerging.

This basis of policy and these methods rest upon the second of the lessons which I said at the outset of my remarks was found in the pages of our recent history. It is that action upon these matters cannot be separate but must be agreed and united action. This is fundamental. It must underlie the entire range of our policy. The free nations have been brought to the very brink of destruction by allowing themselves to be separated and divided. If any lesson has ever been hammered home with blood and suffering, that one has been. And the lesson is not yet ended.

However difficult the road may be, there is no hope of turning victory into enduring peace unless the real interests of this country, the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, and China are harmonized and unless they agree and act together. This is the solid framework upon which all future policy and international organization must be built. It offers the fullest opportunity for the development of institutions in which all free nations may participate democratically, through which a reign of law and morality may arise, and through which the material interests of all may be advanced. But without an enduring understanding between these four nations upon their fundamental purposes, interests, and obligations to one another, all organizations to preserve peace are creations on paper and the path is wide open again for the rise of a new aggressor.

This essential understanding and unity of action among the four nations is not in substitution or derogation of unity among the United Nations. But it is basic to all organized international action because upon its reality depends the possibility of enduring peace and free institutions rather than new coalitions and a new pre-war period. Nor do I suggest that any conclusions of these four na-

tions can or should be without the participation of the other United Nations. I am stating what I believe the common sense of my fellow countrymen and all men will recognize—that for these powers to become divided in their aims and fail to recognize and harmonize their basic interests can produce only disaster and that no machinery, as such, can produce this essential harmony and unity.

The road to agreement is a difficult one, as any man knows who has ever tried to get two other men, or a city council, or a trade gathering, or a legislative body, to agree upon anything. Agreement can be achieved only by trying to understand the other fellow's point of view and by going as far as possible to meet it.

Although the road to unity of purpose and action is long and difficult we have taken long strides upon our way. The Atlantic Charter was proclaimed by the President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain in August 1941. Then, by the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, these nations adopted the principles of the Atlantic Charter, agreed to devote all their resources to the winning of the war, and pledged themselves not to conclude a separate armistice or peace with their common enemies.

After that came the declaration signed at Moscow on October 30, 1943. Here the four nations who are carrying and must carry the chief burden of defeating their enemies renewed their determination by joint action to achieve this end. But they went further than this and pledged cooperation with one another to establish at the earliest practicable date, with other peace-loving states, an effective international organization to maintain peace and security, which in principle met with overwhelming non-partisan approval by the Congress in the Connally and Fulbright resolutions.

Further steps along the road of united allied action were taken at the conference at Cairo, where the President and Mr. Churchill met with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and at the conference at Tehran, where they met with Marshal Stalin. At Tehran the three Allies fighting in Europe reached complete agreement on military plans for winning the war and made plain their determination to achieve harmonious action in the period of peace. That concert among the Allies rests on broad foundations of common interests

and common aspirations, and it will endure. The Tehran declaration made it clear also that in the tasks of peace we shall welcome the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, which wish to enter into the world family of democratic nations.

The Cairo declaration as to the Pacific assured the liquidation of Japan's occupations and thefts of territory to deprive her of the power to attack her neighbors again, to restore Chinese territories to China, and freedom to the people of Korea.

No one knows better than we and our Allies who have signed these documents that they did not and do not settle all questions or provide a formula for the settlement of all questions or lay down a detailed blueprint for the future. Any man of experience knows that an attempt to do this would have been as futile as it would have been foolish.

There has been discussion recently of the Atlantic Charter and of its application to various situations. The Charter is an expression of fundamental objectives toward which we and our Allies are directing our policies. It states that the nations accepting it are not fighting for the sake of aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise. It lays down the common principles upon which rest the hope of liberty, economic opportunity, peace, and security through international cooperation. It is not a code of law from which detailed answers to every question can be distilled by painstaking analysis of its words and phrases. It points the direction in which solutions are to be sought; it does not give solutions. It charts the course upon which we are embarked and shall continue. That course includes the prevention of aggression and the establishment of world security. The Charter certainly does not prevent any steps, including those relating to enemy states, necessary to achieve these objectives. What is fundamental are the objectives of the Charter and the determination to achieve them.

It is hardly to be supposed that all the more than 30 boundary questions in Europe can be settled while the fighting is still in progress. This does not mean that certain questions may not and should not in the meantime be settled by friendly conference and agreement. We are at all times ready to further an understanding and settlement of questions which may arise between our Allies,

as is exemplified by our offer to be of such service to Poland and the Soviet Union. Our offer is still open. Our policy upon these matters, as upon all others, is the fundamental necessity for agreed action and the prevention of disunity among us.

So it is with the basic conviction that we must have agreed action and unity of action that we have gone to work upon the form and substance of an international organization to maintain peace and prevent aggression and upon the economic and other cooperative arrangements which are necessary in order that we maintain our position as a working partner with other free nations. All of these matters are in different stages of development.

It is obvious, of course, that no matter how brilliant and desirable any course may seem it is wholly impracticable and impossible unless it is a course which finds basic acceptance, not only by our Allies but by the people of this country and by the legislative branch of this Government, which, under our Constitution, shares with the Executive power and responsibility for final action.

A proposal is worse than useless if it is not acceptable to those nations who must share with us the responsibility for its execution. It is dangerous for us and misleading to them if in the final outcome it does not have the necessary support in this country. It is, therefore, necessary both abroad and at home not to proceed by presenting elaborate proposals, which only produce divergence of opinion upon details, many of which may be immaterial. The only practicable course is to begin by obtaining agreement, first, upon broad principles, setting forth direction and general policy. We must then go on to explore alternative methods and finally settle upon a proposal which embodies the principal elements of agreement and leaves to future experience and discussion those matters of comparative detail which at present remain in the realm of speculation.

It is a difficult procedure and a slow procedure, as the time which has been required to work out the arrangements for such a universally accepted objective as international relief makes evident. It is a procedure in which misunderstanding, the premature hardening of positions, and uninformed criticism frequently cause months of de-

lay and endless confusion, sometimes utter frustration. It is a procedure in which the people, who are sovereign, must not only educate their servants but must be willing to be educated by them.

In this way we are proceeding with the matter of an international organization to maintain peace and prevent aggression. Such an organization must be based upon firm and binding obligations that the member nations will not use force against each other and against any other nation except in accordance with the arrangements made. It must provide for the maintenance of adequate forces to preserve peace and it must provide the institutions and procedures for calling this force into action to preserve peace. But it must provide more than this. It must provide for an international court for the development and application of law to the settlement of international controversies which fall within the realm of law, for the development of machinery for adjusting controversies to which the field of law has not yet been extended, and for other institutions for the development of new rules to keep abreast of a changing world with new problems and new interests.

We are at a stage where much of the work of formulating plans for the organization to maintain peace has been accomplished. It is right and necessary that we should have the advice and help of an increasing number of members of the Congress. Accordingly, I have requested the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to designate a representative, bipartisan group for this purpose. Following these and similar discussions with members of the House of Representatives, we shall be in a position to go forward again with other nations and, upon learning their views, be able to submit to the democratic processes of discussion a more concrete proposal.

With the same determination to achieve agreement and unity we talked with our Allies at Tehran regarding the treatment of Nazi Germany and with our Allies at Cairo regarding the treatment which should be accorded Japan. In the formulation of our policy toward our enemies we are moved both by the two lessons from our history of which I have spoken and by the third. This is that there can be no compromise with Fascism and Nazism. It must go everywhere. Its leaders, its insti-

tutions, the power which supports it must go. They can expect no negotiated peace, no compromise, no opportunity to return. Upon that this people and this Government are determined and our Allies are equally determined. We have found no difference of opinion among our Allies that the organization and purposes of the Nazi state and its Japanese counterpart, and the military system in all of its ramifications upon which they rest, are, and by their very nature must be, directed toward conquest. There was no disagreement that even after the defeat of the enemy there will be no security unless and until our victory is used to destroy these systems to their very foundation. The action which must be taken to achieve these ends must be, as I have said, agreed action. We are working with our Allies now upon these courses.

The conference at Moscow, as you will recall, established the European Advisory Commission, which is now at work in London upon the treatment of Germany. Out of these discussions will come back to the governments for their consideration proposals for concrete action.

Along with arrangements by which nations may be secure and free must go arrangements by which men and women who compose those nations may live and have the opportunity through their efforts to improve their material condition. As I said earlier, we will fail indeed if we win a victory only to let the free peoples of this world, through any absence of action on our part, sink into weakness and despair.

The heart of the matter lies in action which will stimulate and expand production in industry and agriculture and free international commerce from excessive and unreasonable restrictions. These are the essential prerequisites to maintaining and improving the standard of living in our own and in all countries. Production cannot go forward without arrangements to provide investment capital. Trade cannot be conducted without stable currencies in which payments can be promised and made. Trade cannot develop unless excessive barriers in the form of tariffs, preferences, quotas, exchange controls, monopolies, and subsidies, and others are reduced or eliminated. It needs also agreed arrangements under which communication

systems between nations and transport by air and sea can develop. And much of all this will miss its mark of satisfying human needs unless we take agreed action for the improvement of labor standards and standards of health and nutrition.

I shall not on this occasion be able to explain the work which has been done—and it is extensive—in these fields. In many of them proposals are far advanced toward the stage of discussion with members of the Congress prior to formulation for public discussion.

I hope, however, that I have been able in some measure to bring before you the immensity of the task which lies before us all, the nature of the difficulties which are involved, and the conviction and purpose with which we are attacking them. Our foreign policy is comprehensive, is stable, and is known of all men. As the President has said, neither he nor I have made or will make any secret agreement or commitment, political or financial. The officials of the Government have not been unmindful of the responsibility resting upon them, nor have they spared either energy or such abilities as they possess in discharging that responsibility.

May I close with a word as to the responsibility which rests upon us. The United Nations will determine by action or lack of action whether this world will be visited by another war within the next 20 or 25 years, or whether policies of organized peace shall guide the course of the world. We are moving closer and closer to the hour of decision. Only the fullest measure of wisdom, unity, and alertness can enable us to meet that unprecedented responsibility.

All of these questions of foreign policy which, as I said earlier, is the matter of focusing and expressing your will in the world outside our borders, are difficult and often involve matters of controversy. Under our constitutional system the will of the American people in this field is not effective unless it is united will. If we are divided we are ineffective. We are in a year of a national election in which it is easy to arouse controversy on almost any subject, whether or not the subject is an issue in the campaign. You, therefore, as well as we who are in public office, bear a great responsibility. It is the responsibility of avoiding need-

less controversy in the formulation of your judgments. It is the responsibility for sober and considered thought and expression. It is the responsibility for patience both with our Allies and with those who must speak for you with them. Once

before in our lifetime we fell into disunity and became ineffective in world affairs by reason of it. Should this happen again it will be a tragedy to you and to your children and to the world for generations.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES IN WARTIME AND AFTER

Address by Assistant Secretary Long ¹

[Released to the press April 12]

It is with a solemn understanding of the significance of this meeting and of the forward-looking undertaking of this post-war forum that I address this gathering tonight. I bring the best wishes of Secretary Hull and give expression to his hope that your deliberations will be highly productive—not alone in the nature of the conclusions to which you may come but in the success they may promise for the realization of a stable peace and for a better world.

It is a matter of solid encouragement that an organization such as the American Federation of Labor, which has done so much to stimulate the conscience and actions of mankind in behalf of human welfare and which has so consistently recognized that the human element is not a simple matter of local or national concern, is directing its energies toward seeking solutions for post-war problems.

The post-war world presents in prospect many vistas which have a present interest and which hold forth a promise of political stability and economic prosperity, but there will be no realization of those promises unless we win this war—and win it completely.

Victory in this war cannot be reckoned merely in terms of a successful repulse of the enemy. Our victory must mean complete destruction of Fascism and Nazism and the obliteration of every vestige of the vicious movement which set out to destroy, all over the globe, the very foundations of freedom and democracy. And this includes the Axis partner Japan and its brutal attempts at domination. All the power of this nation is directed to that end. That is the reason the full diplomatic power of the United States has been

and must remain committed to support in every possible way the armed forces in attaining their military objectives, to the end that the enemy may be completely overcome as quickly as possible. Our diplomatic activity is to be judged primarily by the standard as to whether it will be of maximum effectiveness in winning this war by promoting Allied cooperation to that end. Thereafter it will be judged by the measure of cooperation it has achieved among the peacefully inclined nations of the world and the success it may achieve in collaboration with them in laying the basis for a peace of political security and economic well-being.

Of fundamental importance in such an undertaking as the waging of this world-wide war is full cooperation among our Allies; and that has been a primary objective of the wartime foreign policy of the United States. Through our diplomatic activity we have developed a very close and satisfying cooperation with our Allies against the common enemy. That does not mean that we have each seen each detail with the same eye but it does mean that we work and fight in unison, that we are united on all-important policy, and that we are all determined to fight it through to complete victory.

Occasional instances in the kaleidoscopic changes of events, in which in some detail there may not have been full concert of action between great allies, have been fully discussed in public, while the continuing coordination and cordial cooperation in the common effort, which is the basic fact, is frequently overlooked even though it be

¹ Delivered before the American Federation of Labor Forum on Labor and the Post-war World, New York, N.Y., Apr. 12, 1944.

essential to victory. No one supposes that by signing the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration of the United Nations, and the Moscow Declaration the signatories disposed of all the details of their multiple relationships. The important fact is, however, that they are in harmony as to their general objectives and agreed on as to how to achieve them. It is easy, particularly under the stress and worry of wartime conditions, to magnify some problems out of all proportion to their real merit in relation to the attainment of military success.

We are approaching the time when the Allied military operations against Nazi Germany will bring about the liberation of those nations which have been so long and so tragically under its brutal domination. We shall carry with us into those ravaged territories our deep and abiding interest in the restoration of individual liberty; of popular institutions of government; of freedom of worship, of speech, and of the press; of right of assembly; and of all the rights and privileges of free peoples. In keeping with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter and in line with our own devotion to democratic principles we intend to take no action which will in any way interfere with the free and untrammelled choice by these nations of the officials and the governments under whose authority they wish to live. We will not permit the armed forces of this country to be used for the support of any group or any government contrary to the will of the people. We intend to do everything we can toward encouraging and assisting these liberated nations to shape their own destinies and to develop their own way of life. We intend to make our contribution toward aiding them to recover from the political, moral, and economic prostration into which they have been plunged by the ruthless enemy.

For effective prosecution of the war there is need that all peoples now submerged under Axis invasion use all their energies to resist the invaders and thus speed the day of their own liberation. Internal political controversies inevitably weaken the war effort. We have consistently urged that they not be permitted to impair the war effort.

Such a situation, for example, has existed in Yugoslavia. Even beneath the heel of Axis occupation that country, formed of many races, has

fallen into divided councils. These divisions have seemed to us tragic in themselves and calculated only to benefit the common Nazi enemy. Our policy has been to endeavor to bring these elements into sufficient harmony so that they can make a common front against a common enemy. We are, meanwhile, cooperating in furnishing arms and supplies to all Yugoslavs who are fighting the Germans.

A similar tragedy almost occurred in Greece. Happily it was averted by common effort of the Allies. The differences have, for the time being, been composed. Political questions have been set aside for orderly solution when time permits, and energies are pooled for the common struggle.

Sometimes the objective is not achieved. Finland is a case in point. Finland, an ally of Nazi Germany, seems unfortunately to be choosing a course of action very different from what we desire. We have made every effort to induce Finland to terminate her ill-chosen association with Germany. We have emphasized to her the consequences which must flow from a continued participation in the war on the side of the enemy. We have repeatedly made clear to her that responsibility for the consequences of continuing her association with Nazi Germany must rest solely on the Finnish Government, just as, in the case of Germany's other satellites, the responsibility for remaining in the war on the side of our principal enemy must rest solely on them.

The American people need have no fear that the American point of view is not being vigorously and effectively presented on every occasion where our immediate or long-range interests are involved. These problems are solved, in consultation with our Allies, in accord with the controlling purpose of unity in the war effort and in keeping with the fundamental principles of democratic philosophy.

The diplomatic power of the United States is the servant of American foreign policy. There is an inclination to confuse the two—but they should be distinguished. Diplomatic activity is particular action taken in the application of foreign policy to a specific situation, while foreign policy itself is general in character.

American foreign policy is a composite of many factors and influences. The principles of social

justice, individual liberty, orderly democratic government, and fair play which compose our political philosophy are the spirit of that policy. These and other principles well known to every American are part of our foreign policy because they are a part of America. Whatever else it contains, it must always reflect the doctrines, philosophies, aspirations, and practices of the American people.

Our success in the working out of these principles will, of course, vary with time, place, and the exigencies of military necessity. However, this Government will give representation abroad to the ideals of America and, within the limits of the principle of self-determination, encourage democratic practices in liberated countries.

I have emphasized the dominant part that the war and its winning must play in the application of our current foreign policy. But, essential as is the total defeat of the Axis, that is not and cannot be the sole great objective. There are two others with which American foreign policy must be concerned—the prevention of future wars and the promotion of conditions which will permit our people to attain the greatest possible measure of economic well-being.

I should like to speak briefly of our preparations for the future in these two broad fields, of the establishment of an effective system of international peace and security, and of the creation of conditions and agencies for the promotion of economic and social welfare.

For some time the Department of State, in cooperation with other agencies of the Government, in collaboration with individual members of the Congress, and in consultation with individuals of experience in private life, has been engaged in studying these questions and in formulating the bases for constructive programs of action.

A thorough analysis of the mistakes of the unhappy past, a study of current developments, and an examination of future possibilities have led us to the following conclusions as regards some of the basic problems involved in the future prevention of aggression and war:

1. The major nations together with the other law-abiding states should create an international

organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

2. The major nations—and in due course all nations—should pledge themselves not to use force against each other or against any other nation, except on the basis of arrangements made in connection with such an international organization.

3. Each of the major nations, and any other nations to be agreed upon, should accept special responsibility for maintaining adequate forces and for using such forces, on the basis of arrangements made in connection with the international organization, to prevent or suppress all disturbances of the peace.

Our basic thought is that a general international organization of sovereign nations, having for its primary objective the maintenance of peace and security, should comprise effective agencies and arrangements for the pacific settlement of international controversies, for joint use of force to suppress disturbances of the peace, and for fostering cooperative effort among nations for the progressive improvement of the general welfare. The organization should at the outset provide the indispensable minimum of machinery of action and should be expected to develop and grow as time goes on and as circumstances may indicate to be wise. It is clear that there must be some general body on which all member states will be equally represented to serve as a world assembly of nations. There must be a court of international justice. And there must be a small body or council, representative of the large and small nations, endowed with adequate powers and means to arrange for maintaining the peace.

The step in the direction of creating an effective general international organization was taken at Moscow. The four-nation declaration signed there constitutes a solemn declaration of intention on the part of the four major countries to act in common for the preservation of peace and security and to take the lead in the establishment of a permanent international organization for this basic purpose. The next step had to be a joint examination of the problems involved in setting up such an organization.

Our studies in preparation for discussion with other governments, which were well advanced be-

fore the Moscow Conference, have been intensively carried forward since. They have involved a careful examination of the various alternatives with respect to the structure, powers, and procedures of an international organization. They have involved also an examination of our constitutional processes as regards participation by this country in the creation and functioning of such an organization, including especially the providing of armed forces for international action.

The next step involves additional conferences with representatives of both parties in the Congress and thereafter a full exchange of views with other governments and, in accordance with our constitutional provisions, discussions at home—all looking toward an agreed proposal for an effective international security organization.

At the same time our thoughts have been on the other related question—that of economic security.

International cooperation is as important in one field as in the other. This is not the occasion to undertake an extensive discussion of the broad question of economic collaboration, but I do wish to stress the need for collaboration in this field as well.

Events have lifted one fundamental aspect out of the realm of speculation and controversy. The economic interdependence of nations is no longer a theory but a well-substantiated fact. The economic and social policies of one nation exercise influence on the economic and social conditions of other countries. This phenomenon of international relations leads to one basic conclusion: national and international economic policies should be formulated with a recognition of the basic and permanent interests of all peoples. These policies should be designed to promote, as widely as possible, full and productive employment under conditions favorable to the physical and moral well-being of the worker.

Under present-day conditions, all nations are vitally dependent on each other as regards their economic and social well-being. The state of employment, distribution, and living conditions in our country and in every other country are mutually interdependent. Hence the welfare of every country requires the greatest practical measure of

collaboration between nations on policies affecting the production, distribution, and use of the world's goods and resources. I need hardly underscore the fact that no group has a larger stake in both the economic and social-security aspects of post-war economic cooperation than has labor. The reduction of the barriers to an expansion of mutually profitable trade after the war will be needed in order to open opportunities for work for millions now employed in war production and millions now serving in our armed forces.

In the field of international cooperation directly affecting the interests and problems of labor, we are fortunate in already having an international organization with 25 years of experience—the International Labor Organization. In this field we do not have to wait for the establishment of a suitable vehicle.

A few of those present tonight, working and planning with others, assumed responsibility in the movement which led to its establishment. I refer to Mr. William Green, Mr. Matthew Woll, and to Prof. James T. Shotwell, who was not only collaborator in the movement but its historian as well. And yet another in that group also here tonight is the distinguished Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Harold Butler. Without the unremitting labors of these able and forward-looking men—always remembering as one of the leaders of the whole group, the late Samuel Gompers—without them there might not be an I.L.O.

But there is! And it is fitting in this connection to recall that one of the most important steps—if not the most important—which this country took during the inter-war period toward assuming its rightful place as an active member of organized international society was taken in 1934 when President Roosevelt, pursuant to a joint resolution of the Congress, accepted membership for us in the I.L.O. It is commonly acknowledged today that the establishment of that organization marked one of the truly significant milestones in the history of a social progress.

It has a value today of particular importance, when some persons are skeptical about the possibilities of world peace through international organization. I suggest that such persons study the history of the I.L.O. At the time of its inception

there was hunger, misery, and serious disorder throughout Europe. President Roosevelt, referring to its origin, said of it later, "To many it was a wild dream." The dream, carrying hope to those who could hope, has justified the confidence of its founders and become an outstanding demonstration of the effectiveness of men of many nations, when determined to do so, to work together for the good of all. It is an inspiration to those who believe that the mind and heart of man can solve the problems of mankind.

ADHERENCE BY LIBERIA TO THE DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

[Released to the press April 10]

The Liberian Consul General in New York, the Honorable Walter F. Walker, acting on behalf of the Government of Liberia, signed on April 10, 1944 in the Department of State the Declaration by United Nations. The texts of communications exchanged between Secretary of State Hull and the Secretary of State of Liberia, His Excellency Gabriel S. Dennis, regarding Liberia's adherence to the Declaration follow:

26th FEBRUARY, 1944.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The Government of Liberia declared by Proclamation on the 27th day of January 1944, a state of war existing between Liberia on the one hand, and Germany and Japan on the other. Motivated by the principles of human freedom and the right of self-determination, the Government subscribes and endorses the purposes and principles as enunciated by, and embodied in, the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, and adheres by this communication to the Declaration by United Nations, dated January 1, 1942.

The Honorable Walter F. Walker, Consul-General of Liberia at New York City, has been authorized to sign the above mentioned Declaration.

Be pleased to accept [etc.]

GABRIEL S. DENNIS

APRIL 6, 1944.

I have received your communication of February 26, 1944, stating that the Government of Liberia declared by proclamation on January 27, 1944 a state of war existing between Liberia on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other; that motivated by the principles of human freedom and the right of self-determination, the Government subscribes to and endorses the purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter; that the Government of Liberia adheres to the Declaration by United Nations and has authorized Walter F. Walker, Consul General at New York City, to sign the Declaration.

The Government of the United States, as depository for the Declaration, is gratified to welcome Liberia into the ranks of the United Nations. This action of Liberia brings to thirty-five the number of United Nations, all of which have pledged themselves to employ their full resources in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Arrangements are being made for Consul General Walker to sign the Declaration.

Please accept [etc.]

CORDELL HULL

PETROLEUM QUESTIONS

Preliminary Discussions by the United States and the United Kingdom

[Released to the press April 11]

The group of experts who will conduct for the Government of the United States the preliminary exploratory discussions with the Government of the United Kingdom on oil will be composed of the following persons:

- Mr. Charles Rayner, Petroleum Adviser, Department of State, *chairman*
- Mr. Ralph K. Davies, Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War, *vice chairman*
- Mr. Paul Alling, Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State
- Mr. Leroy Stinebower, Adviser, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State
- Mr. George Walden, Special Assistant to the Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War
- Mr. C. S. Snodgrass, Director, Foreign Refining Division, Petroleum Administration for War
- Brig. Gen. Howard Peckham, War Department
- Com. A. F. Carter, Navy Department

The Department of State announced on March 7, 1944,¹ that these discussions would take place. The membership of the group of experts who will conduct the discussions for the Government of the United Kingdom was announced on April 3, 1944.²

[Released to the press April 13]

The Department of State announced on April 13, 1944, that the Senate's Special Committee on Petroleum will be kept informed regarding the course of the preliminary exploratory discussions with the United Kingdom on oil which are expected to begin about April 17.

Moreover, in order that the views of the American oil industry regarding problems that may arise in the discussions may be taken into account, representatives drawn from various sections of the industry have been invited to meet with the group of experts who will conduct the oil discussions for the United States Government. In this connection, invitations have been issued to the following persons:

W. R. Boyd, Washington, D.C.
 John A. Brown, New York, N.Y.
 H. D. Collier, San Francisco, Calif.
 J. Frank Drake, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Orville Harden, New York, N.Y.
 George A. Hill, Houston, Tex.
 A. Jacobson, New York, N.Y.
 W. Alton Jones, Los Angeles, Calif.
 W. S. S. Rodgers, New York, N.Y.
 Ralph T. Zook, Bradford, Pa.

PRESENTATION OF SOVIET AWARDS TO MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES AND MERCHANT MARINE

[Released to the press April 11]

In a ceremony held on April 11, 1944, in the Chinese Room of the Mayflower Hotel the Secretary of State received on behalf of the American Government from the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko, a number of decorations which the Soviet Government has awarded to members of the American armed forces and merchant marine.

There follows a list of officers and men receiving decorations.

United States Army

ORDER OF SUVOROV, first degree
 Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower

ORDER OF SUVOROV, second degree
 Lt. Gen. Carl Spaatz

ORDER OF SUVOROV, third degree
 Maj. Gen. Frederick L. Anderson
 Lt. Col. Samuel S. Graham, Inf.

ORDER OF KUTUZOV, second degree
 Lt. Gen. Ira Eaker

ORDER OF KUTUZOV, third degree
 Col. Frederick W. Castle, A.C.
 Lt. Col. William O. Darby, F.A.

ORDER OF ALEXANDER NEVSKY
 Maj. William T. Borch, A.C.
 Maj. William L. Leverette, A.C.
 1st Lt. William W. Kellogg, C.E.

ORDER OF PATRIOTIC WAR, first degree
 Brig. Gen. Curtis E. Hemy
 Col. Arman Peterson, A.C.
 Staff Sgt. John D. Coffee, Inf.

ORDER OF PATRIOTIC WAR, second degree
 Col. Joseph J. Preston, A.C.
 Col. Russell A. Wilson, A.C.
 1st Lt. David M. Williams, A.C.
 Tech. Sgt. Edward J. Leary, A.C.
 Cpl. James D. Slaton, Inf.
 Pfc. Ramon G. Gutierrez, Inf.

ORDER OF THE RED STAR
 Col. Arthur G. Salisbury, A.C.
 1st Lt. Edwin F. Gould, F.A.
 Master Sgt. James L. Kemp, S.C.
 Staff Sgt. James R. Fields, A.C.
 Staff Sgt. Robert D. Sterevich, A.C.
 Staff Sgt. Emery B. Hutchings, A.C.
 Staff Sgt. William A. Krause, A.C.

United States Navy

ORDER OF SUVOROV, second degree
 Rear Admiral Robert C. Giffen

ORDER OF SUVOROV, third degree
 Capt. Norman C. Gillette

ORDER OF KUTUZOV, first degree
 Vice Admiral Henry K. Hewitt

ORDER OF KUTUZOV, second degree
 Rear Admiral Harry W. Hill

ORDER OF KUTUZOV, third degree
 Capt. Howard E. Orem

ORDER OF ALEXANDER NEVSKY
 Capt. Don P. Moon

ORDER OF PATRIOTIC WAR, first degree
 Lt. Ralph E. Boucher
 Lt. (j. g.) Jeremiah E. Mahoney

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 11, 1944, p. 238.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 8, 1944, p. 315.

ORDER OF PATRIOTIC WAR, second degree

Hugh P. Wright, gunner's mate, third class
Ward L. Gemmer, boatswain's mate, second class

ORDER OF THE RED STAR

Lt. Rufus T. Briun
Lt. John L. Laird
Lt. (j.g.) George B. Lennig
George J. Norton, gunner's mate, second class
Lloyd R. Weeks, gunner's mate, third class
Albert F. Wohlens, coxswain

United States Merchant Marine

RED STAR AWARDS

Alexander S. Henry, master mariner
Clyde Neil Andrews, second mate
Edward Michael Fetherston, third mate
Maurice Breen, purser

MEDAL FOR VALOR AWARDS

K. V. Johnson, ordinary seaman
Frank F. Townsend, chief engineer
J. W. Lintom, master mariner

MEDAL FOR BRAVERY IN ACTION

Harry F. Ryan, master mariner
R. E. Hocken, master mariner
Raymond P. Holmbowicz, cadet-midshipman

[Released to the press April 11]

The remarks of the Soviet Ambassador at the ceremony for the presentation of Soviet awards to members of the American armed forces and merchant marine follow:

MR. SECRETARY: I am very happy to present to you today the orders and medals awarded by the Soviet Government to members of the armed forces and merchant marine of the United States of America. The Soviet Government presented these decorations to 26 representatives of the Army, 16 representatives of the Navy, and 10 representatives of the merchant marine of the United States for their outstanding services in the struggle against our common enemy—Hitlerite Germany. These awards furthermore express the friendly feelings of the Soviet people toward the people of the United States.

Both our countries are waging the struggle against our common enemy, Hitlerite Germany, and its satellites in Europe. For almost three years the Red Army has conducted a life-and-death struggle against the crafty enemy. Straining all its forces and supported by the whole Soviet people, our Army not only stopped the

enemy but inflicted a number of serious defeats upon him which predetermined the inevitability of his final rout. At the present time the armies of the Soviet Union successfully continue ridding Soviet soil of enemy troops.

Although my country still carries the main burden of military efforts and sacrifices, its peoples mark with satisfaction the steadily growing role and importance of the armed forces of the friendly American people in this struggle. American troops, and troops of our common ally, Great Britain, have struck the enemy a number of serious blows in the Mediterranean theater of war and in the south of Italy.

American fliers have been and are successfully bombing military objectives in Fascist Germany.

I am particularly happy that among those decorated by my Government is General Eisenhower, who receives the highest award of the Soviet Union—the Order of Suvorov of the First Degree.

I am much pleased also that those receiving high awards include such outstanding representatives of the armed forces of the United States as Lieutenant General Spaatz, Lieutenant General Eaker, Vice Admiral Hewitt, and other ranking officers.

I have good reason to be confident that the courage and skill shown in the past by those who have been awarded decorations will be multiplied by the American armed forces in the forthcoming decisive battles against the hated enemy, in which American officers, soldiers, and seamen will demonstrate their self-sacrifice and courage. These battles must and cannot fail to lead to the final rout of the enemy forces, to the hastening of the complete liberation of Europe from Hitlerite barbarism, to the elimination of the fascist menace forever. The peoples of our two countries, and those of all the United Nations, have no doubts that the joint efforts of the Allies will bring final defeat to the enemy. They have no doubts that victory will be ours.

Permit me, Mr. Secretary, on behalf of my Government, to convey through you to the members of the United States Army, Navy, and merchant marine decorated by the Soviet Government my sincere congratulations and wishes for success in their future activities in the struggle against the enemy.

The remarks of the Secretary of State in reply to Ambassador Gromyko follow:

In the name of the Government of the United States I wish to express to you, Mr. Ambassador, and to your Government my great appreciation for the high honor shown to the United States and to the members of its Army, Navy, and merchant marine by the award of these decorations. I also wish to thank you for the friendly sentiments which you have expressed.

As you know, the officers and men to whom these decorations are destined are not able to be present today because they are on active duty on various fields of battle, either engaged in the relentless

struggle against our common enemy, Nazi Germany, or carrying on that no less important activity—the transportation of supplies to our armies and to those of our Allies.

These men will receive with pride and gratitude the honor shown them by the Soviet Government and will be inspired to carry on with increased vigor their contributions to our final victory.

The American people, I am sure, greatly appreciate this tribute to the bravery and ability of our officers and men from the Soviet Union, whose armed forces are daily offering an inspiration to all freedom-loving people by new and decisive victories.

American Republics

PAN AMERICAN DAY

Address by the Secretary of State ¹

[Released to the press April 14]

Pan American Day is an important anniversary to the nations of the Americas. We meet today to honor those whose vision and energy established and for more than 50 years have carried forward the Pan American Union and all that it signifies. It is well to ask ourselves why it is that we can meet in the midst of the greatest war of history and why it is that we have so great an achievement to commemorate. For in doing so we may more clearly see the guideposts which point the true direction in which we may go forward to new cooperation among ourselves and new cooperation with other nations of the earth.

Inter-American unity was not brought about by force and is not based upon the conception of a master race whose mission is to rule. It was not produced by nations with a homogeneous racial origin. It does not depend upon the bonds of a common language or a culture based on a common literature or common customs and habits.

Were these the only sources of international unity and common action, the future for the world would be dark indeed. But inter-American unity

proves that there are other sources more subtle and even stronger—sources which offer hope to a world which can find no hope in the factors which I have mentioned. Our unity comes from a passionate devotion to human liberty and national independence which is so strong that it does not stop with the effort of each people to secure liberty for itself but goes on to respect as no less valid the desire of other peoples to achieve the same liberty in accordance with their own traditions and historic institutions. Although the language of Bolívar and San Martín was different from that of Washington and Jefferson, they were expressing the same purposes and principles, and they led their countrymen along the same paths. These are the paths along which inter-American unity has developed, growing ever stronger as the American nations have come to understand one another and to have trust and confidence in one another's purposes and to work together for purposes so identic that they produced, not division and jealousy, but unity of thought and action.

¹ Delivered before the Pan American Union, Apr. 14, 1944.

As the years have gone on, the true principles underlying inter-American unity have been made more specific as one inter-American conference has followed another. In the years between the world wars the trust and confidence between the American nations grew ever stronger while elsewhere the growth of ambitions of conquest by force brought division and fear. It is the common pride of the American republics and the good fortune of all mankind that the torch of international cooperation has burned at its brightest in the affairs of this hemisphere precisely at a time when it was being blacked out elsewhere. It is natural that the history of an international association which has endured longer than any other should provide encouraging guidance for the future.

At the Montevideo Conference in 1933 the American republics affirmed their belief in certain essential principles upon which cooperation between nations and international order must be based. Among them was the principle that every nation, large and small, was equal before the law of nations. Another was the right of every nation to develop its own institutions, free from intervention by others. We already see the beginning of a wider application of these basic principles. They were stated in the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Declaration, and the declarations made at Moscow. Specifically, it was agreed at Moscow that membership in the world security organization must be upon the basis of the sovereign equality of all nations, weak as well as strong, and the right of every nation to a government of its own choice.

The American nations spoke with a united voice at Buenos Aires as early as 1936 and Lima in 1938 of the dangers to world peace which impended, and took united action to defend the hemisphere against them. When the attack came many of the American republics immediately sprang to the defense of the hemisphere. Shortly after the conference at Rio de Janeiro others took the same course. This chapter in our American history will ever be a gallant and glorious one. It teaches that unity of purpose, a common and passionate devotion to the maintenance of freedom, and mutual trust and confidence are the essential elements without which no amount of international organization

and machinery can succeed. But it also teaches us and other nations that international organization and machinery are necessary. Successful as our common action has been, it has not been complete. And it took time, which may not always be available. Therefore, we learn that an international organization, whether in the field of inter-American cooperation or in the broader field of world peace, must have two main supports. It must gather its greatest strength from the rightness and justness of the principles upon which it is founded and the mutual trust of its members. It must also have such an essential framework and machinery and such an acceptance of their obligations on the part of its members as will enable it to act promptly and effectively in times of crisis.

Another guidepost for the future which our common experience before and during this war has raised is in the economic field. With the outbreak of the war the continent mobilized economically. The extent to which the products of the hemisphere have contributed to the growing success of the war against Germany and Japan cannot be overestimated. Millions of men and women throughout the hemisphere are devoting themselves unsparingly to the production of essential materials and to the forging of the weapons of our common victory. All this has been done under the great handicaps of the dislocations produced by the war.

At the end of the war all of our countries will be faced by problems of immense gravity. Out of the experience of our association in peace and in war we have learned that the expansion of material well-being can only come with an expansion of production and trade and hence an increase in consumption. We have learned too that no one nation can solve its problems by itself. An increase in production requires financing, a wise selection of the goods to be produced, and wise and fair commercial policies to enable goods to flow to their markets and necessary purchases to be made in return. All of this requires cooperative effort and the creation of international arrangements through which that effort may have concrete expression. But it requires something more than this. It requires the respect by each nation for each other nation, of which I have spoken, in the field of political relations. International cooperation in the economic field is the opposite of eco-

conomic imperialism, by which one country seeks to exploit another. It is also the opposite of economic nationalism, by which each nation seeks to live unto itself.

We citizens of this hemisphere have great opportunities before us. The community of action among the American nations, already highly developed, will at the end of the war be indispensable in the advancement of our economic well-being and in the establishment of an international organization to prevent the recurrence of world wars. Together, as I have said, we foresaw, pointed out, and prepared against the dangers of war. Together we must foresee and prepare for the ever-greater common task of the peace. I believe that as in future years men of the Americas meet to commemorate this day they will see unfolded before their eyes ever-increasing evidence that the path along which inter-American cooperation has led is the path to human liberty and human welfare.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

[Released to the press April 11]

The following messages, dated April 10, 1944, were sent by President Roosevelt to His Excellency Manuel Avila Camacho, President of Mexico, and by Secretary of State Cordell Hull to His Excellency Ezequiel Padilla, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico:

I have been deeply shocked by the news of the dastardly attempt made on your life today, and I sincerely congratulate you on the most fortunate outcome of this unhappy event.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

Please convey to His Excellency President Avila Camacho my deep gratification that he so fortunately escaped injury in the outrageous assault made upon him today.

CORDELL HULL

The Far East

AMERICAN AID TO CHINA SINCE 1931

[NOTE: The following article, which is based on data contained in official sources, has been prepared by several officers of the Department of State in an effort to provide a comprehensive picture of the various forms in which American assistance has been rendered to China.]

INTRODUCTION

During the period of a century which has elapsed since the United States entered into treaty relations with China, the United States has consistently pursued a policy of friendly helpfulness toward that country. This policy was conspicuously illustrated in the efforts of the United States Government to avert the partitioning of China at the close of the nineteenth century, when John Hay circulated to the powers the open-door notes, and in the initiative taken by the United States Government which resulted in the conclusion of the nine-power treaty of February 6, 1922 containing provisions designed to assure the peace, integrity, and stability of China. The policy historically

pursued by the United States toward China has been based primarily upon so broad and fundamental an interest that it has served the best interests of both China and the United States.

Since the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 the long history of consistent American aid to and support of China has been given fresh manifestation in various ways. This assistance may be discussed under the following heads: Diplomatic aid, financial aid, lend-lease assistance, military aid, technical assistance, American Red Cross assistance, and assistance by private American agencies.

DIPLOMATIC AID

Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and her subsequent successive course of aggression in China proper constituted clear violations of the principles of policy which the United States Government conceived to be essential for the mainte-

nance of sound international relations. Consequently the United States Government endeavored constantly, consistently, and with unremitting effort to persuade Japan to desist from her policy of aggression. Whenever the occasion for such action arose, the United States made known its unalterable opposition to the course which Japan was pursuing.

The occupation of Manchuria by Japanese armed forces caused the United States, as early as 1932, to express its views with respect to developments in the Far East. On January 7, 1932 identical notes, which gave expression to what has since been called the doctrine of "non-recognition", were sent to the Chinese and Japanese Governments. It was stated in these notes that the United States could not "admit the legality of any situation *de facto* nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which Treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties."

Approximately a year later, on February 25, 1933, after the League of Nations had completed a study of the controversy between Japan and China and had adopted and transmitted to the United States for consideration a report embodying a number of conclusions with respect thereto, the Secretary of State declared in a communication addressed to the Secretary General of the League: "The findings of fact arrived at by the League and the understanding of the facts derived by the American Government from reports made to it by its own representatives are in substantial accord. In the light of its findings of fact, the Assembly of the League has formulated a measured statement of conclusions. With those conclusions the American Government is in general accord." The Secretary of State added: "In their

affirmations respectively of the principle of non-recognition and their attitude in regard thereto the League and the United States are on common ground."

During the period from 1934 until the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in the summer of 1937 it was necessary for the United States Government to take diplomatic action on a number of occasions in an effort to preserve and protect legitimate American interests in China and to support the fundamental principles of American policies in dealing with foreign nations.

On April 17, 1934, Mr. Amai, Chief of the Bureau of Information and Intelligence of the Japanese Foreign Office, issued a statement which disclosed the China policy of the Japanese Government. This statement, which became known as the "Amai statement", referred to "the special position of Japan in her relations with China", declared that "there is no country but China which is in a position to share with Japan the responsibility for the maintenance of peace in East Asia", and asserted Japan's opposition to (1) "any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan", (2) "any action taken by China, calculated to play one power against another", (3) "any joint operations undertaken by foreign powers even in the name of technical or financial assistance", and (4) any action which might tend to strengthen China in a military sense.

On April 28, 1934, the Secretary of State instructed the American Ambassador at Tokyo, Mr. Grew, to deliver an *aide-mémoire* on the subject to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was pointed out in the *aide-mémoire* that the relations of the United States with China, as well as with other countries, were governed by the generally accepted principles of international law and the provisions of treaties to which the United States was a party, that the United States had certain rights and obligations with respect to China, and that treaties could be lawfully modified or terminated "only by processes prescribed or recognized or agreed upon by the parties to them". It was further stated: "In the opinion of the American people and the American Government, no nation can, without the assent of the other nations concerned, rightfully endeavor to make

conclusive its will in situations where there are involved the rights, the obligations and the legitimate interests of other sovereign states."

A Japanese military *démarche* in north China in support of a so-called "movement for autonomy" in that region induced the Secretary of State to issue to the press on December 5, 1935 a further statement with respect to the attitude and policy of the United States. The Secretary declared that unusual developments in any region of China were rightfully and necessarily of concern not only to the Government and people of China but to all the powers which had interests in China, for, "in relations with China and in China, the treaty rights and treaty obligations of the 'treaty powers' are identical." The Secretary reiterated his belief that governments and peoples must keep faith in principles and pledges and that in international relations there must be agreements and respect for agreements. His statement concluded: "This country has abiding faith in the fundamental principles of its traditional policy. This Government adheres to the provisions of the treaties to which it is a party and continues to bespeak respect by all nations for the provisions of treaties solemnly entered into for the purpose of facilitating and regulating, to reciprocal common advantage, the contacts between and among the countries signatory."

A clash between Japanese and Chinese forces which occurred near Peiping on July 7, 1937 marked the opening of the wide-spread armed conflict that has raged continuously between Japan and China since that time. Reports which he had received regarding the action of July 7 caused the Secretary to reiterate yet again in a statement made on July 16, 1937 the fundamental principles of American foreign policy. Shortly thereafter, on July 21, the United States Government offered the Japanese and Chinese Governments, through their respective diplomatic representatives at Washington, its good offices. These efforts were of no avail, and on October 6, 1937 the Department of State announced that the United States Government had been "forced to the conclusion that the action of Japan in China is inconsistent with the principles which should govern the relationships between nations and is contrary to the provisions of the nine-power treaty of February 6, 1922, re-

garding principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China, and to those of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 27, 1928."

During the period from 1937 to December 7, 1941 the United States Government undertook, whenever it could properly take action, to bring about a peaceful solution of the conflict and to insure both the protection of American lives and property and the observance of the traditional principles of American foreign policy. Mention may be made, by way of illustration, of certain types of United States activity.

Efforts were made during this period by the United States Government to prevent the indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations by Japanese air forces. On June 3, 1938, for example, the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Welles, denounced the ruthless bombing of unfortified localities which had caused the death of many hundreds of civilians in both China and Spain. On June 11, 1938 the Secretary of State deplored the bombing of civilian populations from the air and expressed the hope that American manufacturers or exporters of airplanes and airplane parts would not sell bombers to nations which would use them to bomb civilian populations. On December 2, 1939 the President declared in a public statement that the American policy of discouraging the export of planes to countries engaged in unprovoked bombing and machine-gunning of civilian populations from the air would apply also to materials essential to airplane manufacture; and on December 20, 1939 the Department of State announced the extension of the policy to include the delivery of the technical information required for the production of high-quality aviation gasoline.

Representations were made to the Japanese Government in an effort to restrain Japanese agencies in China from taking action which menaced or injured American lives, property, or other interests. On October 6, 1938, for example, there was sent to the Japanese Government a comprehensive note enumerating the measures taken by Japanese agencies which were regarded as unwarranted, unlawful, contrary to treaties, or inconsistent with announced policies of the Japanese Government. In reply to this note the Japanese Government on November 18, after referring to a "new situation fast developing in East Asia", as-

serted that "any attempt to apply to the conditions of today and tomorrow inapplicable ideas and principles of the past neither would contribute toward the establishment of a real peace in East Asia nor solve the immediate issues." The Japanese Government subsequently made it clear, during conversations held in Tokyo between officials of the Japanese Foreign Office and United States diplomatic representatives, that Japan expected to be the sole arbiter of political and economic developments in China. In the light of these developments, the United States Government sent to the Japanese Government on December 31, 1938 a further communication in which the traditional principles of American foreign policy were reasserted and in which it was announced that the United States could not assent to any impairment of its rights.

As the conflict in China became more widespread, Japanese interference with American commercial and other interests in China increased. Consequently, the United States Government in a note of July 26, 1939 addressed to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington gave notice, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of February 21, 1911 between the United States and Japan, of its desire that the treaty be terminated and its expectation, since the required notice had been given, that the treaty would expire six months thereafter. It was declared in the note that this action was taken "with a view to better safeguarding and promoting American interests as new developments require". The treaty was permitted to lapse on January 26, 1940, and, notwithstanding repeated Japanese requests for the conclusion of some other arrangement to fill this gap, no other arrangement was concluded between the two countries.

Early in 1940 the Japanese established at Nanking a puppet Chinese government under Wang Ching-wei. In reply to an inquiry regarding this action, the Secretary of State declared on March 30, 1940, "the setting up of a new regime at Nanking has the appearance of a further step in a program of one country by armed force to impose its will upon a neighboring country and to block off a large area of the world from normal political and economic relationships with the rest of the world."

The Secretary continued: "Twelve years ago the Government of the United States recognized, as did other governments, the National Government of the Republic of China. The Government of the United States has ample reason for believing that that Government, with capital now at Chungking, has had and still has the allegiance and support of the great majority of the Chinese people. The Government of the United States of course continues to recognize that Government as the Government of China."

In September 1940 Japan took steps to place her armed forces in position to attack China from French Indochina. On September 4 Mr. Hull made mention of the officially declared desires of the American Government and several other governments, including the Japanese, that the principle of the *status quo* be preserved in the Pacific, with special reference to the Netherlands Indies and French Indochina; he then remarked that, should events confirm reports of the delivery by Japanese officials of an ultimatum to the local authorities of French Indochina calling for facilities for the passage of Japanese troops and for the use of bases, the effect upon public opinion in the United States would be unfortunate. Soon thereafter, developments in French Indochina caused Mr. Hull to say on September 23 that it appeared obvious that the *status quo* in Indochina was being upset under duress.

In an endeavor to halt the course of developments in the Far East and to establish a basis for stability and progress in the entire Pacific area, the United States entered into discussions with Japan in 1941. During the conversations, which took place over a period of nine months, the United States took into account not only its own legitimate interests but also those of China, Japan, and other countries. When questions relating to the legitimate rights and interests of other countries arose, the United States Government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

During the conversations the United States consistently advocated certain fundamental principles which should govern international relations. These were:

The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations;

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries;

The principle of equality—including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment; and

The principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies.

The Government of the United States steadfastly refused to consider any agreement with Japan under the terms of which Japan would be permitted to retain Japanese troops in China or which was inconsistent with respect for China's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

The conversations were temporarily suspended by the United States in July 1941, because in that month the Japanese began sending troops and equipment into southern Indochina. The United States Government also adopted measures to freeze Japanese assets in this country, with the result that trade between the two countries practically ceased. While the Japanese Government asserted that the move into Indochina was for the purpose of bringing the China "incident" to an end, the United States Government refused to countenance or give assent to the presence of any Japanese troops in that area.

At the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, the conversations were resumed during the following month. Finally, after several formulas had been proposed and discussed, the Japanese Government submitted on November 20, 1941 a narrow proposal which *inter alia* called for the discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained, however, no provision for the abandonment by Japan of her warlike aims or operations. The proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment.

In an effort to clarify the issues, the United States Government presented to the Japanese Government on November 26, 1941 a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement. The plan contained the following and other proposals: (1) The Government of Japan should withdraw all military, naval, air, and police forces from China and Indochina; (2) the Governments of the United States and Japan would pledge not to support any government in China other than the National Gov-

ernment of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking; (3) the two Governments would pledge to relinquish extraterritorial and related rights in China and to endeavor to obtain the agreement of other governments possessing such rights to give up those rights.

These negotiations were abruptly terminated on December 7, 1941 by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Mention should be made of the fact that during the period prior to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan the efforts made by the United States to aid China and to maintain its traditional foreign policies were by no means confined to negotiations with Japan. When, for example, reports were circulated in July 1940 that the British Government planned to prohibit temporarily the movement of certain commodities over the Burma Road, the Secretary of State declared on July 16, in response to an inquiry on the subject, that the United States had a legitimate interest in the keeping open of arteries of commerce in every part of the world and that, as a consequence, "action such as this, if taken, . . . would constitute unwarranted interpositions of obstacles to world trade".

Since the outbreak of the war between the United States and Japan, the United States Government has taken a number of important steps which have had the effect of improving China's international position and prestige.

On October 9, 1942 the United States Government took the initiative in approaching the Chinese Government with regard to the negotiation of a treaty providing for the relinquishment of American extraterritorial rights in China and for the settlement of related questions. A treaty accomplishing these objectives was signed on January 11, 1943 and became effective with the exchange of ratifications on May 20, 1943. This treaty, together with a similar Sino-British treaty which was negotiated at the same time, was hailed by Chinese leaders as restoring China to a position of equality with the United States and Great Britain.

On December 17, 1943 the President signed an act, which had been passed by large majorities of both Houses of Congress, removing long-standing legislative discriminations against the Chinese.

The act repealed the Chinese exclusion laws, established an annual Chinese immigration quota, and made legally admitted Chinese eligible to naturalization as American citizens. The enactment of this legislation had been specifically recommended by the President in order to "correct a historic mistake" and give "additional proof that we regard China not only as a partner in waging war but that we shall regard her as a partner in days of peace".

In conjunction with other members of the United Nations, the United States Government has also participated in other actions which demonstrate its desire and intention to treat China as an equal among the major powers and to contribute to the strengthening of the Chinese nation. Among the more outstanding examples of such action have been: the joint four-nation declaration at Moscow, which recognized the right and responsibility of China to participate jointly with the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union in the prosecution of the war, the organization of the peace, and the establishment of machinery for post-war international cooperation; the joint communiqué issued at Cairo by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, which reaffirmed the recognition accorded to China at Moscow and pledged the restoration to China of Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores; and the prominent part assigned to Chinese representatives in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

FINANCIAL AID

Boxer Indemnity

The first financial obligation of importance created between the Governments of China and the United States was the American share of the so-called "Boxer Indemnity" imposed upon China by the Boxer protocol of September 7, 1901 and its supplemental agreements. Under arrangements provided through congressional action in 1908 and 1924, the United States followed the practice of remitting all Boxer payments not allocated to legitimate claimants; and those remittances, which were earmarked for educational purposes, became, in effect, the earliest example of financial aid to China on the part of the United

States Government. This particular kind of aid was suspended in 1939, when the Chinese Government notified the Secretary of State that it was forced to suspend payments of the indemnity because of financial troubles. The United States acquiesced in the suspension of the payments and eventually, on January 11, 1943, yielded all further claims to indemnity payments.

Loans and credits

Although private American citizens and American banks invested money in the numerous Chinese bond issues floated both before and after the creation of the Chinese Republic, no United States governmental financial aid was extended to China, except for the Boxer remissions, until September 25, 1931. On that date, however, the Grain Stabilization Board, in accordance with a decision reached by the Federal Farm Board, concluded a contract with the Chinese Government for the sale to China on credit of 450,000 short tons of American wheat and wheat flours to be used in relief operations necessitated by the 1931 Yangtze flood. The total amount of the obligation incurred by China under this agreement was \$9,212,826.

On May 29, 1933 negotiations were concluded between the Chinese Government and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a credit of \$50,000,000, advanced at an interest rate of 5 percent, to be used for the purchase of American cotton, wheat, and flour. Of the total amount, approximately \$40,000,000 was to be spent on cotton, \$6,000,000 on wheat, and at least \$4,000,000 on flour. This credit was to be secured by a first charge on certain Chinese taxes and by junior charges on certain other taxes.

By a modification of the agreement on February 23, 1934 the size of the cotton credit was reduced to \$10,000,000. The original sum set aside for flour was also too high for the Chinese, and only \$1,105,385 of it was actually used. Thus, when the Export-Import Bank took over the administration of the credit in 1936, the total amount of the \$50,000,000 credit actually utilized was only \$17,105,385.

The Export-Import Bank, to which had been transferred early in 1936 the administration of the Flood Relief Loan of 1931 and the Cotton, Wheat, and Flour Credit of 1933, announced on June 20,

1936 that the two loans had been consolidated and that payments would be made in quarterly instalments over a period of six years. The consolidation note was secured by a first charge on China's internal (consolidated) taxes and on the 5 percent flood-relief customs surtax.

To aid the Chinese Government in financing the purchase of railway equipment in the United States, the Export-Import Bank committed itself on May 4, 1937 to furnish up to \$1,600,000 for this purpose, provided the amount did not exceed one half of the promissory notes issued by the Chinese Ministry of Railways and guaranteed by one of the government-supported Chinese banks. Under this commitment the Export-Import Bank actually disbursed \$733,200. The final repayment of this credit was completed by the Chinese Government on July 13, 1942.

On December 15, 1938 announcement was made of the extension to China of a credit under the terms of which the Export-Import Bank would advance \$25,000,000 to the Universal Trading Corporation, a Chinese-owned American corporation, which would use the funds to purchase American agricultural and manufactured products for export to China. The credits were to be repaid from profits derived from the importation and sale in the United States of Chinese wood (tung) oil, repayment to be guaranteed by the Bank of China, of which the Chinese Government controlled approximately half the stock. While, according to the terms of a contract which was signed on February 8, 1939, the entire credit was to be repaid by January 1, 1944, the Chinese Government was able to complete the repayment on March 31, 1942, almost two years ahead of schedule, because of the funds accruing from the sale in the United States of imported wood oil.

It should be noted that, although the wood-oil credit was commercial in character, its announcement on December 15, 1938, at a time when, in the terms of Chinese leaders, China was facing its "darkest hour" because of the fall of Canton and Hankow, did much to counteract the discouraging effect of military developments.

On March 7, 1940, just prior to the setting up of the puppet Wang Ching-wei regime at Nanking, the Export-Import Bank allocated \$20,000,000 for

crédits to finance exports to China. These credits were to be handled in substantially the same way as those provided in the wood-oil loan, except that China was to pay off the new loan with profits accruing from shipments of tin to the United States.

In September 1940 the Chinese Government requested another loan. This request was promptly met. The Federal Loan Agency announced on September 25, 1940 that the Export-Import Bank had authorized credits of \$25,000,000 to the Chinese Government, with repayment guaranteed by the Central Bank of China. At the same time it was announced that the Metals Reserve Company had agreed to buy from the National Resources Commission of China \$30,000,000 worth of tungsten, from the sale of which the new credit would be paid.

A decision on the part of the Export-Import Bank to extend a further loan of \$50,000,000 to the Central Bank of China was announced on December 1, 1940, the day after Japan gave formal recognition to the Wang Ching-wei regime as the "National Government of China" and concluded a "treaty" with that regime. It was stipulated that the loan should be repaid from the profits received by the Chinese National Resources Commission from the sale of tin, wolframite, and antimony to the Metals Reserve Company.

American aid through silver purchases

Prior to 1933 China was normally a silver-importing country. As a result, however, of the loss of Manchuria, whose trade had yielded an export balance to China, and of the world trend away from gold standards, which tended to increase the price of silver and other commodities as well as gold, silver began to leave China. The loss of silver caused a decrease in the amount of the Chinese currency available for circulation, thereby hampering Chinese trade and commerce, and a reduction in the size of the reserves held by Chinese banks, with the result that there was a sharp contraction of credit. Although the Chinese Government placed an export tax on silver in an effort to check the flow of that commodity from the country, this action failed to have any beneficial effect, primarily because of the ease with which smuggling operations could be engaged in.

The American Silver Purchase Act of 1934 proved to be a blessing to China for, despite the fact that it created serious strains on the Chinese economy by stimulating the export of silver from China, it enabled the Chinese Government to sell silver at a good price. In order to take advantage of this condition and to have foreign exchange received from the sale of silver accrue to the benefit of the Government, China in November 1935 nationalized silver and decided to stabilize the yuan (the Chinese dollar) in terms of the American dollar and the British pound sterling. In the same month the United States, acting under the authority of the Silver Purchase Act, concluded an agreement with China for the sale to the United States of 50,000,000 ounces of silver. The silver was shipped to the United States during December 1935 and January 1936. On May 18, 1936 the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, announced the conclusion of another agreement for the purchase of a similar amount of silver and declared that the payment for the silver would be in foreign exchange, thereby assisting the Chinese Government in its efforts at currency stabilization.

On July 9, 1937 the Treasury Department announced a broadening of the scope of these arrangements under which the Central Bank of China could obtain dollar exchange for stabilization purposes. The announcement also disclosed that the Treasury would sell a substantial amount of gold to the Chinese Government and would make further silver purchases in order to assist China in buying the gold. This agreement was renewed in July 1938 and again in September 1938.

By the end of 1938 the flow of silver from China had almost come to a halt. During the period 1935-38 there had accrued to China, as a result of the measures taken by the American Government, foreign exchange to an amount estimated at between \$300,000,000 and \$350,000,000. Thus, by the end of the period of heavy silver sales by China, the United States was actively engaged in monetary support of the Chinese Government, and China had sold the great bulk of her monetary silver.

Despite the aid China received from the United States under these agreements, and despite China's continued effort after the outbreak of the conflict

with Japan in 1937 to stabilize the yuan, currency stabilization was rendered difficult by the disruption of normal trade and finance and by the Japanese occupation of key areas of China. Lacking control of all the areas in which its currency was used, the Chinese Government was unable effectively to control the total exports and imports of the country. The Japanese, as they obtained Chinese national currency in occupied areas, presented it for redemption into foreign exchange, with the result that valuable foreign exchange was gained by Japan and was lost by China. China was finally forced to suspend operations for maintaining the stability of the yuan and to allow exchange rates to fall.

Because of these conditions it was announced on December 1, 1940 that the United States would extend to China a stabilization loan of \$50,000,000 in connection with a credit of the same amount to be extended by the Export-Import Bank. As the details of the stabilization loan had to be worked out, the final agreement, dated April 1, 1941, was not signed until April 25, 1941. Under the terms of this agreement the United States Stabilization Fund was to buy Chinese yuan upon the request of the Central Bank of China to the amount of \$50,000,000, and the Chinese Government banks were to contribute \$20,000,000 to the resources of a Stabilization Board to be established under the agreement.

At approximately the same time the Chinese Government concluded a similar agreement with Great Britain by which the British were to extend to China a somewhat smaller stabilization loan (£5,000,000) to be administered by the same Stabilization Board. Thus, although the Sino-American and the Sino-British stabilization agreements were technically distinct, it had been agreed that all stabilization operations were to be carried on by a single Board composed of five members: three Chinese, one British, and one American.

On July 26, 1941, only a few months after the establishment of the Stabilization Board, the United States issued a freezing order under the terms of which the assets of China and Japan in the United States were placed under the supervision of the United States Treasury. Chinese funds in the United States were frozen, at the

request of the Chinese Government, in order to safeguard the operations of the new Stabilization Board, since the old Anglo-Chinese Stabilization Fund had lost heavily at the hands of Japanese speculators in Shanghai who had been able to make free use of dollar funds in the United States. After the freezing order took effect it became impossible, despite the fact that China had neither military nor political control over Chinese assets in the United States or in the occupied regions of China, for any flight of capital from China to take place and for any Chinese funds to be out of Chinese jurisdiction. According to reliable reports, received approximately two months after the issuance of the freezing order, foreign-exchange speculation had been brought to a virtual standstill.

The stabilization operations which have been carried on since the establishment of the new Chinese monetary system in November 1935 have cost the American and British Governments many millions of dollars in foreign exchange and somewhat smaller amounts in actual losses.

Loan to China of \$500,000,000 in 1942

On January 31, 1942 the President addressed to Congress a letter in which he declared: "Responsible officials both of this Government and of the Government of China have brought to my attention the existence of urgent need for the immediate extension to China of economic and financial assistance, going beyond in amount and different in form from such aid as Congress has already authorized. I believe that such additional assistance would serve to strengthen China's position as regards both her internal economy and her capacity in general to function with great military effectiveness in our common effort." Enclosed with the President's letter was a draft of a joint resolution which the President urged Congress to pass in order to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, "to loan or extend credit or give other financial aid to China in an amount not to exceed in the aggregate \$500,000,000". The joint resolution was promptly passed by Congress and was signed by the President on February 7, 1942. Less than a week later the money to implement this aid was appropriated.

LEND-LEASE ASSISTANCE

On May 6, 1941, less than two months after the approval of the Lend-Lease Act, the President, in accordance with the provisions of the act, declared the defense of China to be vital to the defense of the United States. Mr. Lauchlin Currie, who had gone to China in January 1941 to survey that country's needs, and other Government officials had developed, after Mr. Currie's return to Washington in March 1941, a lend-lease program designed to meet the emergency needs of China. The President's action on May 6 made it possible to put that program into effect.

Lend-lease aid to China in 1941 was aimed particularly at improving transport over the Burma Road, the only artery through which goods could flow into China. The first lend-lease shipments to China consisted primarily of trucks, spare parts, motor fuel, and lubricants for use on the Burma Road and material for the development of the highway. As Chiang Kai-shek had made an urgent request of Mr. Currie during the latter's visit to China for American technical traffic advisers to survey the Burma Road and to make recommendations for increasing traffic over it, a mission of American traffic experts, headed by Mr. Daniel Arnstein, left Washington in June 1941. After this mission had completed its study, the Chinese Government undertook a number of measures to improve the administration of the road, more spare parts and repair equipment were furnished to China under lend-lease, and a number of American technicians, including loaders, dispatchers, terminal managers, shop superintendents, foremen, and mechanics, were recruited in the United States and sent to China at lend-lease expense.

Concurrently the Chinese Government was pushing a program for hard-surfacing the road. Chinese laborers laid a stone base, while the United States contributed to the project by furnishing to China in the form of lend-lease aid grading equipment, earth-moving equipment, and thousands of tons of asphalt.

Because of these efforts and because of the arrival of large numbers of American trucks, the tonnage being carried over the Burma Road by October and November 1941 was almost four times greater than it had been during the early months

of 1941. The quantity of material carried each month had increased from 4,000 to 15,000 tons.

During 1941 lend-lease funds to the amount of \$15,000,000 were also allocated to China for use in connection with the construction of a railroad from Burma into China which would have made possible a great increase in the volume of supplies being transported to the Chinese. The completion of this project was prevented, however, by Japanese military operations in Burma.

The fall of Burma and the seizure of the southern portion of the Burma Road by the Japanese left air transport as the only effective means of getting supplies into China. Great progress has been made, particularly during the past year, in the development of the air-transport route into China. It is stated in this connection in the *Fourteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations* that "In the last three months of 1943, more air cargo for United States and Chinese forces was carried into China by air than in the preceding nine months of the year. In the month of December alone, twice as much cargo was flown into China as in all of 1942. In January 1944, the tonnage of goods flown into China was fifteen times that of January 1943—and the monthly tonnage is continuing to increase." It is recorded in the same report that the total value of lend-lease supplies transferred to China through December 31, 1943 amounted to \$200,995,000, of which \$175,576,000 represented goods and \$25,419,000 represented services rendered; and that, in addition, goods valued at \$191,731,000 were consigned to the United States commanding general in the India-China theater for transfer to China.

Constant efforts have also been made to develop new land supply routes. At the present time, for example, United States engineers are constructing the new Ledo Road across upper Burma.

It should be added that action has also been taken to make India a great supply base for operations which will have as major objectives the expulsion of the Japanese from Burma and the reopening of land transportation through that area for supplies for China. Stockpiles of material for China are being established there in increasing quantities. Raw materials and machine tools are

being sent in order to augment India's productive capacity. American equipment and technical assistance for the improvement of India's port facilities and railway transport system have been provided on an extensive scale in order to increase India's capacity to handle and transport supplies essential to the United Nations war effort, including the mounting stores of material that await shipment to China as soon as new transportation routes are opened.

The lend-lease assistance supplied to—or for the future benefit of—China since the cutting of the Burma Road has been increasingly concerned with military aid. Consequently, no hard-and-fast distinction can be made between lend-lease assistance and military aid.

MILITARY AID

In 1941 the Division of Defense Aid Reports, China Defense Supplies (the official agency of the Chinese Government handling lend-lease requisitions), and the War Department developed a project under lend-lease for equipping and training large numbers of Chinese forces. The United States Government subsequently organized a military mission, which was led by Brigadier General (now Major General) Magruder and was composed of specialists in all phases of modern warfare, to advise and consult with Chinese authorities regarding the use of defense materials that had been provided to them in connection with this project, as well as those scheduled for future delivery. The mission, which arrived in China in November 1941, was supported by lend-lease funds.

Little of the equipment intended for China's ground forces under this program ever reached China, but the United States was more successful in furnishing China with assistance from the air. Colonel (now Major General) Claire Chennault, who had been serving the Chinese Government as a special technical adviser to the Chinese Air Force since 1937, and General P. T. Mow of the Chinese Air Force had visited Washington in November 1940 on a mission for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in an effort (1) to obtain fighter planes and to enlist volunteer American airmen to fly them

against the Japanese and (2) to start a program for building a strong and well-equipped Chinese Air Force.

By January 1941 Colonel Chennault's plan to obtain fighter planes and American pilots had been approved. Arrangements were made to allot to the Chinese Government 100 P-40 fighter planes which had previously been allocated for delivery to Great Britain, and by the end of February 1941 the first 36 of the planes had been shipped from New York. Meanwhile Colonel Chennault, with the help of the War and Navy Departments, succeeded in obtaining the services of 100 veteran pilots and 150 technicians and ground-crew personnel. Thus there was formed the nucleus for the American Volunteer Group (the "Flying Tigers"), which was formally constituted by an order issued by Chiang Kai-shek on August 1, 1941 and which, prior to its disbandment in July 1942, provided an effective air defense for southwest China and rendered invaluable assistance to hard-pressed Chinese and other forces in Burma.

The outbreak of war in the Pacific created an urgent need for American air forces in the India-China theater. Consequently, the Tenth United States Air Force was organized in India early in 1942, and, by the time of the disbandment of the American Volunteer Group, an air unit of the American Army had been established in China. The air unit in China, which was commanded by General Chennault and which included among its personnel a number of the former "Flying Tigers", operated as a part of the Tenth United States Air Force until March 10, 1943 when, in recognition of its increasingly important role, it was formally activated as the Fourteenth United States Air Force. This force has kept control of the air over unoccupied China, has engaged in constantly expanding operations against the Japanese, has ably performed the vital mission of protecting the terminal bases of air transport, and has helped the Chinese create one of the most efficient aircraft-warning systems in existence. The activities of this force have been of inestimable value in helping to maintain China's military position and morale. The Tenth United States Air Force has also continued to give effective, although less direct, aid to China.

In addition to furnishing China with fighter planes and pilots, the United States took steps to put into effect a program for building a strong and well-equipped Chinese Air Force. In May 1941, shortly after China was declared eligible to receive lend-lease aid, an American Air Mission headed by Brigadier General Clagett, Commander of the Philippine Air Force, was sent to China to survey the situation. Although the Mission's report stressed China's critical need for fighters and bombers, it contained the recommendation that the first action taken should be the development of a program to train Chinese pilots and mechanics, as China did not have enough men trained to fly or maintain the planes that were needed.

As a result of this recommendation, and as a result of the almost insuperable difficulties that would be encountered in trying to establish aviation training centers in China, there was developed a program for using lend-lease funds to train Chinese flyers in the United States. Groups of Chinese pilots have since that time taken standard United States Army Air Corps training courses in this country, at Thunderbird Field in Arizona. The American Army has also undertaken the training of Chinese aviation personnel in India.

The program for training Chinese aviation personnel has had an important bearing on operations against the Japanese. In November 1943 announcement was made of the formation of a Chinese-American Composite Wing of the Chinese Air Force. This wing, under the command of General Chennault is composed of Chinese and American airmen and ground units and is equipped with the latest type of P-40's and B-25's. As it is intended that this wing shall form the nucleus for a strong Chinese air force, it has been announced that, as the Chinese personnel gain experience, the American personnel will gradually be withdrawn.

Soon after the entry of the United States into the war there was established an American Military Mission to China under Major General (now Lieutenant General) Stilwell. General Stilwell, who was also Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was entrusted with the duty of representing the United States in the manifold activities relating to our military interests in China.

Under the direction of this Mission and of General Stilwell's command in India, there was undertaken an extensive program for equipping and training Chinese ground forces, as well as Chinese air units.

At camps in India large numbers of Chinese troops have been equipped, through lend-lease, with the latest types of American weapons. American Army officers have trained them in the use of those weapons and have organized them into hard-hitting triangular divisions, some of the personnel of which have already demonstrated their combat efficiency in operations in northern Burma. This program has provided not only complete tactical units but also cadres for the training of Chinese divisions beyond the mountains in China proper.

Since April 1943 American Army officers, each of whom is a specialist in some phase of modern warfare, have also been operating training centers for Chinese officers in China. A field-artillery center, for example, has graduated more than 5,000 officers; an infantry center has graduated more than 3,000. American officers have also gone into the field with units of the Chinese Army to serve as instructors, advisers, and observers; and American ordnance officers, with the assistance of Chinese mechanics, have been engaged in the work of restoring worn Chinese equipment. It should also be mentioned that American field-hospital units have been sent to China and to Northern Burma to aid the Chinese armies and that American Army engineers and other specialists have been sent to China to help improve communications and air-base facilities.

An outstanding form of military aid that has been rendered to China has been the contribution American Army forces have made to the development and improvement of transportation facilities for China. After the Burma Road was closed, virtually all the supplies destined for China had to be transported by air from India. Part of this traffic has been carried by planes operated by the China National Aviation Corporation, which also operates several important air routes within China. Included in this company's fleet of American planes are cargo planes which have been furnished to China through lend-lease channels. The bulk of the supplies which are flown from India to

China are, however, transported by the United States Army Air Transport Command.

Since April 8, 1942 the United States Army Air Transport Command has operated a ferry service over the towering "hump" of the Himalayas. The moving of cargoes by this route has been accomplished only because of the great skill, perseverance, and personal daring of the members of the Command. The transport planes which shuttle day and night over the most hazardous terrain in the world must carry not only the greatest possible load of supplies for use in equipping the Chinese Army and in building and defending China's airdromes, but also every item of equipment needed for the maintenance and expanding operations of the Fourteenth United States Air Force in China. They must accommodate a constant flow of military personnel, and on return trips to India they are loaded with important Chinese exports, such as tungsten, for the use of China's allies.

A C-87 transport can deliver four tons of 100-octane gasoline, but to do this it must itself use three and one-half tons of the precious commodity. Before the bombers comprising a heavy bombardment group can go on one combat flight, they must make four trips over the "hump," as they must provide their own gasoline, bombs, and replacement parts.

Despite the tremendous difficulties which have been encountered, and despite losses of men and equipment because of bad weather and attacks by Japanese fighter planes, the Air Transport Command has continued to deliver the goods in an increasingly effective manner. Reference has already been made in the section headed "Lend-Lease Assistance" to the fact that in December 1943 twice as much cargo was flown into China as in all of 1942 and that the tonnage of the goods flown into China during January 1944 was 15 times greater than that flown in during January 1943.

This growth in the volume of the goods that can be carried is the result of determined efforts to improve the efficiency and to expand the facilities of the service. In April 1942 the Air Transport Command had for use in China only a few pilots, second-hand two-engined planes, and poor air-field facilities. Since that time the Command has built up a remarkable organization which is

equipped with a great fleet of transports (including Army four-engined Liberators), which has an extensive system of airfields and ground facilities, and which is said to employ more transport pilots than flew in the United States at any time before the war. General Stilwell has recently announced that, with a view to providing the Fourteenth United States Air Force and the Chinese armies with enough supplies to support intensified operations against the Japanese, new-type planes, capable of making non-stop flights from India's west-coast ports to China and of carrying much larger loads than those carried by the transports now in operation, will be placed in service as soon as adequate new airfields, now being constructed, are ready.

In addition to increasing the air-transport facilities between India and China, the American Army is cooperating with Chinese forces in the construction and protection against Japanese attacks of the new Ledo Road to China through northern Burma. This work is progressing satisfactorily despite extremely unfavorable weather conditions.

While detailed information with regard to military supplies thus far shipped to China has not yet been published, some idea of their character may be gained from the *Fourteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations*. It is stated in this report that lend-lease supplies transferred to China through December 31, 1943 included, in addition to industrial items valued at \$28,952,000, munitions totaling \$146,545,000 in value. These munitions comprised, in the descending order of their value, aircraft and parts, motor vehicles and parts, ammunition, ordnance, and watercraft and parts. During the same period there were, in addition, consigned to the United States commanding general in the India-China theatre for transfer to China goods valued at \$191,731,000, consisting of ammunition, tanks and parts, ordnance, motor vehicles, and miscellaneous military equipment. To appraise the significance of these figures, one should bear in mind the great increase in the volume of supplies sent to China which has developed only within recent months.

Some assistance, including the training of naval personnel in the United States, has also been rendered to China by the United States Navy.

Of greater significance than the action that has been taken thus far to aid China in a military way is the promise which has been made regarding future assistance to China. The United States Government stands ready to supply Chinese armies with the needed arms and equipment as rapidly as the opening of transportation routes permits. The United States Government has repeatedly stated, both before and since the outbreak of war in the Pacific, that it would not permit the conquest of China by Japan. The United States Government has, in successive declarations of war aims, clearly indicated that it will not rest until Japan has been driven from the territories which it has occupied by force and is rendered incapable of future aggression. The armed forces and resources of the United States are pledged to the accomplishment of this task.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Cultural-relations program of the Department of State

In January 1942 the cultural-relations program, which had previously been restricted to the other American republics, was extended to include China. The three basic activities which were inaugurated at that time were: (1) The provision of outstanding technical and educational specialists to China; (2) the extension of aid to Chinese students in the United States, thus augmenting China's supply of skilled technicians; and (3) the furnishing of certain urgently needed informational materials such as microfilms of scholarly and scientific articles and books, and documentary and educational motion pictures. A grant which made it possible to initiate these activities was obtained from the President's Emergency Fund.

Since January 1942 the United States has, at the request of the Chinese Government, sent 21 American specialists to China to consult with and advise Chinese experts regarding problems in such fields as agriculture, communications, cooperatives, engineering, health, industry, information, and river control. They have already done much useful work in their respective fields, and nine of them have completed their assignments.

Other forms of aid which are being currently rendered to China under the program include: grants for tuition and living expenses to some 200

Chinese students in the United States; the placement in practical training in this country of approximately 400 Chinese students who have completed their studies; the monthly transmission to China of about 100,000 pages of scientific and technical journals in microfilm form and the equipping with projecting apparatus of microfilm libraries; the preparation of Chinese sound tracks for Chinese non-theatrical motion pictures; and the meeting of special requests from Chinese scholars and scientists for technical data. The Department has also defrayed the expenses of a year's visit to the United States for six professors selected by the faculties of leading Chinese universities.

Assistance through other Government agencies

A number of United States Government agencies other than those which have already been mentioned in this article have furnished to the Chinese Government various kinds of assistance. While limitations of space and security prevent the presentation of any detailed description of the activities of these agencies, the following examples may serve to indicate the wide range of subjects with which they deal: Board of Economic Warfare personnel have rendered valuable technical assistance to the Chinese Government in connection with transportation and other problems; representatives of the Office of War Information have disseminated in China news and literature designed to give the Chinese people a picture of the various phases of our war effort; a representative of the Department of the Treasury was a member of the Stabilization Board until the suspension of activities; the Library of Congress has permitted representatives of Chinese libraries and universities to select books for their institutions from the Library's reserves of duplicate editions; and several Government agencies have aided Chinese sent to this country in their efforts to obtain technical training in fields directly or indirectly related to China's war effort.

AMERICAN RED CROSS ASSISTANCE

The American Red Cross, which began to send relief materials to China soon after that country was invaded by the Japanese, has vigorously per-

sisted, despite many difficulties, in its efforts to aid China in every possible respect.

In October 1940 representatives of the American Red Cross were sent to China in order to supervise relief activities. They established general areas of operation in both occupied and unoccupied China and directed the distribution in those areas of large quantities of rice and medicinal supplies. While civilian-relief operations in the occupied areas were terminated by the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan, the relief work in west China was continued on an extensive scale.

The Japanese occupation of Burma and interruption of land communication with China caused a drastic reduction in the volume of the shipments of relief materials into China. While the American Red Cross continued to send to India considerable quantities of supplies, especially drugs and medicines, for storage in warehouses until such time as they could be flown into China, the cargo space available for such materials in transport planes was limited. In November 1943, however, there occurred the first large-scale movement of American Red Cross relief materials to China since the closing of the Burma Road, for in that month 15 plane-loads of medical supplies were flown from India to China. It was announced that other large shipments were to follow.

Despite the numerous obstacles which impeded the flow of relief supplies to China, the value of the materials which the American Red Cross had succeeded in sending to China had reached a total of \$4,718,000 by the end of December 1943. Of this amount \$3,454,000 was furnished by the United States Government and the balance was furnished by the American Red Cross.

ASSISTANCE BY PRIVATE AMERICAN AGENCIES

While this article is concerned primarily with the assistance given to China by the United States Government, no discussion of American aid to China would be complete without at least some reference to the important role played in this connection by private American institutions. There should be included in this category not only the large number of organizations which have been carrying on educational and medical work in

China for a long time but also the many new organizations which have been established for the specific purpose of meeting China's wartime needs in such fields as education, famine relief, and medicine.

An idea of the impressive proportions of the assistance rendered to China by these organizations may be gained by citing the work done in the past by only one of them, United China Relief. During 1942 United China Relief raised a total of \$6,931,317 for relief purposes. During 1943 the amount raised for China by United China Relief direct and through the National War Fund was \$8,189,191.

The Department

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDUSTRY BRANCH IN THE COMMODITIES DIVISION OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Departmental Order 1254 of April 10, 1944¹

The policies of the United States Government on cartels and related international industrial arrangements are inseparable aspects of United States commercial policy, and accordingly are of direct concern to the Department of State. During the coming periods of peace settlement, post-war adjustment, industrial rehabilitation, and revival of international trade, cartel problems will be a major concern in international affairs.

In order that responsibility for the Department's policy and action on all matters regarding international industrial arrangements may be clearly fixed and properly coordinated, there is hereby established an Industry Branch in the Commodities Division of the Office of Economic Affairs. Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, is accordingly amended.

The Industry Branch shall be responsible for initiation, formulation, and coordination of policy and action on all cartel and related international industrial arrangements. This will include such activities as:

(a) Assembling and analyzing basic data and information, and preparing background and policy studies on international cartels, inter-corporate relations of United States and foreign firms, patent and other market regulating agreements, trademarks and trade names, intergovernmental industrial agreements, and related matters.

(b) Development of policies and programs for controlling cartels, combines, restrictive patent agreements, and other restrictive international business arrangements.

(c) Determination and promotion of standards for intergovernmental industrial agreements and of the forms of international organization required to implement such standards and general programs.

(d) Development of data, recommendations, and policies, in collaboration with other Divisions of the Department and other interested Federal agencies, such as the Department of Justice, Department of Commerce, Office of Strategic Services, and the Foreign Economic Administration, for use in international discussions and negotiations regarding international cartel matters.

(e) Formulation of policy on matters of international industrial arrangements involved in the treatment of industry in enemy and ex-enemy countries during the period of military occupation.

(f) Review of policy documents pertaining to foreign industrial arrangements submitted to the Department by other Federal agencies and interdepartmental committees.

(g) Provision of a central source of current information for other Offices of the Department on cartels and related aspects of international industrial arrangements, including agreements allocating quotas or areas, price-fixing arrangements, and patent and trade-mark agreements.

(h) Provision of secretariat (agenda, supporting documents, and minutes), and participation in the work of interdivisional or interdepartmental committees concerned with problems of international industrial organization.

(i) Review of legislative proposals and discussions relating to foreign contracts, patents, trademarks, cartels, etc.

(j) Policy advice to Divisions of the Department and other Federal agencies with regard to

¹ Effective Apr. 17, 1944.

current supply arrangements involving industrial combines, cartels, and similar problems.

In carrying out these responsibilities, the Industry Branch of the Commodities Division shall work in close collaboration with other Divisions of the Department whose work bears upon cartel questions, particularly the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, the Division of Commercial Policy and other Divisions of the Office of Economic Affairs, the Liberated Areas Division and other Divisions of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, and the Divisions of the Office of Special Political Affairs.

The Industry Branch shall act as the Department's liaison with the Department of Justice on any matters affecting international cartels and industrial arrangements.

CORDELL HULL

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1255 of April 13, 1944, effective April 10, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. David McK. Key as Acting Liaison Officer with responsibility for assisting the Secretary and the Under Secretary in their liaison with the War and Navy Departments and such other duties as may be assigned to him.

Treaty Information

DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

An announcement regarding the signature of the Declaration by United Nations for Liberia by the Liberian Consul General at New York, the Honorable Walter F. Walker, and the text of a telegram sent by the Secretary of State to the Liberian Secretary of State concerning the adherence by Liberia to the Declaration appear in this issue of the BULLETIN under the heading "The War".

The Declaration by United Nations (Executive Agreement Series 236), which was concluded at Washington on January 1, 1942, was signed by representatives of twenty-six nations on that date. Since January 1, 1942 nine additional nations have

adhered to the Declaration and their respective representatives have signed the document.

Representatives of the following nations signed the Declaration by United Nations on January 1, 1942:

United States of America	Greece
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Guatemala
	Haiti
	Honduras
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	India
China	Luxembourg
Australia	Netherlands
Belgium	New Zealand
Canada	Nicaragua
Costa Rica	Norway
Cuba	Panama
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Dominican Republic	Union of South Africa
El Salvador	Yugoslavia

The following nations have adhered to the Declaration and their respective representatives have signed the document since January 1, 1942:

Bolivia	Iraq
Brazil	Liberia
Colombia	Mexico
Ethiopia	Commonwealth of the Philippines
Iran	

REGULATION OF INTER-AMERICAN AUTOMOTIVE TRAFFIC

The White House announced¹ that on April 12, 1944 the President transmitted to the Senate, with a view to receiving the advice and consent of that body to ratification, a Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on December 15, 1943 and signed on behalf of the United States on December 31, 1943.

Legislation

The Illinois Waterway—Diversion of Water from Lake Michigan: Hearings before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st sess., on H.J. Res. 148. September 28, November 9, 10, 11, 1943. vi, 270 pp.

¹ White House press release, Apr. 12, 1944.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mobilization of Productive Resources of Brazil: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—

Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington March 3, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 370. Publication 2091. 5 pp. 5¢.

Diplomatic List, April 1944. Publication 2095. ii, 123 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy 10¢.

Counseling and Guidance for the Foreign Student. By William H. Dennis, Division of Science, Education, and Art, Department of State. Publication 2097. ii, 8 pp. Free.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
Price, 10 cents - - - Subscription price, \$2.75 a year

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

APRIL 22, 1944

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The War

INTERNATIONAL STABILIZATION PLAN

[Released to the press April 22]

The Secretary of State made the following statement on April 22, 1944 concerning the "progress report" on the Treasury Department's International Stabilization Plan made by Secretary Morgenthau to seven committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

"In my estimation, world stabilization of currencies and promotion of fruitful international investment, which are basic to an expansion of mutually beneficial trade, are of first order of importance for the post-war period. We have no way of knowing, of course, how far away victory may be. But we do know that victory will come sooner or later; and when it does we will be faced with the most difficult international reconstruction job in the history of the world. A great many things will tend to interfere with our getting on with the reconstruction expeditiously—natural hurdles that we have no control over. But among the greatest difficulties will be uncertainty as to the stability of currencies and as to the flow of international investment for post-war reconstruction and development. These we can do something about—and most assuredly should. With-

out solving these problems we shall be immensely handicapped in seeing an expansion of our foreign trade and balanced prosperity for our nation.

"Under the leadership of the Treasury Department, technicians of this and 30 other countries have worked out a set of basic principles with which all these technicians are in substantial agreement. These principles constitute a framework within which a plan can be developed with the minimum number of trappings and complications—a plan that will help bring prosperity to our own country when the war is won.

"No government is yet committed to any definite plan or even to these principles. It is my earnest hope, however, that Congress, when it is called upon to make a decision, will consider the value of the international currency-stabilization and investment programs as essential means of strengthening our own economy here at home.

"If such programs can be put into operation before the end of the war, we will save much time in the task of bringing about domestic and worldwide prosperity when hostilities cease, and immeasurably strengthen the prospects for an enduring peace."

PRESERVATION OF ROME FROM DESTRUCTION

[Released to the press April 19]

The text of a communication from President Roosevelt to Mr. de Valera, the Irish Prime Minister, is printed below. This message was trans-

mitted on April 3 by the Secretary of State through the Irish Minister in Washington.

"I have received through your Minister your recent communication concerning the danger

which now threatens the city of Rome. I share your concern for the preservation of that ancient monument of our common civilization and faith.

"It is well known that American military authorities in Italy are committed to a policy of avoiding damage to religious shrines and historical monuments to the extent humanly possible in modern warfare. This applies to the city of Rome as well as to other parts of Italy where the forces of the United Nations are engaged in active fighting. We have tried scrupulously—often at considerable sacrifice—to spare religious and cultural monuments and we shall continue to do so.

"However, in addressing an appeal to the Government of the United States to preserve Rome from destruction, you are, of course, aware that the Germans, occupying the Italian capital by force, are using to the limit of its capacities the communication network and other facilities of Rome to further a purely German military operation. If the German forces were not entrenched in Rome, no question would arise concerning the city's preservation.

"I note that you have sent a similar communication to the German Government. The fate of Rome rests in that quarter."

PETROLEUM QUESTIONS

Preliminary Discussions With the United Kingdom

[Released to the press April 19]

The Department of State announced on April 13, 1944 that ten American oil officials had been invited to meet with the group of experts who will conduct for the United States Government the preliminary exploratory oil discussions with the Government of the United Kingdom which began April 18 in Washington. This meeting took place in Washington last week. To facilitate the day-to-day discussions with the British representatives three of these ten oil-industry officials, Mr. John A. Brown, Mr. W. S. S. Rodgers, and Mr. A. Jacobsen, have been requested to sit as advisers with the United States group of experts. Additional advisers from among the ten oil-industry officials announced on April 13 will be asked to sit with the American expert group from time to time, should that prove desirable in the light of specific problems which may arise in the course of the discussions.

Mr. James C. Sappington, 3d, Assistant Chief of the Petroleum Division, Department of State,

has been designated executive secretary, and Mr. John A. Loftus, also of the Petroleum Division, Department of State, has been designated recording secretary of the United States group of experts.

[Released to the press April 21]

The preliminary exploratory discussions on petroleum which were begun on April 18, 1944 in Washington between groups of experts representing the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom are progressing satisfactorily in their initial stage.

The discussions are proceeding on the basis of the recognition that ample petroleum supplies available in international trade are necessary for the security and prosperity of nations; that for the foreseeable future the petroleum resources of the world are adequate to assure ample supplies for increasing post-war markets; and that expanding world demand must be met by the orderly flow of oil from the various producing countries of the world.

STATUS OF COUNTRIES IN RELATION TO THE WAR, APRIL 22, 1944

Compiled by Katharine Elizabeth Crane

[Any corrections or omissions should be brought to the attention
of Dr. Crane in the Division of Research and Publication]

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|--|--|
| <p>I. Countries at War or in a State of Severed Diplomatic Relations</p> <p>II. Signatories of the Declaration by United Nations, January 1, 1942, and Adherents to the Declaration</p> <p>III. Countries and Authorities Declared Eligible for Lend-Lease Aid</p> | <p>IV. Governments or Authorities Associated With the United Nations in the War</p> <p>V. American Republics Signatories of Pledges of Mutual Aid Against Aggression</p> <p>VI. Countries in a State of Armistice Relations</p> <p>VII. Status of Countries in Relation to the War (Summary)</p> |
|--|--|

TABLE I

COUNTRIES AT WAR OR IN A STATE OF SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The table which appears below contains an indication of the countries which are at war with one another and the countries which have severed diplomatic relations with one another, as well as the dates of the declarations of war or severances of diplomatic relations. The table includes the names of only such countries as are named in the table of contents of the January 31, 1944 issue of the *Foreign Service List*, published by the Department of State. Thus the table does not include any indication of declarations of war or similar actions of the French Committee of National Liberation, the Netherlands Indies, various units of the British colonial empire, the governmental authorities in control of Albania, etc.

The table is intended to be a rough-and-ready guide but does not purport to be definitive from the point of view of international law. The term *Axis*, which is used in some declarations of war, is understood, for the purposes of this table, to include Germany, Italy, and Japan (signatories of the Tripartite Pact of Sept. 27, 1940), and Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania (adherents to the Tripartite Pact). A few questions of interpretation have been settled in what appears to be a reasonable manner, as indicated in the footnotes. Extracts from official declarations, announcements, etc., with respect to a considerable number of the states of war and states of severed diplomatic relations will be found in the Department of State *Bulletin* of December 20, 1941 and of February 7 and April 18, 1942.

KEY

WAR indicates that the countries are at war;
BEL indicates a "state of belligerency";
sev indicates that the countries are in a state of severed diplomatic relations (or a state which appears to be that of severed diplomatic relations);
l following **WAR**, **BEL**, or **sev** indicates that the country named in the left-hand column declared war against (or engaged in hostilities against or took similar action which appears to constitute

a state of war against) or severed diplomatic relations with (or took action in the nature of a severance of diplomatic relations with) the country named in the upper row;

u indicates that the country in the upper row took corresponding action against the country named in the left-hand column.

In cases in which both **l** and **u** appear, they are given in chronological order.

Letters in parentheses refer to footnotes at the end of the table.

The left-hand column contains the names of countries which have signed or adhered to the Declaration by United Nations (in CAPITAL letters); which have declared war against one or more of the Axis countries but have not adhered to the Declaration by United Nations; or which are in a state of severed diplomatic relations (or a state which appears to be that of severed diplomatic relations) with one or more of the Axis countries.

The upper row contains the names of countries which are at war with, or in a state of severed diplomatic relations with, one or more of the countries named in the left-hand column.

The date given in each case (except the dates in parentheses) is the effective date (or what appears to be the effective date) of the action; e.g., if a country (or its diplomatic representative at Washington) announced on one date that it was or would be at war with a second country as of another date, the latter date is given. Dates in parentheses, however, are the dates of the announcements in cases in which the effective dates are not specified in the announcements. Where two dates are given, or a date and a footnote reference, they are given in order corresponding to that of the **l** and **u**. It may be necessary to revise certain of the dates, as the Department has not yet received the exact texts of all relevant official documents regarding declarations of war and severances of diplomatic relations.

TABLE I—Continued
COUNTRIES AT WAR OR IN A STATE OF SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS—Continued

	Bulgaria	Denmark ^a	Finland	France	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Japan	Rumania	Thailand
AMERICA. UNITED STATES OF.	WAR-ul (12/13/41) (6/5/42)			sev-u 11/8/42	WAR-ul 12/11/41 (12/11/41)	WAR-ul (12/12/41) (6/5/42)	WAR-ul 12/11/41 (12/11/41)	WAR-ul 12/7/41 (12/8/41)	WAR-ul (12/12/41) (6/5/42)	WAR-u 1/25/42
Argentina	sev-l (2/4/44)			sev-l (2/4/44)	sev-l 1/26/44	sev-l (2/4/44)		sev-l 1/26/44	sev-l (2/4/44)	
AUSTRALIA	WAR-l 1/6/42		WAR-l 12/8/41		WAR-l (9/3/39)	WAR-l 12/8/41	WAR-l 6/11/40	WAR-lu 12/8/41 (^b)	WAR-l 12/8/41	WAR-l 3/2/42
BELGIUM	sev-ul (3/4/41) 3/5/41	sev-u 7/15/40	sev-l (6/29/41)	sev-u 9/5/40	WAR-ul (^c)	sev-l (^d)	WAR-l (11/23/40)	WAR-l (12/20/41)	sev-l (^e)	
BOLIVIA	WAR-l (^f)				WAR-l (^f)	WAR-l (^f)	WAR-l (^f)	WAR-l (^f)	WAR-l (^f)	
BRAZIL					WAR-l (8/22/42)	sev-u 5/2/42	WAR-l (8/22/42)	sev-l 1/28/42	sev-u (3/6/42)	
CANADA			WAR-l 12/7/41	sev-l (11/9/42)	WAR-l 9/10/39	WAR-l 12/7/41	WAR-l 6/10/40	WAR-lu 12/7/41 (^b)	WAR-l 12/7/41	
Chile	sev-l (5/18/43)			sev-l (5/18/43)	sev-l 1/20/43	sev-l (5/18/43)	sev-l 1/20/43	sev-l 1/20/43	sev-l (5/18/43)	
CHINA				sev-l 8/1/43	WAR-l 12/9/41 midnight		WAR-l 12/9/41 midnight	WAR-l (12/9/41 midnight)		
COLOMBIA				sev-l 11/26/42	BEL-l (11/26/43)		sev-l 12/19/41	sev-l (12/8/41)		
C O S T A R I C A .					WAR-l 12/11/41	sev-l 5/15/42	WAR-l 12/11/41	WAR-l 12/8/41	sev-l 5/15/42	
CUBA				sev-l (11/9/42)	WAR-l 12/11/41		WAR-l 12/11/41	WAR-l 12/9/41		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA.	WAR-l (^g)		WAR-l (12/9/41) (^g)		WAR-l (12/9/41) (^g)	WAR-l (12/9/41) (^g)	WAR-l (12/9/41) (^g)	WAR-l (12/9/41) (^g)	WAR-l (12/9/41) (^g)	WAR-l (^g)
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.				sev-l 11/11/42 (^h)	WAR-l 12/11/41		WAR-l 12/11/41	WAR-l 12/8/41		
Ecuador					sev-l 1/29/42		sev-l 1/29/42	sev-l 1/29/42		
Egypt	sev-l 1/5/42		sev-l 1/5/42	sev-l (ⁱ)	sev-l (9/3/39)	sev-l 12/15/41	sev-l 6/12/40	sev-l 12/9/41	sev-l 12/15/41	sev-l (ⁱ)
EL SALVADOR.				sev-l 11/13/42	WAR-l (12/12/41)		WAR-l (12/12/41)	WAR-l (12/8/41)		
ETHIOPIA					WAR-l (12/1/42)		WAR-l (12/1/42)	WAR-l (12/1/42)		

TABLE 1—Continued
COUNTRIES AT WAR OR IN A STATE OF SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS—Continued

	Bulgaria	Denmark ^a	Finland	France	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Japan	Rumania	Thailand
France					WAR-I 9/3/39		WAR-u 6/11/40			
GREECE	WAR-u (^k)			sev-u (6/30/42)	WAR-u (4/6/41)	sev-u (6/24/41)	WAR-ul (^l) 10/28/40	sev-l 12/7/41	sev-u (6/24/41)	
GUATEMALA				sev-l 11/12/42	WAR-I (12/11/41)		WAR-I (12/11/41)	WAR-I (12/9/41)		
HAITI	WAR-I (12/24/41)			sev-l 11/10/42	WAR-I (12/12/41)	WAR-I (12/24/41)	WAR-I (12/12/41)	WAR-I (12/8/41)	WAR-lu (12/24/41)	
HONDURAS				sev-l (11/13/42)	WAR-I 12/13/41		WAR-I 12/13/41	WAR-I 12/8/41		
INDIA (^m)										
IRAN	sev-l 9/16/41				WAR-I 9/9/43	sev-l 9/16/41	sev-l 9/16/41	sev-l 4/13/42	sev-l 9/16/41	
IRAQ				sev-l (11/16/41)	WAR-I 1/16/43 midnight		WAR-I 1/16/43 midnight	WAR-I 1/16/43 midnight		
Italy					WAR-I (10/13/43)					
LIBERIA					WAR-I (1/27/44)			WAR-I (1/27/44)		
LUXEMBOURG	WAR-I (ⁿ)			sev-u 9/5/40	WAR-ul (ⁿ)	WAR-I (ⁿ)	WAR-I (ⁿ)	WAR-I (ⁿ)	WAR-I (ⁿ)	
MEXICO	sev-l 12/20/41			sev-l 11/9/42	WAR-I 5/22/42	sev-l 12/19/41	WAR-I 5/22/42	WAR-I 5/22/42	sev-l (^o)	
NETHERLANDS	sev-ul (3/4/41) 3/9/41	sev-ul 5/10/40 7/15/40 (^p)	sev-l (6/28/41)	sev-u 9/5/40	WAR-ul (^c) (5/10/40)	sev-l 4/9/41 (^q)	WAR-I 12/11/41	WAR-I (12/8/41)	sev-l 2/11/41	sev-l 12/9/41
NEW ZEALAND	WAR-I 12/13/41		WAR-I 12/7/41	sev-l (11/17/42)	WAR-I 9/3/39	WAR-I 12/7/41	WAR-I 6/11/40	WAR-lu (12/8/41) (^b)	WAR-I 12/7/41	WAR-I 1/25/42
NICARAGUA	WAR-I 12/19/41			sev-l (11/10/42)	WAR-I 12/11/41	WAR-I 12/19/41	WAR-I 12/11/41	WAR-I 12/8/41 (^r)	WAR-ul 12/19/41 12/19/41	
NORWAY		sev-u 7/15/40	sev-l (12/7/41)	sev-u 9/5/40	WAR-ul 4/8-9/40 4/8-9/40 (^s)		sev (^t)	sev-l (^u)	sev-l (^v)	
PANAMA				sev-l (11/13/42)	WAR-I (12/12/41)		WAR-I (12/12/41)	WAR-I 12/7/41		
Paraguay					sev-l 1/28/42		sev-l 1/28/42	sev-l 1/28/42		

TABLE I—Continued
COUNTRIES AT WAR OR IN A STATE OF SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS—Continued

	Bulgaria	Denmark ^a	Finland	France	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Japan	Rumania	Thailand
Peru				sev-lu (1/26/43) (1/26/43)	sev-l 1/24/42		sev-l 1/24/42	sev-l 1/24/42		
PHILIPPINES, COMMONWEALTH OF THE.										
POLAND ^(e)	sev-ul (3/4/41) 3/5/41		sev-u 6/24/41	sev-u 9/23/40	WAR-u 9/1/39 (<i>ε</i>)	sev-ul (<i>υ</i>)	sev (<i>ζ</i>)	WAR-l 12/11/41	sev-l 11/5/40 (<i>αα</i>)	
Saudi Arabia, Kingdom of.							(<i>bb</i>)			
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.	WAR-l 12/13/41		WAR-l 12/8/41	sev-l 4/23/42	WAR-l 9/6/39	WAR-l 12/8/41	WAR-l 6/11/40	WAR-lu 12/8/41 (<i>b</i>)	WAR-l 12/8/41	WAR-l 1/25/42
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIAL- IST RE- PUBLICS (<i>ω</i>).		sev-u (6/26/41)	WAR (<i>cc</i>)	sev-u (6/30/41)	WAR-u 6/22/41	WAR-u 6/27/41	WAR-u 6/22/41		WAR-u 6/22/41 (<i>dd</i>)	
UNITED KING- DOM.	WAR-ul (12/13/41) 12/13/41		WAR-l 12/7/41	sev-u (<i>ee</i>)	WAR-l 9/3/39	WAR-l 12/7/41	WAR-ul 6/11/40 6/11/40	WAR-ul 12/7/41 (12/8/41)	WAR-l 12/7/41	WAR-ul 1/25/42 1/25/42
Uruguay				sev-l (5/12/43)	sev-l 1/25/42	sev-u (5/4/42)	sev-l 1/25/42	sev-l 1/25/42		
Venezuela					sev-l 12/31/41		sev-l 12/31/41	sev-l 12/31/41		
YUGOSLA- VIA.	WAR-ul (<i>ff</i>) 4/6/41		sev-l (8/22/41)	sev-u 8/22/41	WAR-u 4/6/41	WAR-ul (<i>ff</i>) 4/10/41	WAR-u (4/6/41)	WAR-l 12/7/41	sev-l 5/9/41	

^a Although the name of Denmark appears in the upper row, it may be pointed out that that country was invaded by the Germans on Apr. 9, 1940, and since that date the Government of Denmark has been regarded by the Government of the United States as "a government which is patently acting under duress and which is in no sense a free agent" (Department of State *Bulletin*, Apr. 19, 1941, p. 470).

^b According to a telegram of Dec. 17, 1941 from the American Legation at Stockholm the Japanese Chargé at Stockholm was reported, in a Stockholm newspaper, to have stated that Japan considered itself at war with Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa as well as with the United States and Great Britain.

^c Germany invaded Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands on May 9-10, 1940. No record has been

found of a formal declaration of war between Germany and Belgium. On May 10, 1940, however, the Belgian Government declared in a note to foreign governments that the Belgian Army would defend Belgian national territory with all its force. On Dec. 20, 1941 the Belgian Ambassador at Washington informed the Secretary of State of a Belgian proclamation that war "exists" between Belgium and Japan, as it "already exists with Germany and Italy".

^d No record of a formal severance of diplomatic relations has been found, but according to telegrams from the American Minister at Budapest the Belgian Minister departed on Apr. 11, 1941 under instructions from his Government.

^e According to a telegram from the American Minister at Bucharest the Belgian Minister departed on Feb. 14, 1941. A despatch of Feb. 28, 1941 from the American

Minister to Rumania, in reporting the departure of the Belgian Minister from Bucharest, stated that the Belgian Minister indicated that this was not a "rupture" of relations. The note by which the Belgian Minister informed the Rumanian Government of his approaching departure explained that he was "called to other functions". He also added the information that, after his departure, the affairs of his Legation would be conducted by the Minister of the United States until other disposition was made by his Government.

^f A telegram of Apr. 27, 1943 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia to the Secretary of State of the United States reads in part as follows (in translation): "In harmony with the decree issued by my Government on the 7th day of the current month and year declaring a state of war between Bolivia and the nations of the Axis . . . Bolivia formally adheres by means of this communication to the declaration of the United Nations". On Nov. 26, 1943 the Bolivian Congress approved Bolivia's adherence to the Declaration by United Nations, and it sanctioned the Bolivian decree of Apr. 7, 1943 by which a state of war was declared to exist between Bolivia and the Axis powers. A Bolivian decree formally declaring that Bolivia is at war with the Axis powers was issued on Dec. 4, 1943.

^g A declaration which was broadcast from London on Dec. 9, 1941 by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Government stated: "The Czechoslovak Government proclaims that every country waging war against the British Empire and the Soviet Union or against the United States of America, becomes, automatically, and with all the relevant implications, an enemy of the Czechoslovak Republic". Czechoslovakia is indicated in the table as being at war with Bulgaria and Thailand, although neither of them was at war with the British Empire, the Soviet Union, or the United States until after Dec. 9, 1941. A document dated London, Dec. 16, 1941, and described in a note of Oct. 20, 1943 from the Czechoslovak Embassy at Washington as "the official text of the Declaration of a State of War", reads in part as follows: "I hereby proclaim that the Czechoslovak Republic is in a state of war with all countries which are in a state of war with Great Britain, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics or the United States of America, and that the state of war between the Czechoslovak Republic on one side, Germany and Hungary on the other, has been in existence since the moment when the Governments of these countries committed acts of violence against the security, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic".

^h Dominican official representatives in France were recalled on Nov. 11, 1942. Relations between the two countries are considered "virtually broken".

ⁱ According to the Jan. 7, 1942 issue of *Progrès Egyptien*, the Under Secretary of the Egyptian Foreign Office said: "Strictly speaking a rupture of diplomatic relations between the Egyptian Government and the Government of Vichy has not taken place. It is simply an interruption or cessation of these relations. This measure aims only at the official representation of the Government of Vichy,

it does not imply any modification of the status of French nationals".

^j Date uncertain; apparently Mar. 5, 1942 or earlier.

^k Bulgaria announced on Apr. 24, 1941 that a state of war existed in those areas of Greece and Yugoslavia occupied by Bulgarian troops.

^l Italy attacked Greece on Oct. 28, 1940.

^m Separate announcements, to accord with various actions taken by the United Kingdom, were published in the *Gazette of India*. For example, as regards Germany, the announcement reads as follows: "I, Victor Alexander John, Marquess of Linlithgow, Governor-General of India and *ex-officio* Vice-Admiral therein, being satisfied thereof by information received by me, do hereby proclaim that war has broken out between His Majesty and Germany".

ⁿ The German Minister to Luxembourg informed the Luxembourg Foreign Office on May 10, 1940 that "the Government of the Reich is forced to extend to Luxembourg territory the military operations started upon". The Luxembourg Government has on various occasions indicated that it is fighting for the independence of the country, and in a note of Sept. 8, 1942 to the Secretary of State the Minister of Luxembourg at Washington stated that the Luxembourg Government considered itself in a state of war with the Axis powers.

^o A statement issued by the Mexican Foreign Office on Dec. 23, 1941 relating to the declaration of war by Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania against the United States reads in part as follows (in translation): ". . . the Government of Mexico has resolved to declare its diplomatic relations with those nations to be severed. . . . As regards Rumania, it may be said that Mexico has no treaty of friendship with that country nor do diplomatic relations with it exist".

^p In a note of Apr. 2, 1943 to the Department of State the Netherlands Ambassador stated that the severance of diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Denmark must be considered to have become effective on May 10, 1940. In a telegram of July 17, 1940 to the Department of State the American Legation at Copenhagen, however, reported that the Danish Government had that morning confirmed reports of the recall of the Danish diplomatic representatives from Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway. The Danish Foreign Office added that the activities of these offices had ended as of July 15.

^q The Netherlands Chargé at Budapest informed the Hungarian Foreign Office on Apr. 9, 1941 that he had been instructed by his Government to leave Hungary. According to a note of Apr. 2, 1943 from the Netherlands Ambassador at Washington to the Department of State, the Netherlands Chargé at Budapest left Hungary on Apr. 9, 1941, and the Ambassador informed the Department that the decision of the Netherlands Government to sever diplomatic relations with the Hungarian Government was made on Apr. 8, 1941. A telegram of Apr. 11, 1941 from the American Legation at Budapest to the Department stated that the Netherlands Chargé left Budapest for Moscow at noon on Apr. 11.

^r Nicaraguan newspapers of Dec. 9, 1941 printed a manifesto of the President of Nicaragua declaring that the

Nicaraguan Government "finds itself under the necessity of considering Nicaragua in a state of war 'de hecho' with Japan pending the legal declaration of such status by the National Congress" (translation). On the same date the Nicaraguan Congress resolved that "From the eighth day of the current month a state of war has existed between the Republic of Nicaragua and the Empire of Japan" (translation). The President of Nicaragua signed the resolution on Dec. 10. The American Minister at Managua telegraphed to the Department on Dec. 11 as follows: "Minister of Foreign Affairs informs me that a formal declaration of war against Japan has been passed by Congress, has been signed by President Somoza and is in effect today."

⁸ Germany attacked Norway on the night of Apr. 8-9, 1940. The Apr. 26, 1940 issue of the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, teil 1, no. 74, p. 677, contains a decree of the Führer for the Exercising of Governmental Authority in Norway, Apr. 24, 1940, which reads as follows (in translation): "The Nygaardsvold [Premier of Norway] Government through its proclamation and conduct, as well as the military fighting that is taking place as a result of its will, has created a state of war between Norway and the German Reich". In an undated telegram received by the Department of State on Apr. 9, 1940 at 12:04 a.m., the American Minister at Oslo (Mrs. Harriman) stated: "Foreign Minister informs me . . . that Norway is at war with Germany". A telegram of Apr. 11, 1940 from the American Legation at Stockholm reported that Mrs. Harriman had stated in a telephone conversation at 3:30 p.m. "that the Norwegian Foreign Minister had told her that Norway has not declared war on Germany but at the same time as Norway had been attacked she considers herself at war". In a telegram of Apr. 29 the American Legation at Stockholm stated that a declaration issued by the Norwegian Government declared that the "Norwegian Government has been aware of this state of war ever since night between April eighth and ninth".

¹ No record of a formal severance of diplomatic relations has been found, but on June 13, 1940 the diplomatic representative of Norway left Rome.

² Date uncertain; presumably about Dec. 9, 1941.

³ No record of a formal severance of diplomatic relations has been found, but the Norwegian Minister to Rumania, who was also accredited to Yugoslavia, left Bucharest on Feb. 21, 1941 to take up his residence at Belgrade.

⁴ On Apr. 26, 1943 the Soviet Government sent to the Polish Embassy at Moscow a note, dated Apr. 25, in which it announced the decision "to suspend its relations with the Polish Government".

⁵ German troops invaded Poland on Sept. 1, 1939. No record of a formal declaration of war has been found, but a proclamation issued by Hitler to the German armed forces and broadcast on Sept. 1, 1939 reads in part as follows (in translation): "The Polish State has refused the peaceful arrangement of neighborly relations striven for by me; instead it has appealed to arms . . . To put an end to these mad doings no other means are left me than from now on to pit force against force".

⁷ In a note of Dec. 24, 1940 to the Hungarian Government the Polish Minister at Budapest referred to the note of Dec. 7, 1940 from the Hungarian Government requesting that the necessary measures be taken to end all activities of the Polish Legation at Budapest, and he informed the Hungarian Government that he had consulted his Government and had received pertinent instructions and that the Polish Legation at Budapest would cease its activities on Jan. 1, 1941.

⁸ No record of a formal severance of diplomatic relations has been found, but on June 13, 1940 the diplomatic representative of Poland left Rome. On June 13 the Polish Ambassador at Washington informed an officer of the Department of State that according to a telegram he had received from his Government "the relationship between the Polish and the Italian Governments would be similar to that between the British and the French Governments on the one hand and the Soviet Government on the other hand during the recent period when the French and the British Ambassadors were absent from their posts at Moscow".

^{9a} The departure of the Polish diplomatic and consular representatives in Rumania was characterized in the Polish Embassy's note to the Foreign Office as a "suspension" of Polish-Rumanian relations.

^{9b} About February 1942 the Italian Legation at Jidda was closed at the request of the Saudi Arabian Government but with the explicit statement by the Saudi Arabian Government that the removal of the Italian Legation personnel did not constitute a rupture of diplomatic relations.

^{9c} A statement of the Finnish Government to the press concerning the announcement made by the Prime Minister of Finland in the session of the Diet, June 25, 1941, reads as follows (in translation furnished by the Finnish Government): "Prime Minister Rangell made a review of the present situation and the facts which had led to it. The Prime Minister stated that Finland became the object of an aggression from the part of the Soviet Union on the morning, June 25th, when the Soviet Union began military operations against Finland, on account of which Finland has resorted to self-defense with all military means in her power.

"Having heard this the Prime Minister's statement the Diet unanimously gave the Government their full votes of confidence."

^{9d} Rumania attacked certain Soviet territory on June 22, 1941 with a view to re-possessing it. No record of a formal declaration of war has been found. On June 22 General Antonescu, Chief of the Rumanian State, issued a proclamation to the Rumanian Army, which reads in part as follows (in translation): "Fight for the liberation of our brothers of Bessarabia and Bucovina . . . Victory will be ours. On to battle". In a proclamation to the Nation on the same day he said "I call you to battle . . . The holy war has begun".

^{9e} On July 5, 1940 the American Embassy in France reported to the Department of State that orders had been sent recalling the French Chargé at London. In a telegram of July 7, 1940 the American Embassy at London informed

the Department of State (1) that the French Chargé on July 7 informally advised the British Foreign Office of the severance of relations and (2) that on July 8 the French Chargé would deliver a formal note.

"Bulgaria and Hungary are declared by the Yugoslav Government to have participated in the German attack of early April 1941 upon Yugoslavia. Bulgaria announced on Apr. 24, 1941 that a state of war existed in those areas of Greece and Yugoslavia occupied by Bulgarian troops. Admiral Horthy's command of Apr. 10, 1941 to the Hungarian Army reads in part as follows (in translation): "Duty again calls us to hasten to help such of our Hungarian blood as were detached from us. . . . Forward, to the thousand-year frontier to the south!"

TABLE II

SIGNATORIES OF THE DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS, JANUARY 1, 1942, AND ADHERENTS TO THE DECLARATION

SIGNATORIES

America, United States of	India
Australia	Luxembourg
Belgium	Netherlands
Canada	New Zealand
China	Nicaragua
Costa Rica	Norway
Cuba	Panama
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Dominican Republic	Union of South Africa
El Salvador	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Greece	United Kingdom
Guatemala	Yugoslavia
Haiti	
Honduras	

ADHERENTS

Country	Date of notification of adherence	Date on which an official representative of the country affixed his signature to the Declaration
Bolivia	Apr. 27, 1943	May 5, 1943
Brazil	Feb. 8, 1943 ^a	Apr. 10, 1943
Colombia	Dec. 22, 1943	Jan. 17, 1944
Ethiopia	July 28, 1942	Mar. 7, 1944
Iran	Sept. 10, 1943 ^b	Sept. 14, 1943
Iraq	Jan. 16, 1943	Apr. 10, 1944
Liberia	Feb. 26, 1944	Apr. 10, 1944
Mexico	June 5, 1942	June 10, 1942
Philippines, Commonwealth of the.	June 10, 1943	June 14, 1942

^a The Brazilian notification, a note of Feb. 8, 1943 from the Brazilian Ambassador at Washington to the Secretary of State, stated, in translation, ". . . by act of the 6th of this month Brazil declared formal adherence to the Declaration of the United Nations".

^b The Iranian notification, a note of Sept. 10, 1943 from the Iranian Minister at Washington, stated, ". . . by act of the 9th day of this month Iran declares the existence of a state of war with Germany and formally adheres to the Declaration of the United Nations".

TABLE III

COUNTRIES AND AUTHORITIES DECLARED ELIGIBLE FOR LEND-LEASE AID

The following list of countries and authorities declared by the President of the United States to be eligible for lend-lease aid is reproduced from the *Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations* to December 31, 1943 (H. Doc. 497, 78th Cong., pp. 60-61). The dates on which such eligibility was declared are also given from the same source.

Argentina	May 6, 1941
Australia	Nov. 11, 1941
Belgium	June 13, 1941
Bolivia	May 6, 1941
Brazil	May 6, 1941
Canada	Nov. 11, 1941
Chile	May 6, 1941
China	May 6, 1941
Colombia	May 6, 1941
Costa Rica	May 6, 1941
Cuba	May 6, 1941
Czechoslovakia	Jan. 5, 1942
Dominican Republic	May 6, 1941
Ecuador	May 6, 1941
Egypt	Nov. 11, 1941
El Salvador	May 6, 1941
Ethiopia	Dec. 7, 1942
French Committee of National Liberation ^c	Nov. 11, 1941
	Nov. 13, 1942
Greece	Mar. 11, 1941
Guatemala	May 6, 1941
Haiti	May 6, 1941
Honduras	May 6, 1941
Iceland	July 1, 1941
India	Nov. 11, 1941
Iran	Mar. 10, 1942
Iraq	May 1, 1942
Liberia	Mar. 10, 1942
Mexico	May 6, 1941
Netherlands	Aug. 21, 1941
New Zealand	Nov. 11, 1941
Nicaragua	May 6, 1941
Norway	June 4, 1941
Panama	May 6, 1941
Paraguay	May 6, 1941
Peru	May 6, 1941
Poland	Aug. 28, 1941
Saudi Arabia	Feb. 18, 1943
South Africa	Nov. 11, 1941
Turkey	Nov. 7, 1941
United Kingdom	Mar. 11, 1941
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Nov. 7, 1941
Uruguay	May 6, 1941
Venezuela	May 6, 1941
Yugoslavia	Nov. 11, 1941

^c "Territory under the jurisdiction of the French National Committee was declared eligible to receive lend-lease aid on November 11, 1941. . . . French North and West Africa were declared eligible to receive lend-lease aid on November 13, 1942. On September 25, 1943, a Lend-Lease Modus Vivendi Agreement governing lend-lease aid and reciprocal aid was entered into with the French Committee of National Liberation, successor to the French National Committee and to the Haut Commandement en Chef Civile et Militaire established in French North and West Africa after the events of November 1942." [Footnote in H. Doc. 497.]

TABLE IV

GOVERNMENTS OR AUTHORITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE WAR

A press release of the Department of State which was issued on June 11, 1943 in connection with the publication of the Draft Agreement for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration listed the following countries as "nations associated with the United Nations in this war" (Department of State *Bulletin*, June 12, 1943, p. 524) :

Chile	Iceland	Peru
Colombia ^a	Iran ^a	Uruguay
Ecuador	Liberia ^a	Venezuela
Egypt	Paraguay	

Official representatives at the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, Hot Springs, Va., May 18-June 3, 1943, included (a) representatives of all the United Nations, (b) representatives of the 11 above-mentioned "nations associated with the United Nations in this war", (c) representatives of the French Delegation, and (d) the Honorable Henrik de Kauffmann, Danish Minister at Washington, who attended in response to an invitation of the Government of the United States to be present in a personal capacity.

Representatives of groups (a), (b), and (c) listed above, and Mr. de Kauffmann, were "designated by the United and Associated Nations as representatives" on the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture (Department of State *Bulletin*, July 17, 1943, p. 34).

The Draft Agreement for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration referred to in the first paragraph of this table was revised as a result of study and discussion by the governments concerned. A revised text was signed on Nov. 9, 1943 by representatives of the governments concerned and the French Committee of National Liberation. The agreement begins as follows (Executive Agreement Series 352) :

"The Governments or Authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

"Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war".

TABLE V

AMERICAN REPUBLICS SIGNATORIES OF PLEDGES OF MUTUAL AID AGAINST AGGRESSION

Pledges of mutual aid against aggression, of hemisphere solidarity, etc., have been undertaken by all the American

^a Colombia, Iran, and Liberia have adhered to the Declaration by United Nations (see table I).

republics in instruments adopted at various inter-American conferences and meetings. The 21 American republics, all of which have broken off relations with or have declared war against the Axis, are as follows :

America, United States of	Cuba	Mexico
Argentina	Dominican Republic	Nicaragua
Bolivia	Ecuador	Panama
Brazil	El Salvador	Paraguay
Chile	Guatemala	Peru
Colombia	Haiti	Uruguay
Costa Rica	Honduras	Venezuela

TABLE VI

COUNTRIES IN A STATE OF ARMISTICE RELATIONS

France

An armistice between France and Germany was signed on June 22, 1940, 6:50 p.m., German summer time. Article XXIII provided that the armistice "becomes effective as soon as the French Government also has reached an agreement with the Italian Government regarding cessation of hostilities" and that "Hostilities will be stopped six hours after the moment at which the Italian Government has notified the German Government of conclusion of its agreement" (translation transmitted by the Associated Press in Berlin and published in certain American newspapers on June 26, 1940).

An armistice between France and Italy was signed on June 24, 1940, 7:15 p.m., Rome time. Article XXV provided that the armistice "will become effective upon signature" and that "Hostilities will cease . . . six hours from the moment in which the Italian Government communicates to the German Government the conclusion of this agreement" (same source).

The Italian Government notified the German Government on June 24, 1940, 7:35 p.m., Rome time, of the signing of the French-Italian armistice. Hostilities accordingly ceased on June 25, 1940, 1:35 a.m., Rome time (12:35 a.m., French time).

Italy

An announcement which was issued by the Allied headquarters in North Africa at noon on September 8, 1943 and which was read over the radio by General Eisenhower beginning at noon on September 8, 1943 reads in part as follows: "Some weeks ago the Italian Government made an approach to the British and American Governments with a view to concluding an armistice. . . . The Armistice was signed . . . on September third, but it was agreed . . . that the Armistice should come into force at a moment most favorable for the Allies, . . . That moment has now arrived. . . ."

TABLE VII
STATUS OF COUNTRIES IN RELATION TO THE WAR (SUMMARY)

		Bulgaria	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Japan	Poland	Rumania	Thailand	U.S.S.R.
America, United States of	H U	W			S	W	W	a	W		W	(W)	
Argentina	H L	S			S	S	S		S		W		
Australia	L U	W		W	S	W	W	(a)	W		W	W	
Belgium	L U	S	(S)	S	S	W	(S)	(a)	W		(S)		
Bolivia	H L U					W		(a)	W				
Brazil	H L U					W	S	(a)	S		S		
Canada	L U			W	S	W	W	(a)	W		W		
Chile	A H L	S			S	S	S	S	S		S		
China	L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Colombia	H L U				S	B		S	S				
Costa Rica	H L U					W	S	(a)	W		W		
Cuba	H L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Czechoslovakia	L U	(W)		W		W	W	(a)	W		W	(W)	
Dominican Republic	H L U				(S)	W		(a)	W				
Ecuador	A H L				S	S		S	S				
Egypt	A L	S		S	(S)	S	S	S	S		S	S	
El Salvador	H L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Ethiopia	L U					W		(a)	W				
France						a		a		S			S
French Committee of National Liberation	A L												
Greece	L U	(W)			S	W	S	(a)	S		S		
Guatemala	H L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Haiti	H L U	W			S	W	W	(a)	W		W		
Honduras	H L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Iceland	A L												
India	L U	(W)		(W)	(S)	(W)	(W)	(a)	(W)		(W)	(W)	
Iran	L U	S				W	S	S	S		S		
Iraq	L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Italy					a	W				(S)			(a)
Liberia	L U					W			W				
Luxembourg	U	W			S	W	W	(a)	W		W		
Mexico	H L U	S			S	W	S	(a)	W		(S)		
Netherlands	L U	S	(S)	S	S	W	S	(a)	W		S	S	
New Zealand	L U	W		W	S	W	W	(a)	W		W	W	
Nicaragua	H L U	W			S	W	W	(a)	W		W		
Norway	L U		(S)	S	S	W		(S)	S		(S)		
Panama	H L U				S	W		(a)	W				
Paraguay	A H L					S		S	S				
Peru	A H L				S	S		S	S				

TABLE VII—Continued

		Bulgaria	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Japan	Poland	Rumania	Thailand	U.S.S.R.
Philippines, Commonwealth of the.....	U												
Poland.....	L U	S		S	S	W	(S)	(S)	W		(S)		(S)
Saudi Arabia.....	L							(S)					
Turkey.....	L												
Union of South Africa.....	L U	W		W	S	W	W	(a)	W		W	W	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	L U		(S)	W	S	W	W	(a)		(S)	W		
United Kingdom.....	L U	W		W	S	W	W	a	W		W	W	
Uruguay.....	A H L				S	S	S	S	S				
Venezuela.....	A H L					S	S	S	S				
Yugoslavia.....	L U	(W)		S	S	W	W	(a)	W		S		

A—Governments or authorities associated with the United Nations in the war.

a—In a state of armistice relations.

B—In a "state of belligerency".

H—American republics, signatories of pledges of hemisphere solidarity, mutual aid against aggression, etc.

L—Declared eligible for lend-lease aid; i. e., declared to be a country or entity the defense of which is vital to the defense of the United States.

S—In a state of severed diplomatic relations or a state which has some of the characteristics of severed diplomatic relations.

U—Signatory of or adherent to the Declaration by United Nations.

W—At war, either by formal declaration or *de facto*.

Letters enclosed in parentheses indicate that the situation is open to different interpretations; for details see table I and the footnotes thereto.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Message of President Roosevelt ¹

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE: I send you greetings and a warm welcome. We are glad to have you in the United States. It is a privilege to welcome on our soil for the third time a general conference of your great organization. The Conference that opens today is most significant in the annals of international gatherings. The mere fact that, in the tradition of the founders of the International Labor Organization, the Conference still maintains its distinctive democratic tripartite character, is in itself of significance. As part of the regular constitutional machinery of the I.L.O., it also testifies to the vitality of one of the few international organizations which have continued to function throughout the war. The determination

on the part of its member states that the I.L.O. should continue its activities during the war years is evidence of the indestructible tenacity of the democratic way of life. As representatives of the practical affairs of these nations—not only of their governments but also of their workers and employers—you have come together to make plans and recommendations for the continuing improvement of labor standards and for raising the standard of living of the world's people.

The tasks you are undertaking, even at the moment when the tide of war is mounting, bear testimony to the fact that the welfare of the

¹Read to the opening session of the Conference at Philadelphia, Pa., Apr. 20, 1944, by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.

world's population and their liberty are a first and an ultimate concern of those dedicated to root out from this earth every trace of Nazi ideas and Nazi methods. We know that the conditions of a lasting peace can be secured only through soundly-organized economic institutions, fortified by humane labor standards, regular employment, and adequate income for all the people. Within the field of your activity the United Nations have no need to extemporize a new organization—the ways and means for obtaining this underwriting of a permanent peace are among the items on the agenda of your Conference. In your recommendations will lie the foundation of those agreements in the field of labor and social standards which must be part of any permanent international arrangement for a decent world. The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, has already publicly announced that the Government of the United States is now working on plans for an international organization to maintain peace. He has also referred to the “economic and other cooperative arrangements” which must be made in order that the peoples of the world may “have the opportunity

through their own efforts to improve their material condition”. As part of these plans and international arrangements, I see in the I. L. O. a permanent instrument of representative character for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field.

I see it as a body with the requisite authority to formulate and secure the adoption of those basic minimum standards that shall apply throughout the world to the conditions of employment. As part of these arrangements, also, I see in the I. L. O. an organization which shall serve the world for investigation and research, for discussion and debate. But more than that—it must be the agency for decision and for action on those economic and social matters related to the welfare of working people which are practical for industry and designed to enhance the opportunities for a good life for peoples the world over. It is to the I. L. O. that we shall look as the official international organization where ideas, experience, and movements in the field of labor and social development may find practical and effective expression.

Message of the Secretary of State ¹

I am happy to extend my cordial greetings to the twenty-sixth session of the International Labor Conference.

You are not strangers in this country. Your first session, held in Washington in 1919, laid historic foundations for your work, and your most recent session, in New York in 1941, expressed the determination of free peoples the world over to carry this war on to victory and to restore and strengthen the liberty, the dignity, and the inalienable rights of man.

You are meeting in a city in which, many years ago, our forefathers met in conference to pioneer these fields. From their debates emerged the Declaration of Independence which proclaimed the self-evident truths that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A few years later in another conference in Philadelphia the Constitution of the United States was framed “to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, promote the general

welfare and secure the blessings of liberty” for themselves and their posterity.

Twenty-five years ago the same “sentiments of justice and humanity” led to the creation of the International Labor Organization. Designed to deal with those labor conditions which involve “such injustice, hardship and privation . . . that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled”, the International Labor Organization also was designed as a great pillar in the arch of peace and security. It too proclaimed the need of tranquility and the promotion of the common welfare. Just twenty-five years ago this month a little band of courageous and determined men were busy organizing the first session of this Conference, which was held in Washington in October 1919.

No groups have larger stakes in both the economic and social aspects of international cooperation than those represented at the Inter-

¹ Sent to the Conference on Apr. 21, 1944.

national Labor Conference. We are fortunate indeed to have the machinery of a well-established and experienced organization to facilitate international collaboration in matters directly affecting the interests and problems of employers and workers. The agenda of your present session shows both how far you have progressed and how far we have still to go.

The interdependence of nations, to which this Conference draws dramatic attention, has been driven home upon us with increasing force. We have learned that deep-seated economic and social evils cannot be cured by the action of any one country alone. Accordingly, it is essential that this Conference should lay down a program which will increase still further the effectiveness of the International Labor Organization in the difficult days to come and to assist us in directing national and international policies to the advancement of the basic and permanent interests of all peoples.

FIFTH PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL DIRECTORS OF HEALTH

[Released to the press April 18]

The President has approved the designation of the following persons to represent this Government at the Fifth Pan American Conference of National Directors of Health, which will be held in Washington from April 22 to April 29, 1944:

Surg. Gen. Thomas Parran, Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, *chairman*

Senior Surg. R. E. Bodet, Public Health Service, Assistant Chief, Foreign Quarantine Division

Capt. F. J. Carter, Medical Corps, U.S.N., Chief, Preventive Medicine Division, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Department of the Navy

Medical Director G. L. Dunnahoo, Public Health Service, Chief, Foreign Quarantine Division

Brig. Gen. J. S. Simmons, Medical Corps, U.S.A., Chief, Preventive Medicine, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of War

Asst. Surg. Gen. R. C. Williams, Public Health Service, in charge of Bureau of Medical Services

Among the topics for discussion at the meeting are wartime and post-war prevention of the international spread of communicable diseases, the advisability of changing the present international agreements with reference to problems affecting quarantine safeguards and sanitary control of air

navigation, and post-war policies affecting international health.

FIRST WEST INDIAN CONFERENCE

[Released to the press April 18]

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission announced on April 18, 1944, through the State Department, that the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, of the Virgin Island group of the United States, are the first territories represented at the recent West Indian Conference in Barbados¹ to accept and endorse the conference report.

Ten colonies and territories of the Caribbean region were represented at the First West Indian Conference held March 21-30 at Barbados, British West Indies, under the auspices of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Delegates and advisers were present from the Bahamas, Barbados, Leeward Islands, Windward Islands, Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, British Honduras, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands of the United States.

Valdemar A. Hill, chairman of the joint Municipal Council of St. Thomas-St. John, and delegate from those islands to the West Indian Conference, introduced the resolution into the Council, which met in formal session on April 13 and endorsed the Conference report by unanimous vote.

Europe

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE BELGIAN CONGO

[Released to the press April 21]

His Excellency Pierre Ryckmans, Governor General of the Belgian Congo, arrived in Washington April 21 and will remain several days as the guest of the Government at the Blair-Lee House.

The Honorable Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, gave a dinner in honor of Mr. Ryckmans at the Carlton Hotel, the evening of the twenty-first.

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 262.

American Republics

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF COSTA RICA

The President-elect of Costa Rica, His Excellency Tedoró Picado, accompanied by Señora de Picado, will arrive in Washington on April 25, where he will be a guest of the Government until his departure on April 27. The program for the visit was announced by the Department of State in a press release (no. 143) on April 22.

DISTINGUISHED VISITOR FROM THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Dr. Manuel González-Montesinos, who is professor of comparative literature and public-relations officer of the National University of Mexico, has arrived in Washington as the guest of the Department of State. He plans to visit Harvard, Yale, Columbia, the University of California, and probably the Universities of Chicago and Michigan. Dr. González-Montesinos also intends to re-visit the University of Texas, where he has already given a series of lectures on the literary relationships of Spain and France with Mexico,

in order to do research in the Genaro García Library, which possesses one of the most important Mexican collections in existence.

Australasia

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA

[Released to the press April 20]

The Right Honorable John Curtin, Prime Minister of Australia, and Mrs. Curtin will arrive in Washington on Sunday, April 23, and will remain several days as the guests of the Government at the Blair House.

The Prime Minister's party is made up as follows:

The Right Honorable John Curtin, Prime Minister of Australia
Mrs. Curtin
Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, Commander in Chief of A.M.F.
Sir Frederick Shedden, Under Secretary of War
Mr. F. A. McLaughlin, Private Secretary
Mr. D. K. Rodgers, Press Secretary
Maj. D. H. Dwyer, Personal Assistant to the Commander in Chief
Mr. S. Landau, Personal Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Defense

Publications

THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE DEPARTMENT'S "NEW PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM"

By *E. Wilder Spaulding*¹

Fifteen years ago the Department of State inaugurated a "new publications program". In spite of the repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles, this Government's interests in the outside world had been steadily increasing. The interested public and officials alike were beginning to urge that it was the Department's responsibility to provide a really adequate printed record of our foreign policies that would be readily available to all who chose to read it. Mimeographed announcements and occasional pamphlets were not enough.

A distinguished group of scholars, publicists, and international lawyers came to Washington, Congressional hearings were held, generous appropriations were granted by the Congress, and the new publications program was launched under Dr. Tyler Dennett, the Historical Adviser, on October 1, 1929.

The program envisioned by the planners of 1929 was intended to provide basic documentary ma-

¹ The author of this article is Acting Chief of the Division of Research and Publication.

terial in permanent and systematic form. First and foremost, the series *Foreign Relations of the United States*, which was lagging sadly, was to be brought much more nearly up to date. Dr. Hunter Miller was to do a monumental edition of annotated treaty texts, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States*. The Department's press releases were to be printed each week in pamphlet form. Executive agreements of the United States were to appear in a series paralleling the ancient Treaty Series. Documentation on international conferences and arbitrations was to be brought together in well-defined series. Other series were arranged to include publications regarding the several geographic areas and other subjects like immigration and maps. The work on the *Statutes at Large* was to be continued in the Office of the Historical Adviser and that Office was also to prepare for publication the old records of the continental territories of the United States.

The new program started slowly. In 1931 Dr. Miller succeeded Dr. Dennett as Historical Adviser, and another change took place in 1933 when Dr. Cyril Wynne and his new Division of Research and Publication took over the publishing work. Those men, however, never lost sight of the broad objectives, and they received constant support and encouragement from committees on the Department's publications that were appointed by various professional associations. New projects, like the splendid *Digest of International Law* prepared by the Legal Adviser, Green H. Hackworth, were incorporated into the program.

The past publishing year represented a high point in the fulfilment of the plan of 1929. It was doubtless the most successful year in the history of State Department publishing. Quantitatively it was an advance over all previous years in spite of the many far-reaching economies necessitated by the war. Mailing lists were reduced, formats were cheapened, and non-essential publications were eliminated so that the essential printing could continue. But most significant of all was the fact that the war itself made it important to hasten projects already under way and to inaugurate new ones. The volume *Peace and War*, which outlined Secretary Hull's foreign policies from 1931 to Pearl Harbor, attracted nation-wide

attention, was translated into several foreign languages, and was sold in tens of thousands. *National Socialism*, also inspired by the war, was another best-seller.

Never before had seven *Foreign Relations* volumes been published within a year's time. There were three of the regular annual volumes—for 1928 and 1929, two on the Paris Peace Conference, and two on relations with Japan from 1931 to 1941. Not for many years had volumes in that series appeared with papers as recent as the correspondence printed in the two large Japan volumes. The year 1943 saw the publication of volumes V, VI, and VII of Mr. Hackworth's *Digest of International Law*, thus completing the series except for the index volume which has only recently been sent to press. It saw the completion of Dr. Marjorie M. Whiteman's three-volume *Damages in International Law*. A sizeable volume on Michigan Territory was the eleventh in the *Territorial Papers* series which is edited by Dr. Clarence E. Carter in the Division of Research and Publication. Documents on the Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture and on the Atlantic City Conference on Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation appeared in the Conference Series. There were over 70 numbers in the Executive Agreement Series.

The weekly Department of State *Bulletin*, which succeeded the printed *Press Releases* in 1939, became increasingly useful, as evidenced by a rapidly growing mailing list, to other Government agencies interested in foreign policy and came to be more and more widely recognized by writers in the field as the authoritative source for the texts of this Government's pronouncements on foreign policy. The *Bulletin* now contains an ever-increasing amount of data especially prepared for publication in its pages.

The Department announced on April 16, 1944 the publication of the second and third *Foreign Relations* volumes for 1929. Their publication means that there is now in print considerable official documentation on American foreign policy for every year since 1861: *Foreign Relations* for the years 1861 through 1929, the printed *Press Releases* from 1929 to 1939, and the Department of State *Bulletin* from 1939 to the present. Thus the

Department has, to that extent, now filled the documentary gap between the past and the present of our foreign policies.

It was a disappointment to those concerned with the publishing program that all of the 1929 *Foreign Relations* volumes did not appear in 1943. It is to be expected, however, that war will produce many conditions that are unfavorable to the maintenance of a thoroughly satisfactory publications schedule. War brings shortages in personnel, in printing funds, and in paper, and it

produces troublesome delays of many varieties. On the other hand, the Department of State realizes, as evidenced by the recent formation of the Office of Public Information of which the Division of Research and Publication is a part, that a continuously expanding information policy is one of its primary responsibilities in these critical times, and there is therefore reason to hope that the year 1943 will not too long remain the high point in the Department's publishing program.

"PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1929" VOLUMES II AND III

[Released to the press April 16]

The Department of State released on April 16 the second and third of three volumes¹ containing a documentary record of American diplomacy for the year 1929. The volumes now released contain nearly two thousand pages of documents arranged under the following country headings:

Volume II: Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, and Germany.

Volume III: Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Irish Free State, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Persia, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Spain, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

A dozen different topics are treated in the section on Canada, the common frontier giving rise to questions relating to liquor smuggling, fisheries, apportionment of waters, inland navigation, aircraft, and radio.

The China section comprises more than two thirds of volume II because of the extensive correspondence with respect to problems relating to continued civil war, extraterritoriality, and the Sino-Soviet dispute over the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. In respect to the last of these issues, the Kellogg-Briand pact for the renunciation of war was invoked by the United States.

¹ For release of volume I, see BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1943, p. 433.

Documents in the section on Germany deal for the most part with the Young plan for reparations and with payments owed by Germany for the costs of the American army of occupation and other claims. The American Government still held to its policy of complete separation of Allied debts owed to the United States from reparation payments sought from Germany.

Volume III opens with reports on the visit to Washington of the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. Conferences at the Rapidan camp and in Washington considered questions of prohibition enforcement, freedom of the seas, amendment of the Kellogg pact, and naval matters. Another topic of interest in the section on Great Britain is that of the protection of American lives and property endangered by riots in Palestine.

The section on Japan shows the difficulty of securing ratification by that nation of the Kellogg-Briand pact because of the fact that the commitments were made by the several governments "in the names of their respective peoples". Final ratification was made with the declaration by the Imperial Government that this phrase "viewed in the light of the provisions of the Imperial Constitution, is understood to be inapplicable in so far as Japan is concerned." Another group of documents relating to Japan tells of Japanese objection to visits by American naval vessels to unopened ports in the islands under mandate to Japan.

Other subjects presented in these volumes cover a wide range of political, economic, and legal prob-

lems of which the protection of motion-picture rights in France, rectification of the Rio Grande boundary between the United States and Mexico, reservation of American rights in Morocco, American interest in the oil fields of the Netherlands East Indies, assistance in the supervision of elections in Nicaragua, treaty relations with Panama, the question of compensation for American property taken by the Spanish Petroleum Monopoly, and the establishment of direct diplomatic relations between the United States and the Union of South Africa are only a few examples.

The volumes described above will be available to the public shortly and may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. The price for volume II (cxxxix, 1132 pp.) is \$2.50 and for volume III (cxiii, 885 pp.) is \$2.

The following publication has also been released by the Department:

Foreign Policy of the United States of America: Address by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, over the network of the Columbia Broadcasting System April 9, 1944. Publication 2006. 16 pp. 5c.

Legislation

Extension of Lend-Lease Act:

Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 4254. March 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, and 9, 1944. [Statement of Under Secretary of State Stettinius, pp. 31-41; statement of Assistant Secretary of State Acheson, pp. 119-141.] iv, 281 pp.

Index of Testimony During Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 4254. ii, 6 pp.

Foreign Policy of the United States: Address of the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, delivered April 9, 1944 over the radio network of the Columbia Broadcasting System. S. Doc. 181, 78th Cong. ii, 9 pp.

Investigation of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico: Appendix to Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st sess., pursuant to H. Res. 159. vi, 538 pp.

Requesting Certain Information From the President. H. Rept. 1361, 78th Cong., on H. Con. Res. 77. [Adverse report.] 1 p.

The Foreign Service

EMBASSY RANK FOR REPRESENTATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PORTUGAL

[Released to the press April 21]

The Government of the United States of America, having in mind the character and the growing importance of relations between the two countries, has expressed the intention of raising its legation in Lisbon to the rank of embassy and has expressed at the same time the hope that the Portuguese Government would accredit a representative from Portugal at Washington with equal rank.

The Portuguese Government, having taken note of this contemplated action with the greatest pleasure, has expressed its appreciation to the American Government for its initiative and has declared itself readily willing to reciprocate.

Accordingly, the two Governments have agreed to raise their respective legations at Washington and Lisbon to embassies.

CONSULAR OFFICES

The Department of State has been informed of the closing of the American Vice Consulate at Osorno, Chile, effective March 31, 1944, and the establishment of American consulates at San Sebastian, Spain, and Grenada, British West Indies, effective April 5 and 6, 1944, respectively.

Treaty Information

AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Ambassador of Mexico transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note of April 3, 1944, an authenticated copy of the decree published in the *Diario Oficial* of the United Mexican States on March 22, 1944, promulgating the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed in Washington on November 9, 1943.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

APRIL 29, 1914

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The War

ECONOMIC FOREIGN POLICY

Address by Harry C. Hawkins ¹

[Released to the press April 25]

My remarks this evening will relate mainly to the subject of economic foreign policy. This is a subject in which this organization has long shown a highly intelligent and constructive interest. The most important instrument of that policy for some years has been the reciprocal-trade-agreements program carried on under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934. This program has been consistently and effectively supported by the Federation and its member organizations. As recently as 1943, when the Trade Agreements Act was before Congress, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley appeared before the Ways and Means Committee to favor renewal of the act and to present a most excellent statement from your President, Mrs. John L. Whitehurst.

I

The problems of economic policy in the future will in many ways be different from those we have had to deal with in the past. The world is undergoing a tremendous upheaval that will create economic, social, and political problems of great variety and extreme difficulty for many years to come.

For the present and immediate future, of course, all problems cluster around the central one of winning the war. All considerations of foreign and domestic policy must be subordinated to those bearing upon the central problem of bringing the war to a successful conclusion.

For the future, the primary objective of foreign policy must be the preservation of the peace we are now fighting to attain.

War is the common source of most of the difficulties we faced before the present conflict and of those we will have to face when these hostilities end. A major part of the economic dislocations and social unrest that characterized the troubled 20 years prior to the outbreak of the present war were the direct outgrowth of the first world war. We were still wrestling with these problems when the second world war broke upon us. The present conflict will pile new problems and difficulties upon the old ones. A third world war would find us still trying to recover from the first and the second and might well create dislocations and problems with which we could not cope. Viewed in broad perspective, our civilization during the last 30 years seems to have taken a decidedly downward course. If we do not succeed in preventing a third world war this cumulative trend may well become a nose-dive from which we cannot pull out.

Therefore, the major problem of foreign policy for the post-war world will be to prevent the recurrence of war; to kill the evil parent of the brood of troubles that beset mankind.

Obviously there is no single, simple formula for implementing this major policy. Our policies in many fields must be made to contribute harmoniously to this end. They must support and not conflict with each other. They must be woven together, so to speak, in an orderly pattern for peace.

¹Delivered at the 53d annual meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, St. Louis, Mo., Apr. 25, 1944. Mr. Hawkins is the Director of the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of State.

There are two main parts of this broad pattern, or, to change the metaphor, two main supporting elements for the peace structure. The first of these is a carefully devised system of security, the essential feature of which is a suitable arrangement whereby the law-abiding nations will unite to curb outlaw elements in the society of nations. The second is the creation of a better world economic order, the essential purposes of which are to eliminate the economic causes of international friction and to reduce the poverty and distress which gangster elements in any nation can so effectively exploit to build up their own strength.

The problem of building the peace structure is like that of building a bridge. There must be solid support at both ends. No matter how well constructed the support may be at one end, there can be no bridge unless there is solid support at the other.

In considering the problem of how to create an enduring peace it is important that we all bear carefully in mind a further essential fact. This fact is that neither a system of collective security nor a sound economic system can work effectively without the other.

A world in which each nation is compelled to rely solely on itself for its own security cannot be a prosperous world. In such a world the people of each country would have to bear a very heavy burden of armaments. Moreover, as happened in the period between the wars, each nation would inevitably tend to subordinate sound economic considerations to measures designed to promote security. Each would tend to seek national economic self-sufficiency for security reasons, at great sacrifice to the economic welfare of its own people and those of other nations.

A sound economic order, therefore, depends upon the creation of a security system. But the reverse is also true: a collective security system depends upon the creation of a sound economic order. The security system would break down if economic conditions became too bad. Obviously the successful operation of such a system will depend much more upon the *readiness* to use force against outlaw nations than upon the actual *use*

of it. If economic conditions became so bad that desperate people were frequently turning to follow leaders of the gangster sort, force would have to be employed so often as to create a virtually constant state of war. A community in which the police are constantly engaged in gun-fights with outlaw elements is not a peaceful community.

II

In considering our economic foreign policies, therefore, we must remember that they are part of our general foreign policy; that they must serve not only economic ends but must supplement other foreign policies, all in the interest of attaining our major objective of creating an enduring peace.

We must also remember that each plan or policy for improving economic conditions must supplement rather than conflict with other economic plans and measures; in brief, that our economic foreign policy must make a harmonious pattern.

The most basic need in the post-war world will be the expansion of international trade. This is a basic and indispensable requirement. Most plans for creating better economic conditions in the post-war world have, or should have, this as one of their primary objects.

Policies relating to the creation and improvement of shipping and aviation services must keep in view the fact that these transportation industries are the servants of trade and that the maximum expansion of international trade requires the efficient service and low cost that tends to result from competition.

Internal measures which contribute to maintaining a high and steady level of employment are of interest to other nations because of the effect on international trade. A high and steady level of productive employment in any country is of benefit to others because it means the maintenance of a high and steady level of purchasing power for foreign goods and is, therefore, a highly important factor in maintaining a flourishing international trade.

Measures which will facilitate employment of investment capital by nations that have it, in developing the resources and industries on a sound

basis of countries where it is needed, bring about an increase in living standards in the countries where the funds are invested. Such investment is important from an international point of view because it increases purchasing power for foreign goods and results in an increase in international trade, which is the only way in which the investing country and the world at large can fully share in the wealth which such funds create.

Measures for the stabilization of currencies must have as a primary object the creation of conditions under which trade between nations can better flourish. Such measures are essential for this purpose and are an indispensable part of the post-war economic pattern.

Obviously it would make little sense for governments with one hand to go to such pains to create these facilities and conditions with a view to causing international trade to expand and with the other hand to erect trade barriers for the purpose of destroying it. An indispensable part of the pattern, therefore, is positive and vigorous action by governments to bring about a reduction of the barriers to trade by which they have sought to stifle it. If not prevented by restrictive government action millions of producers and traders throughout the world would spontaneously develop a thriving international trade which would not only serve their own interests but would create increased employment and raise living standards throughout the world.

There is a further reason why governments must refrain after the war from the kind of trade warfare in which they previously indulged. Not only do high tariffs and other such impediments to trade nullify all other measures for promoting it, but deliberately destructive measures of this sort are highly provocative and create friction and ill-feeling such as a mere failure to take positive trade-promotion measures would not. When a government, under pressure from special interests within the country, raises unreasonable or excessive tariffs or other restrictions against imports in order to shelter the special interests concerned from foreign competition, it not only injures its own consumers and export interests but strikes a

devastating blow at the vital interests of countries whose goods are shut out. Such trade restrictions create unemployment and the necessity for painful internal economic adjustments in the countries whose trade is cut down. They provoke retaliation and recrimination. They create a situation in which a spirit of international cooperation cannot develop, and a spirit of cooperation is the very cement which must hold together any world organization that may be established for the preservation of the peace.

It may be asked what it is going to cost us to cooperate with other nations in bringing about an expansion of trade. The answer is that we, like other countries, would not lose but, on the contrary, would gain enormously by it.

Foreign trade has always been important to us and will be even more so after the war. The great expansion of production as a result of the war and the further expansion of which we are capable, creates a need for wide and expanding markets, and the export of our surplus production will provide the means of obtaining from abroad the many things we lack and help to supply new deficiencies resulting from the depletion of our resources by the war. An expanding market of world-wide scope, therefore, means expanding prosperity in this country, as it does in others.

Nor do I believe there is ground for the fear sometimes expressed that because of the low wages and living standards prevailing in many parts of the world we will not be able to compete in the world market. The United States has a mature and highly developed economy. This country is known throughout the world for the efficiency of its labor, for its managerial skill, its inventive genius, and the quality and utility of its products. The economic giant of private enterprise here today recognizes that it does not need to cower behind tariff barricades in quaking fear of foreign competition.

III

The need for international action on the trade-barrier problem is self-evident. Finding an adequate solution will, however, be far from easy, if

past experience is any guide. Indeed, the trade-barrier problem may well be one of the rocks on which the post-war peace effort might founder.

It is highly important, therefore, that we make a most thoughtful analysis of the situation with which we will have to deal when the war is over and carefully make the best plans we can to meet it.

There will be a considerable period of time after hostilities cease during which the world will still be shaken by the gradually subsiding convulsions of war. There will be a period of transition from war to peace, a period during which the daily economic problems to be dealt with will be of an emergency character such as those with which we have had to deal during the war. There will be the necessity of providing relief for the starving and impoverished peoples in the areas devastated by the war or looted by the enemy. There will be shortages of shipping, scarcities of many products, and surpluses of others. Government controls which were necessary during the war will have to be maintained for a considerable period of time.

Obviously it would not be realistic during such a period to expect governments to relax their control and regulation of trade and to give free play to those ever-present forces of private enterprise which cause trade spontaneously to expand.

On the other hand, we cannot postpone action until the transition period has ended and until conditions which will come to be regarded as normal shall have been established. It would be fatal to the attainment of the ends in view to let matters drift at such a time.

To a greater extent than in any other period in history systems of production throughout the world will be in a fluid state.

In Europe the economic system will have been so completely disrupted that reconstruction will consist almost in starting anew to create an economic order.

In the United States and in most other countries, there has been a similar though, in most cases, a less extreme upheaval. Industries have been converted from peacetime to wartime production and when hostilities end there will be an almost universal problem of reconversion to peacetime pro-

duction. Businessmen will realize that the conditions under which they carried on their operations prior to the war will no longer exist; that the size and character of their market may have radically altered; that there are new problems of raw-material supply; and in general that the conditions under which they formerly carried on their peacetime operations have been radically changed as a consequence of war.

Moreover, to a larger extent than ever before, producers will be in a position to adjust themselves to whatever national trade and other policies may have been adopted. In fact, so far as possible, they will want to know what those policies are going to be. The sooner, therefore, that basic national policies can be established, the better will business and all other interests be able to orient themselves in the post-war world.

There is a further reason for the early formulation of national policy and plans of action with respect to international barriers to peacetime trade. There is nothing clearer from experience than the fact that it will be fatal if matters are allowed to drift. There is an inherent tendency of tariffs and other trade barriers to rise in response to the proddings of well-organized special interests. The gains to such interests seem tangible and obvious, and the losses to consumer and export interests, though serious, are much less obvious. There is also a stubborn inherent resistance to reduction, once such barriers have been established.

If vigorous measures are not taken to bring about the removal or mitigation of government controls as soon as the need for them is past it is almost inevitable that, while many unpopular controls will in due course be abandoned, those which stifle foreign competition would be likely to be maintained indefinitely and increased.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that plans should be made for attacking the trade-barrier problem immediately upon termination of hostilities, or even earlier, if practicable.

Such plans should have in view international commitments whereby wartime restrictions on international trade will be relaxed as the emergency need for them passes. This will at least prevent

wartime restrictions on trade from being continued indefinitely into the post-war period, if not permanently.

Such action will not, however, be enough. Certainly no one familiar with the barb-wire entanglements which obstructed international trade in the period prior to the war would be content to see the commercial policy of nations revert to what it was during that period. Plans for dealing with the trade-barrier problem should, therefore, include international commitments and arrangements whereby pre-war tariffs and other barriers to trade throughout the world would be reduced under suitable safeguards as the period of transition proceeds and the acute problems of that period give way to more chronic ones. We need, in brief, to lay down in advance the plan for a new economic order in the world and get the nations of the world committed to it at the earliest practicable date.

As I have already said, no one familiar with this problem can have any illusions regarding the formidable difficulties it presents. It may well be that the old forces which asserted themselves not long after the last war will assert themselves again after this one. It may well be that important countries will again take steps to shut out imports from their former allies; that nation will again strike at the vital economic interests of nation and re-create the state of trade warfare and international economic anarchy that developed after the last war.

On the other hand, there is hope in the possibility that we may have learned from experience. Certainly our armed forces who have been exposed to the hazards and horrors of this conflict, and those at home who have suffered the bereavements of war, are not likely to be complacent with national policies that permit us to drift in a direction which can only lead to a repetition not many years hence of what they are now going through.

At least that ought to be true, provided, and always provided, that the individual citizen understands the true implications of such policies. It is the opportunity and responsibility of organizations such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs to continue to play a highly important role

in the task of creating a secure and prosperous nation in a world of peace and plenty.

VISIT OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE TO LONDON

[Released to the press April 29]

The following statement has been issued in London jointly by Foreign Secretary Eden and Under Secretary of State Stettinius:

"Mr. Stettinius, Under Secretary of State, and a delegation composed of senior representatives of the United States Government have been visiting this country during the past three weeks on behalf of Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, for informal and exploratory exchanges of views. Their visit has afforded His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom a welcome opportunity to repay courtesies extended to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and other members of the Foreign Office on their visits to Washington in the recent past.

"During their stay Mr. Stettinius and his party have had an informal discussion covering the very wide fields in which the two countries are collaborating so closely in the prosecution of the war. They have had conversations with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary as well as with numerous other Ministers and with officials. The discussions have covered important current questions and others that will become of importance as hostilities draw to a close and also long-range questions in connection with the post-war period.

"In all fields the discussions have revealed a very large measure of common ground. The talks have been of great assistance in the task of coordinating policies, and all those concerned in both Governments have expressed great satisfaction with the results.

"During the period of the talks opportunities have been taken to keep the Soviet and Chinese Governments informed as to the course of the discussions.

"Mr. Stettinius has particularly expressed on behalf of himself and members of his mission great appreciation of their warm, friendly reception and of the frank cooperation they have received from all quarters."

General

DEATH OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House April 28]

I announce to the nation at war the sudden passing of the Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox. It is a heavy loss to us and to me especially, who had come to lean on him increasingly.

He has done much for his country; he has helped greatly in our defense and in making victory certain.

Finally, I like to think of his bigness and his loyalty. Truly he put his country first. We shall greatly miss his ability and his friendship.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press April 28]

It is with a deep sense of grief that I have learned of the passing of our distinguished Secretary of the Navy, Colonel Knox. I shall always cherish my close association and abiding friendship with him over many years.

In his chosen profession of journalism he leaves a record of outstanding accomplishment and achievement. Twice during his lifetime he bore arms in defense of our country, and in its service he has truly given his life in the desperate struggle which has engulfed the world. To his last high office he brought superb qualities of leadership, vision, and driving energy, which have been reflected in the glorious records of our armed forces.

He was a man of highest character and ideals, and his passing is a grievous blow to the country and to all nations and peoples associated with us in the war.

Proclamation by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press April 28]

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, died in the city of Washington on the afternoon of Friday, April twenty-eighth, at eight minutes after one o'clock.

The death of this distinguished member of the President's Cabinet comes as a great shock and a great sorrow to his friends and as a national bereavement to the Government and people of the United States.

Mr. Knox served with honor in the armed forces of the United States during the Spanish-American War and the World War, and was publisher of the *Chicago Daily News* when appointed Secretary of the Navy on July 11, 1940.

As a mark of respect to the memory of Secretary Knox, the President directs that the national flag be displayed at half staff on all public buildings in the city of Washington until the interment shall have taken place.

By direction of the President,

CORDELL HULL,

Secretary of State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, April 28, 1944.

Economic Affairs

CHANGES IN CERTAIN TURKISH IMPORT DUTIES

[Released to the press April 28]

In a note dated April 22, 1944, from the Secretary of State to the Turkish Ambassador in Washington, replying to a note from the latter dated April 14, 1944, the Government of the United States, pursuant to article I of the trade agreement between the United States and Turkey, signed April 1, 1939, has agreed to accept certain proposed reductions in Turkish import duties as satisfactory compensation for certain proposed increases in Turkish import duties on products listed in schedule I of the trade agreement.

The duty changes involved are as follows: the duty on heavy mineral oils, Turkish tariff no. 695-D, and their residues comprising machine oil, mazout oil, motorine and other such combustibles, which in schedule I of the trade agreement is 0.95 piastre per kilo, will be increased to 2.75 piastres per kilo, and the duty on kerosene, Turkish tariff no. 695-C, which is 6 piastres per kilo, will be reduced to 3.3 piastres per kilo.

The texts of the notes are as follows:

The Turkish Ambassador to the Secretary of State

I have the honor to refer to the trade agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United States of America signed at Ankara, April 1, 1939, Article I of which reads as follows:

“Natural or manufactured products originating in the United States of America, enumerated and described in Schedule I annexed to this Agreement, shall, on their importation into the territory of the Turkish Republic, be accorded the tariff reductions provided for in the said Schedule.

“In the event that the Government of the Turkish Republic should increase the duties provided for in the said Schedule, such increased duties shall not be applied to the said products until two months after the date of their promulgation.

“If before the expiration of the aforesaid period of two months an agreement between the two Governments has not been reached with respect to such compensatory modifications of this Agreement as may be deemed appropriate, the Government of the United States of America shall be free within fifteen days after the date of the application of such increased duties to terminate this Agreement in its entirety on thirty days' written notice.”

The duty on heavy mineral oils, Turkish tariff no. 695-D, and their residues, comprising machine oil, mazout, motorine, and other such combustibles, as provided in Schedule I of the trade agreement, is 0.95 piastre per kilo, while the duty on kerosene, tariff no. 695-C, is 6 piastres per kilo.

During recent years the quality of motorine has been greatly improved so as to make it desirable to apply the same duties to motorine as to kerosene. To raise the duty on motorine to the level existing for kerosene would necessitate raising the price of motorine to such height as would cause harmful repercussions. Therefore, in accordance with the terms of Article I of the trade agreement, the Turkish Government contemplates reducing the duty on tariff no. 695-C to 3.30 piastres per kilo while raising that on tariff no. 695-D to 2.75 piastres per kilo (which with the existing excise tax on motorine of 0.55 piastre per kilo would amount to 3.30 piastres per kilo.)

In view of these circumstances, I have the honor to inquire whether the Government of the United States would have any objection to these contemplated changes as described above.

Accept [etc.]

The Secretary of State to the Turkish Ambassador

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of April 14, 1944, referring to Article I of the trade agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Turkey, and explaining the desire of the Turkish Government to increase the duty on tariff no. 695-D from 0.95 piastres per kilo, as provided in

Schedule I of the trade agreement, to 2.75 piastres per kilo and at the same time, in accordance with the provisions of Article I of the trade agreement, to reduce the duty on tariff no. 695-C from 6.00 piastres per kilo to 3.30 piastres per kilo.

In view of the circumstances described in Your Excellency's note I have the honor to reply that the Government of the United States does not object to the above mentioned duty changes.

Accept [etc.]

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

FIFTH PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL DIRECTORS OF HEALTH

Remarks of Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

[Released to the press April 24]

MR. DIRECTOR AND GENTLEMEN: A meeting, in wartime, of the National Directors of Health of the American republics is not a diversion from the war effort. Rather it is a recognition of certain outstanding necessities of statesmanship.

The entire world is now spending life and health in a huge war. It has already sustained great direct losses through death, wounds, and disease suffered on the field of battle. The indirect losses are far greater. Uncounted millions of men, women, and children have died and are dying from starvation, exposure, and pestilence. The living, in great parts of the earth, are so weakened that they can fall an easy prey to sickness or become unable to sustain the struggle for life which lies ahead.

From this danger none of us are exempt. The Western Hemisphere up to now has not met the same hardships which affect the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. This is because the theaters of direct fighting have been on the other side of the world. But we cannot rely on this for safety; germs and infections can travel where no enemy shot or plane can penetrate. The job of maintaining public health when armies shuttle back and forth across the oceans and when fleets of planes bridge the seas in a few hours, will be met only by unceasing energy and unceasing industry.

The American world looks to you and to your associates to defend it from the diseases of war. If you succeed you will stand high in the ranks of men who well served their countries in this

difficult time. If you fail the responsibility will be very great. For that reason the emphasis must be less on the words we say here than on the work we do when we get home.

But, though the task of the defense of national health is very great, you are charged with an even greater work. That is the improvement of human material upon which the statesmen and even the civilization of the future must be based. Nations are now judged not merely by their military might, but their economic ability. They are judged by the health and strength of their people. The rate of tuberculosis among children is as carefully watched as the size or equipment of its army. The ability to stamp out malaria and hookworm is a greater national asset than the modern equipment of guns, planes, and parachutes.

This is particularly true of the Americas. Here are adequate resources on which to found great civilizations. But they can only be organized and developed by healthy, energetic, and industrious men. This human material is in your keeping. The time will come when the history books pay as much attention to the successes and actual operations of public health as they do to the actions and successes of politicians and generals.

This is an opportunity for all of you which I personally envy. The man who is able to say at the end of his public service that he has improved the health of his country, and particularly of its children, can rest assured that he has affected his-

¹Delivered at the opening session of the Conference held at the Pan American Union Building on Apr. 24, 1944.

tory as much, if not more, than any other public servant of his time.

I like to think that the work you are doing has a particular American quality. In national thought the Americas have preserved one quality which is distinctly their own. They are thinking of individual men and women. They think of John Smith, and Juan Pablo, and João Suarez, and Jean Le Maitre, and of their wives and their children. As countries and as a Hemisphere we are interested in people. Every one of them means something to us. The misfortune of illness or sadness of any one of them is a misfortune to all of us. We believe in the dignity of human life

and of human personality, and for that reason no national government, and no inter-American conference, can forget that responsibility for individual life and happiness.

Recognizing this high duty and heavy responsibility which rest upon you, let me, on behalf of the Government of the United States, welcome you to this, your fifth conference. May your deliberations be wise; and may there come from it increased resolution and determination to go back to your various countries and to do, in sweat and toil, the work which justifies the happy name which has been given our part of the world as the Continent of Hope.

The Department

TREATY SECTION ORGANIZED IN THE DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

Probably at no other time in world history has so much attention been focused on the making of international agreements—agreements which will insure enduring peace, agreements which will promote economic, political, and social understanding and cooperation among all nations. And probably at no other time in world history has it been so imperative that the officials of the Government entrusted with the conduct of its foreign affairs have authoritative information and competent assistance in every respect on treaty matters.

It is to meet this need for a repository of treaty information and a corps of technical experts on treaty matters that a Treaty Section is being organized in the Division of Research and Publication. Under Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944 the Division of Research and Publication and the Legal Adviser's office are assigned certain responsibilities in carrying out the functions of the former Treaty Division. Those assigned the Division of Research and Publication are as follows: “. . . collection, compilation and maintenance of information pertaining to treaties and other international agreements, the

performance of research and the furnishing of information and advice, other than of a legal character, with respect to the provisions of such existing or proposed instruments; procedural matters, including the preparation of full powers, ratifications, proclamations and protocols, and matters related to the signing, ratification, proclamation and registration of treaties and other international agreements (except with respect to proclamations of trade agreements, which shall be handled in the Division of Commercial Policy); and custody of the originals of treaties and other international agreements . . . ”

Mr. Bryton Barron, a former Rhodes scholar and Assistant Chief of the Division of Research and Publication, has been appointed Chief of the Treaty Section. Mr. Charles I. Bevans and Mr. William V. Whittington, both veteran members of the former Treaty Division, have been designated Assistant Chiefs, and additional personnel is being provided to meet the needs of the situation.

It is intended that the Treaty Section shall become as useful as possible to officers of the Department who are concerned with the negotiation and drafting of treaties and other international agree-

ments, particularly with reference to background information, substance, style, and procedure. Through the maintenance of authoritative up-to-date records on the status of existing treaties and other international agreements between the United States and other countries, as well as between foreign countries, through the publication of current treaty information in the Department of State BULLETIN, and through making readily available in printed form true copies of treaties and other international agreements in the Treaty Series and Executive Agreement Series, there will be a continuance and expansion of services which the new Section may render in an informational capacity to the Department, other Government agencies, members of Congress, and the public in general.

The organization of the Treaty Section is planned not only with a view to meeting current requirements for authoritative information and expert assistance on treaty matters but also to meeting the demands that will be made of the Section in connection with the making of post-war settlements.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1256 of April 25, 1944, effective April 24, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Robert E. Ward as Acting Chief of the Division of Departmental Personnel.

By Departmental Order 1259 of April 26, 1944, effective April 25, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. John Petrifoy as Executive Officer of the Office of Public Information.

By Departmental Order 1260 of April 26, 1944, effective April 25, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. James H. Wright as Assistant to the Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs.

By Departmental Order 1261 of April 27, 1944, effective May 1, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Alger Hiss as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs.

By Departmental Order 1262 of April 27, 1944, effective May 1, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. George A. Gordon as Special Assistant to the Secretary; Mr. Frederick B. Lyon as Chief

of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation; and Mr. Fletcher Warren as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Berle.

Treaty Information

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

Uruguay

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter of April 21, 1944, that the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944, was signed for Uruguay on April 17, 1944.

PROTOCOL ON PELAGIC WHALING

Norway

The American Embassy in London transmitted to the Department of State, with a despatch of April 15, 1944, a copy of a note of April 12, 1944 from the British Foreign Office, in which the Government of the United Kingdom informs the Government of the United States, in accordance with article 7 of the protocol on pelagic whaling signed at London on February 7, 1944, of the deposit in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom, on March 31, 1944, of the instrument of ratification of that protocol by the Government of Norway. According to the Department's information, Norway is the first of the governments which signed the protocol to deposit its instrument of ratification.

COMMERCIAL "MODUS VIVENDI", CANADA AND VENEZUELA

The American Embassy at Caracas informed the Department, by a despatch of April 15, 1944, of the further renewal, without modifications, for a period of one year, or until April 9, 1945, of the *modus vivendi* governing commercial relations between Canada and Venezuela which was concluded

at Caracas on March 26, 1941. The renewal was effected by an exchange of notes signed at Caracas on April 8, 1944 by the British Minister to Venezuela and the Venezuelan Minister for Foreign Affairs.

EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, ECUADOR AND PANAMA

The American Embassy in Quito transmitted to the Department, with a despatch of March 1, 1944, a copy of an agreement between Ecuador and Panama providing for the exchange of official and literary publications, signed at Panamá on January 12, 1944, as published in the monthly bulletin of the Ecuadoran Ministry for Foreign Affairs, dated February 25, 1944. The agreement also provides that the Governments of each country recommend that the primary and normal schools of each Government study the history, physical geography, and cultural life of the other contracting party. The agreement provides that it will become effective immediately upon approval by both Governments and that it may be terminated only when one of the Governments denounces it upon a notice of one year.

TREATY SECTION IN THE DEPARTMENT

An article entitled "Treaty Section Organized in the Division of Research and Publication" appears in this issue of the BULLETIN under the heading "The Department".

The Foreign Service

CONSULAR OFFICES

The American Consulate at Hull, England, was reestablished, effective April 24, 1944.

The American Vice Consulate at Ciudad Bolívar, Venezuela, was closed, effective April 26, 1944.

American Republics

APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA

[Released to the press April 26]

The Department of State announced on April 26 that President Roosevelt has appointed the Honorable Spruille Braden, American Ambassador to Cuba, as Special Representative with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the inauguration on May 8, 1944 of Señor Teodoro Picado as President of Costa Rica.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Jurisdiction Over Criminal Offenses Committed by the Armed Forces of the United States in Egypt: Agreement Between the United States of America and Egypt and Procès-Verbal—Agreement effected by exchanges of notes signed at Cairo March 2, 1943; effective March 2, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 356. Publication 2090. 17 pp. 10¢.

Project To Increase the Production of Rubber in Brazil: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington March 3, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 371. Publication 2098. 5 pp. 5¢.

Foreign Consular Offices in the United States. March 1, 1944. Publication 2092. iv, 49 pp. 15¢.

The Importance of International Commerce to Prosperity. Radio broadcast by Harry C. Hawkins. Publication 2104. Commercial Policy Series 74. 8 pp. 5¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"Brazil's Market for Medicinals", by F. C. Fornes, Jr., Consul, and R. E. Hooverter, Economic Analyst, of the American Consulate General at São Paulo, Brazil.

"Sweden's Expanding Pharmaceutical Industry", based on a report prepared by Grant Olson, Attaché of the American Legation at Stockholm, Sweden.

The first article listed under "Other Government Agencies" will be found in the April 29, 1944 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. The second article will be found in the May 6, 1944 issue of that periodical. Copies of *Foreign Commerce Weekly* may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for the price of 10 cents each.

Legislation

Investigation of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico :

Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H. Res. 159. March 3 and 4, 1944. ii, 52 pp.

H. Rept. 1399, 78th Cong., on H. Res. 159. [Favorable report.] 17 pp.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
Price, 10 cents - - - Subscription price, \$2.75 a year

PUBLISHED WEEKLY WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

MAY 6, 1944

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The War

SOME ECONOMIC WEAPONS IN TOTAL WARFARE

Address by Francis H. Russell at Annual Meeting of American Drug Manufacturers Association ¹

[Released to the press May 4]

This conference has been considering ways in which a great American industry which is devoted to combating human ills can most effectively extend the capacity for human happiness both in this country and abroad. In the subject which I have been asked to discuss with you we shall be faced with the opposite of that picture. We shall see how Axis industries were converted into wide-spread and powerful instruments of aggression and became integral parts of the Axis war-machine. If some bit of evidence were wanted that we are in a total conflict with an enemy who has converted to the ends of war even the most humanitarian phases of life it could be found in the striking contrast afforded by the topics of discussion of this conference. Foreign trade can be and, in a world devoted to peace, is a force making for mutual prosperity, international cohesion and understanding. Like many another instrument of peace, it can also become a menacing weapon of war.

As week follows week and Allied victories mount, it becomes increasingly, and comfortably, difficult to recall the narrow margin that at one time stood between the democratic nations and defeat. The reason for the narrowness of this escape from world slavery is not hard to find. In a very real sense the German nation has been moving toward this war for decades. Its philosophers and writers have been conditioning the German people in the concepts of racial supremacy. Its Army has pushed military science to its utmost limits. Its

rulers have impressed on the people a blind subservience to the state. Its psychologists have conducted studies into the most efficient use of propaganda for the purpose of confusing, frightening, lulling, and otherwise subverting and affecting the conduct of other peoples. Its economists and businessmen have exploited all the means by which ambitions of world domination could be furthered by German economy at home and abroad.

Of these various theaters of warfare, perhaps the one that was most successfully hidden from the world was the Nazi campaign of economic aggression. It is about some of the features of that campaign and the action taken by the Allied governments to meet and overcome it that I would like to speak to you.

When the Nazi party came to power, one of the first things that its leaders did, coincident with the building of its powerful forces, its spreading of moral confusion and mass lies, and its campaign of diplomatic intimidation, was to proceed systematically to apply well-prepared plans for converting Germany's vast foreign commerce and finance structure into a weapon of aggression. From its inception the Nazi regime in Germany waged undeclared and total economic warfare throughout the world. Together with their Fascist and Japanese partners, they carried out an economic penetration the ultimate aim of which was not mutually profitable trade but the subjugation of the national economy of entire countries to Axis purposes. The thoroughness of the Nazis in turning their foreign trade into a weapon of war was typical of their genius for prostituting education, religion, literature, art, the press, and the radio to their self-aggrandizing aims.

¹ Delivered at Hot Springs, Va., May 4, 1944. Mr. Russell is Chief of the Division of World Trade Intelligence, Department of State, and chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Proclaimed List.

There thus came into existence a partnership of the political, military, and industrial factions of the German nation. Each of these elements was essential for carrying out the plan of world conquest. The Nazi party directed the nation's politics, carried on the necessary propaganda, and suppressed all opposition. The Army built up what was then the world's most powerful military machine. German industry went to work to build up a solid economic support.

German industrial enterprises like I. G. Farben were manipulated in such a manner as to obtain for the Nazi party the greatest influence beyond the borders of Germany. This single concern which I have mentioned employed an army of some 300,000 workers and had scientific research facilities employing upwards of 10,000 chemists and other trained scientists. Backed as it was by the Nazi party, it was probably unmatched in sheer economic power by any other single industrial enterprise in the world. Other German industries were similarly concentrated, or "rationalized", and backed by the party organization. The lives and business activities of German nationals and supporters abroad were organized and directed to the single purpose of Nazi world domination. Branches and subsidiaries were built up in almost all countries of the world. German export trade was pushed to the limit to obtain the much-needed foreign exchange. German firms were brought into a dominant position in important international cartels, patent pools, syndicates, and other monopolistic and restrictive arrangements so that their influence was pyramided. This program was furthered by carefully directed and unlimited bribery and, where necessary, by force or threat of force.

German foreign business representatives were encouraged to acquire local citizenship and, by carrying on their subversive activities clandestinely as "loyal citizens" of the foreign country so long as caution required, they were in a position to emerge in their true colors whenever shifting political or military conditions rendered it expedient. And on the other hand, when Germany's official relations with a foreign country were broken off, resulting in the enforced departure of the official German foreign-service representatives, the trained German business representatives re-

mained at their posts abroad and carried on the activities of the official representatives unofficially, thus enabling the Nazi regime to maintain at least some sort of contact with the foreign country from which it would otherwise be completely cut off.

German banks abroad were not mere financial institutions. They were in actuality the treasurer and financial backer of the local Nazi party. They received party contributions, supervised party expenditures, received party funds from Germany under various guises, and juggled the deposits among numerous accounts.

German firms assisted in the collection of "donations" to the Nazi party funds. These collections were frequently regulated by a compulsory quota system, sometimes 10 percent or higher of the person's or firm's income, and when the individuals were reluctant to make these contributions the Nazi organization did not hesitate to threaten retaliation upon relatives in Germany.

The work which this great foreign organization of Axis industry carried out was manifold. It included espionage, political pressure, the planning of sabotage activities, the disposition of currency and securities looted in the occupied countries, the smuggling of precious war materials to Germany, the collection and transmission of information concerning ships and ship movements and war plans of the United Nations, arrangements for secret German submarine bases, the organization of a "chain" for German intelligence to leave the United States and other Allied countries, the hiding of escaped Nazi seamen, and the maintenance of clandestine wireless stations for direct communication with Germany and the other Axis powers. The program which the world-wide network of Axis firms made possible included also the dissemination of vicious attacks against the United Nations and other types of propaganda; the magnifying of any incipient anti-Allied sentiment in the hope of swinging neutral countries into the Axis camp; the prevention of economic cooperation by neutral countries with the Allies; the subsidizing of newspapers, radio stations, and other media of propaganda; the fostering of local Nazi political and semi-military organizations which were divided into the typical blocks, sectors, and cells and were subject to the direction of a Nazi chief in the local German Embassy; the pro-

motion of Nazi schools, Nazi labor fronts, Nazi youth, women's and athletic organizations, and other devices for promoting the Nazification of foreign communities; the fostering of native Nazi and Fascist movements; the impressing upon the neutral countries of the magnitude of German military victories and the fear of the consequences of non-cooperation; the establishment of a close liaison between the German Army and the armies of small neutral countries: these and other activities were directed at the heart of the United Nations war effort, and the defense of the Western Hemisphere. These subversive measures were carried on behind a show of ordinary business and social activity. Nearly all of the persons involved in them were able to mask their true activities through their connections with Axis commercial firms. Special concessions were given to local firms that cooperated and others were induced by threats and promises to become subservient to the Nazi organization and to take part in its program.

Now what was the goal of all this vast endeavor? The stakes, we may be sure, were at least commensurate to the effort. They were twofold: First, in those countries in Europe which were to be permitted by the Nazis to remain neutral the object was to assure the greatest possible contribution by their economy to that of Germany's. Neutral factories, mines, and banks were to be induced to contribute as largely as possible to Axis war needs. Secondly, the Axis objective in the Western Hemisphere, in addition to the one which I have just mentioned, was to bring about if possible a policy of positive cooperation by some of the other American republics with the Axis countries, or, if that was not possible, to secure a thoroughly detached neutrality on the part of these countries so that this immense area with its 120 million people and enormous resources of minerals, food, and other products, occupying a strategic military position, would be dissuaded from any cooperation with the democratic powers and would be ripe for aggression when the conquest of Europe had been completed.

This was the strategy and these were the tactics which were employed by the Axis nations in this sector of their economic warfare. It was against an attack of this nature that this Government and others against whom it was directed

had to devise adequate countermeasures.

One of the principal weapons that was used by this Government was the Proclaimed List, which was established by proclamation of the President on July 17, 1941. You will note that this was prior to Pearl Harbor. It was adopted at that time as a measure of national defense following the declaration of the existence of an unlimited national emergency by the President on May 27, 1941. The disastrous experience of the nations in Europe and Asia which had been overrun by the Axis armies had made it abundantly clear that it was suicidal to temporize further with Axis pre-military acts of penetration and aggression.

There are now included in the Proclaimed List some 15,000 persons and firms located in the 20 other American republics, the 5 neutral European countries (Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, and Liechtenstein) and their possessions in Africa and the Far East, and 4 Near Eastern countries (Morocco, Turkey, Iran, and Iraq). It is believed that at the present time, at least in so far as the other American republics are concerned, the Proclaimed List includes all important persons or firms that have been operating on behalf of the totalitarian powers or against the security of this hemisphere. Names on the List vary from some of the largest industrial, commercial, and financial entities in the respective countries to lesser firms and persons who have been willing to assist Proclaimed List nationals in circumventing the List by cloaking. It has been the policy of the Proclaimed List authorities to strike wherever they found the Axis at work—at manufacturers and dealers in drugs, electrical goods, hardware, chemicals, banks, insurance companies, railroads, mines—in fact firms in every field of activity upon which the Axis drew for support. The List includes Axis-subsidized newspapers, radio stations, and motion-picture houses. This Government has scrupulously avoided infringing upon freedom of expression in other countries, but when newspapers and other media of expression cease to be free media of expression and become merely instruments of propaganda subsidized by the Axis governments, listing action is taken in order to deprive them of newsprint and necessary equipment.

The inclusion of a name in the Proclaimed List immediately sets in motion the entire machinery of United States economic-warfare sanctions. The Treasury Department freezes all assets a firm may possess in this country, and all movements of funds of such firms in any of our 15,000 banks are stopped. The Foreign Economic Administration denies export licenses and other economic facilities to listed firms. Customs officials are notified to intercept goods on dock or in transit. Any American concerns who are known to have contractual relations with a Proclaimed List national are advised of the listing action by the Department of Commerce. The Office of Censorship monitors all communications relating to listed firms. They are, in brief, denied all trade and facilities which this Government is in a position to control, a substantial penalty under the conditions of wartime international trade.

The Proclaimed List has an effectiveness, however, far beyond that which results from these sanctions. Listing also results in invoking all of the sanctions of the European blockade, and the Proclaimed List is also, as I shall point out shortly, the basis of many controls which are enforced by other governments. Beyond that it has received the support of the business community and general public in countries where the firms are located, so that persons and firms on the Proclaimed List are regarded in their communities as enemies of the democratic cause and are the object of business and social ostracism. And the overhanging threat of the possible application of all these sanctions has had the effect of preventing many thousands of persons and firms from engaging in unfriendly activities who might otherwise have succumbed to the threats or blandishments of the Axis.

The Axis governments have adopted a multitude of stratagems and have drawn upon all of their organizational facilities to combat the effectiveness of the Proclaimed List and to save something of their economic basis of subversive activities in South America. Cloaking-rings were established, spurious transfers of ownership were made, and political pressure, threats of retaliation, and promises of post-war privileges in the event of an Axis victory were resorted to. Nevertheless, the result has been that the vast majority of the 10,000 or more firms or persons on the Proclaimed List

in the other American republics have been neutralized as far as contributing to the Axis cause is concerned. Many of them have been completely eliminated from business, others have been satisfactorily reorganized or have given undertakings of future good conduct, others have been placed under governmental surveillance or have otherwise been reduced to impotence. It should be borne in mind that it has not been our objective to eliminate completely from economic activity all persons and firms on the Proclaimed List. That has been our objective with respect to the Axis spearhead firms, such firms as I. G. Farben, Ferrostahl, Tubos Mannesmann, Mitsui and Mitsubishi, Siemens Schuckert, and other Axis concerns that were part and parcel of the Axis war-machine. The great majority of these and other spearhead firms have been put out of business in the countries of this hemisphere with, of course, the notable exception of one country.

In the neutral countries of Europe all available sanctions have been used to prevent so far as possible a substantial utilization by the Nazi war-machine of the productive resources and other facilities located in those countries. The threat of listing has had an increasingly potent effect, and the results of this program in depriving the Axis of goods and facilities which they might otherwise have received have been very considerable. Not only has it tended to sustain the full effect of our bombing of German factories, since many neutral factories have been unwilling to incur the danger of our sanctions by helping the Germans to make up their loss in production through purchases in neutral countries, but it has deprived the Axis of many of the raw materials which they had to import from neutral countries in order to keep their factories running and has brought home to the Germans in many ways the fact that the noose of economic strangulation was being drawn tighter and tighter.

Because of the rigorous consequences that result to persons and firms included in the Proclaimed List, this Government has taken steps to assure that so far as possible these consequences fall solely on persons or firms who are identified with or have given assistance to the Axis. It has endeavored to be scrupulously careful and fair in reaching decisions on the inclusion or removal of names on

the Proclaimed List. Under the President's proclamation of July 17, 1941, establishing the Proclaimed List, no name may be added to or removed from the List without the unanimous approval of six governmental departments and agencies: the Department of State, the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, the Department of Commerce, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Every case is considered by these agencies on the basis of all available information, and no action is taken on any case unless the reliability of the information has been vouched for by an official agency of this Government. Full reports with respect to every name are furnished to the Interdepartmental Committee on the Proclaimed List by the Division of World Trade Intelligence of the State Department, which draws upon the Foreign Service and many other sources for its files relating to some 500,000 firms and persons in foreign countries.

The authorities charged with the administration of the Proclaimed List have borne in mind that the List is not, of course, an end in itself. It has been but one of the weapons for hitting at the might and power of the Axis. It has been used whenever that end would be served; it has not been used when other courses of action would contribute more effectively to the fight against the Axis; and it has not been used for any other purpose than the winning of the war. This means that in rare cases, for instance, where the neutral subsidiaries of firms having their main houses in enemy territory could be removed from enemy control and were willing to cooperate by making their resources and facilities available to the Allies, thus depriving the Axis of them, this Government has, under proper controls, accepted those benefits and has not insisted on making the resources of the firm available to the Axis camp. It also means that the Proclaimed List authorities have been scrupulously intent on not permitting the List to be used under any circumstances to promote the commercial interests of this country or to enforce any policies of this Government that were not connected with the war effort. It has been recognized that to do so would weaken the prestige of the List and greatly lessen its effectiveness as an instrument of war.

No persons have been included in the Proclaimed List merely because of their nationality or extraction. Inclusion in the List is based exclusively upon evidence of enemy control, participation in Axis activities, Nazi party affiliation, contribution to Axis funds, distribution of propaganda, participation in evasion of Allied controls, and other specific inimical activities. It has been recognized that there are persons of Italian and German nationality or extraction in the countries to which the Proclaimed List applies who have consistently and sincerely refused to have anything whatsoever to do with pro-Axis elements or activities. These people have had nothing to fear from the Proclaimed List. On the other hand, there have been persons and firms who while not themselves directly identified with Axis subversive activities nevertheless contributed to the support of such activities by acting as "cloaks" for pro-Axis persons and firms in effecting commercial and financial transactions. With regard to such persons this Government, pursuant to its fixed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, has scrupulously respected the right of such persons to deal with whomever they choose, but it has in turn exercised its right to determine whether under the existing conditions it could permit its own citizens to trade with persons and firms abroad who, for their own reasons, chose to traffic with and thereby assist our enemies in their avowed purpose of destroying this nation and its democratic principles. It has gone on the principle that a nation which respects the rights of others because it respects its own responsibilities and rights cannot permit its own trade to jeopardize indirectly the victory which it is at the same time asking its citizens to achieve with their very lives.

The Proclaimed List authorities have, moreover, been quick to correct the few inevitable mistakes which occur in an operation such as the Proclaimed List. They have been ready and anxious to reconsider any case where the reasons which led to inclusion in the Proclaimed List have been sincerely and effectively corrected or eliminated by the persons or firms concerned. It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that in the great majority of cases which have been removed from the List the action was based on appropriate correc-

tive measures taken by the firms or the government involved.

But the Proclaimed List, effective as it has been, could not alone have achieved the whole goal of eliminating or neutralizing Axis economic penetration in the Western Hemisphere. This end has been substantially achieved because the Proclaimed List has been used in unison with other measures. The agencies charged with the maintenance of the Proclaimed List have acted in close cooperation with the British authorities in charge of the British Statutory List so that the Axis firms have not been able to play one of us against the other although they have frequently tried to do so.

Another great weapon that has been used in combating the economic war-machine, in so far as its operations in the Western Hemisphere are concerned, has been the structure of local controls which have been enacted and applied by most of the other American republics carrying out the resolutions and recommendations agreed upon by all of the American republics at several inter-American conferences. The principal conferences which dealt with this problem were the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics at Habana in July 1940; another meeting at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942; and the Inter-American Conference on Systems of Economic and Financial Controls at Washington in July 1942.

These conferences recommended the immediate adoption by all of the American republics of any measures necessary to break off all commercial and financial intercourse with the Axis nations and to eliminate through vesting, forced sale, liquidation, intervention, blocking, or other controls all other financial and commercial activities prejudicial to the security of the American countries.

In most of the other American republics, controls pursuant to these resolutions have been enacted and put into effect. As a result, Axis drug, metal and electrical houses, coffee and quinine *fincas*, Axis-controlled railroads, airways, banks, insurance, chemical, and other companies, and many hundreds of other Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese business enterprises that were supporting the Axis cause have been completely eliminated or re-

organized or placed under such controls that they can no longer assist the enemy.

In the case of those countries that have carried out the resolutions of the Rio and Washington conferences the controls which have been established have in most cases been coordinated with this Government's Proclaimed List. As the combined effect of the Proclaimed List controls and the local governmental controls has operated to eliminate or place in satisfactory hands firms that were on the Proclaimed List, such names have been deleted. Thus local firms that have been satisfactorily reorganized, subjected to intervention or other surveillance, or which have given satisfactory undertakings to this Government or to the local government have been restored to participation in the local economy. In this way it has been possible to give full recognition both to our war objectives of combating the Axis war-machine in all of its manifestations and also to local economic needs. Where the results of listing have denied to a country the services of an essential firm this Government has been active in taking steps to assure a meeting of local economic needs in so far as possible from United States or other available friendly sources. This system of consultation and reciprocal collaboration has been an outstanding example of inter-American cooperation.

It has apparently been assumed by some of the firms that have cooperated with the Axis that the Proclaimed List and the sanctions which are based upon it will terminate with the cessation of hostilities in Europe and that listed firms and individuals will then be restored to normal trade facilities. There is no basis for such an assumption. It need not be stated that this Government does not consider the Proclaimed List as an appropriate part of the type of normal peacetime trade policies which it hopes eventually will be established. It is clear, however, that there will inevitably be a transition period from war to peacetime conditions and that the List cannot be withdrawn upon the termination of armed conflict. In view of the total character of the present conflict and its vast impact upon commerce it will necessarily take time to effect adjustments of economic-warfare controls. Such adjustments will be carried out with regard to specific circumstances. The problem of eliminating economic-

warfare controls, and in particular the Proclaimed List, is believed in general to be capable of prompt solution in regions far removed from the scene of conflict where the spearheads of Axis aggression have been eliminated. The withdrawal of such controls may be expected to be slower with respect to areas adjacent to the scene of conflict and particularly with respect to nationals of, or residents in, neutral countries who have engaged, or who may engage, actively in equipping or servicing the military machine of the enemy—which the Allied governments are determined to destroy—or who have rendered other important aid to the enemy.

What I have said has necessarily been in the nature of a very general outline. It has not been possible to give you very much of the color of this phase of the war effort nor to describe any of the multitude of individual battles that have been fought. It will be clear, however, that the enemy has been fairly effectively dealt with in one more sector of the war. It will have been clear also that this success has been due to a cooperative effort which has received the participation not only of the various interested departments of this Government and of American business but of the British Government and our other Allies, the governments of virtually all of the other American republics, and of pro-democratic businessmen and people generally in widely scattered sections of the world.

PETROLEUM QUESTIONS

Conclusion of Discussions With the United Kingdom

[Released to the press May 3]

The preliminary exploratory discussions on petroleum between groups of experts representing the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, which began in Washington on April 18, were concluded in a joint session held on May 3.

In a spirit of understanding and cooperation the two groups explored the full range of both countries' interest in petroleum on the basis of broad principles looking to the orderly long-range development of abundant oil supplies. The

two groups are now reporting the results of these discussions to their Governments.

After the full discussion of broad principles the two groups reviewed various specific matters of mutual interest relating to the production, distribution, and transportation of oil. These specific matters included pending problems affecting the oil operations abroad of the American and British oil industry; questions relating to oil production, particularly in the Middle East; the proposed trans-Arabian pipeline; and the Iraq Petroleum Company's project for an additional pipeline from Kirkuk, Iraq, to Haifa. The groups shared the view that the peacetime inter-governmental aspects of such matters should be resolved, as between the two Governments, within the framework of the broad principles which had been discussed.

In issuing the foregoing announcement, which also is being made in London, it is pointed out that the United States group was composed of representatives of the Departments of State, War, and Navy and the Petroleum Administration for War. Ten officials of the American oil industry were invited to present their views in connection with the discussions.¹ Three of these officials, Mr. John A. Brown, Mr. W. S. S. Rodgers, and Mr. A. Jacobsen, attended the discussions as advisers to the United States group of experts.²

The report of the United States group of experts will be considered by the Cabinet committee appointed by the President for that purpose of which Secretary Hull is Chairman. On March 7, 1944 the State Department announced³ that, in addition to Secretary Hull, this committee consisted of Secretary Ickes, Vice Chairman; Acting Secretary of the Navy Forrestal; Under Secretary of War Patterson; Mr. Charles E. Wilson, Vice Chairman of the War Production Board; and Mr. Charles Rayner, Petroleum Adviser, Department of State. Since that time Mr. Leo Crowley, Director of the Foreign Economic Administration, and Mr. Ralph K. Davies, Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War, have been included on this committee.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 15, 1944, p. 346.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 22, 1944, p. 372.

³ BULLETIN of Mar. 11, 1944, p. 238.

AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN ON CERTAIN OUTSTANDING ISSUES

[Released to the press May 2]

After a protracted period of negotiation with the Spanish Government, the American and British Governments have received assurances from the Spanish Government which permit a settlement of certain outstanding issues.

The Spanish Government has agreed to expel designated Axis agents from Tangier, the Spanish Zone in North Africa, and from the Spanish mainland. It has agreed to the closing of the German Consulate and other Axis agencies in Tangier. It has agreed to the release of certain Italian commercial ships now interned in Spanish waters and to the submission to arbitration of the question of releasing Italian warships likewise interned in Spanish waters. It has withdrawn all Spanish military forces from the eastern front. It has maintained a complete embargo on exports of wolfram since February 1, 1944, at which time bulk petroleum shipments were suspended, and has now agreed for the remainder of the year to impose a drastic curtailment of wolfram exports to Germany.

One of our objectives in these negotiations was to continue to deprive Germany of Spanish wolfram. Although agreement was reached on a basis less than a total embargo of wolfram shipments, this action was taken to obtain immediate settlement on the urgent request of the British Government. Under the curtailed program not more than 20 tons of wolfram may be exported to Germany from Spain in each of the months May and June. Thereafter for the remainder of the year, if as a practical matter they can be made, exports may not exceed 40 tons per month. It is improbable that any of this can be utilized in military products during this year.

In view of the foregoing negotiations, permission will now be given for the renewal of bulk petroleum loadings by Spanish tankers in the Caribbean and the lifting from the United States ports of minor quantities of packaged petroleum products in accordance with the controlled program in operation prior to the suspension of such loadings.

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT 2 TO REVISION VII

[Released to the press May 6]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, issued on May 6, 1944 Cumulative Supplement 2 to Revision VII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated March 23, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 2 contains 33 additional listings in the other American republics and 103 deletions. Part II contains 93 additional listings outside the American republics and 18 deletions.

With the issuance of this Supplement the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals has been extended to include certain cases in Ireland (Éire).

NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY OF POLAND

[Released to the press May 2]

The text of a telegram sent by the President of the United States to His Excellency Władysław Raczkiewicz, President of Poland, upon the occasion of the national anniversary of Poland, follows:

MAY 3, 1944.

On the occasion of the National Anniversary of Poland, I take great pleasure in sending to the Polish people through you my greetings and best wishes in which I am joined by the people of the United States. It is fitting to recall in this fateful fifth year of the war that it was Poland who first defied the Nazi hordes. The continued resistance of the Polish people against their Nazi oppressors is an inspiration to all. The relentless struggle being carried on by the United Nations will hasten victory and the liberation of all freedom loving peoples.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press May 1]

The Department of State and the War Department announced on May 1 that the motorship *Gripsholm* is expected to leave New York on or about May 2 to carry out a further exchange with Germany of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war who are found to be entitled to repatriation under the terms of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, and of surplus protected personnel entitled to repatriation under the terms of the Geneva Red Cross Convention. It has been agreed the repatriables of each side will be exchanged at Barcelona on or about May 17. The Spanish Government has been asked to cooperate by lending its facilities for the exchange. The *Gripsholm* is expected to return to New York in early June with American repatriates. The vessel will travel both ways under safe-conducts of all belligerents.

The names of the prospective American repatriates are not yet known, and it will not be possible to determine their identity until after the *Gripsholm* has sailed from Barcelona. Every effort will be made to dispatch notification to the

next of kin at the earliest moment after the identity of each repatriate has been established beyond possibility of doubt.

STATUS OF COUNTRIES IN RELATION TO THE WAR, APRIL 22, 1944

Corrigenda

BULLETIN of April 22, 1944:

Page 375: Under the box heading "France", insert opposite Italy in place of the leaders the following:

WAR-1
6/11/40

Under the box heading "Japan", take out the parentheses around the date opposite Guatemala. It should read "12/9/41".

Page 379: In table II under "Adherents" change the date in the second column opposite Philippines from "June 10, 1943" to "June 10, 1942"; in the last column opposite Iraq change the date from "Apr. 10, 1944" to "Apr. 10, 1943" and that opposite Mexico from "June 10, 1942" to "June 14, 1942".

Page 380: The last three words in the footnote should read "(see table II)".

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION IN LONDON

[Released to the press May 3]

The Secretary of State announced on May 3 that Congressman J. William Fulbright, chairman of the American Delegation to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London, has returned to this country with three other members—the Honorable Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress; John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education; and Dean C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College. The delegation has been at work in London for the past month.

"The discussions of the delegation with representatives of other nations", Congressman Ful-

bright stated, "were based on the proposition that free and unrestricted interchange between the peoples of the world of ideas and knowledge and unrestricted education are essential to the preservation of security and peace."

The delegation brought back an encouraging report of progress being made by the interested nations toward a cooperative approach to the re-establishment of essential educational and cultural facilities upon an emergency basis.

The discussions of the Conference, the members of the delegation reported, made clear the threat to civilization created by the cold-blooded and considered destruction by the Axis of the edu-

educational and cultural resources of great parts of the continents of Europe and Asia; the murder of teachers, artists, scientists, and intellectual leaders; the burning of books; the pillaging and mutilation of works of art; the rifling of archives; and the theft of scientific apparatus.

The American delegation collaborated with the Conference on two main tasks: First, in drafting a tentative plan for a United Nations agency for educational and cultural reconstruction; and secondly, in ascertaining the essential emergency needs of the war-devastated Allied countries to reestablish educational services.

The tentative plan for a United Nations agency for educational and cultural reconstruction was formulated at open meetings presided over by Congressman Fulbright and was then accepted by the Conference for informal submission to the United Nations and Associated Nations for study and comment.

The tentative plan brought back by the delegation will be studied by the interested agencies of this Government and be made the subject of discussions with members of Congress for the purpose of furnishing the Conference with the views of the United States Government concerning the proposed United Nations agency.

Two members of the delegation, Dr. Grayson N. Kefauver and Dr. Ralph E. Turner, both of the Department of State, are continuing in London to complete the gathering of full factual information regarding emergency basic needs for reestablishing essential educational and cultural facilities in Allied liberated areas.

The progress made at the London meeting is another important step in the direction of laying the foundations for international cooperation in the future.

The following memorandum was issued to the press on April 20, 1944 by the Secretariat of the Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments:

"A tentative draft constitution for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction was accepted by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education yesterday, 19th April. It will be forwarded to the Allied and Associated Governments, and if adopted by

them it will permit joint efforts in this field in line with parallel work already being developed by the Food Conference and UNRRA. General acceptance of the creation of an international organization to undertake cooperatively the vitally important work of restoring the educational and cultural heritages of war-torn countries would carry the United Nations past another important station on the road toward lasting peace.

"The wisdom of building an international structure piece by piece on sound foundations is recognized clearly today. The projected Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction would direct its activities at first to the emergency work of restoring the educational systems and the cultural institutions destroyed by the Axis powers. It is believed that the projected organization would gain experience in performing these emergency tasks which would create a basis for lasting international cooperation in educational and cultural fields.

"The proposed constitution was drafted at two Open Meetings convened by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and the American Education Delegation, headed by Congressman Fulbright, which came to London early this month to work out plans for American collaboration with the Conference. The meetings were attended by representatives of all member and observer states currently interested in the Conference and were presided over by Congressman Fulbright. The device of holding Open Meetings enabled all representatives present to participate fully, equally, and without prejudice to their positions in the Conference. The Constitution is both broad enough and flexible enough to enable the projected organization to deal vigorously and successfully with the problems of educational and cultural reconstruction.

"The need for the proposed organization is stated in the Preamble of the proposed Constitution which says in part: 'To deprive any part of the interdependent modern world of the cultural resources, human and material, through which its children are trained and its people informed, is to destroy to that extent the common knowledge and the mutual understanding upon which the peace of the world and its security must rest.'

"The text of the tentative draft Constitution consists of seven sections. The first contains a statement of the underlying reasons why international cooperation in educational reconstruction should be attempted.

"The second defines the functions of the projected organization in terms which should permit it to work effectively in the fields of educational and cultural rehabilitation and reconstruction and to develop ultimately into a permanent body with broader activities.

"Section three declares that membership shall be open to all the United Nations and Associated Nations and to such other nations as shall be accepted by the Assembly, upon application thereto, after the cessation of hostilities with the Axis.

"Section four, which lists the agencies of the proposed organization, provides for an Assembly with equal representation and votes for all member states, and Executive Board to be elected by the Assembly and an International Secretariat.

"The fifth, or financial section, states that administrative expenses shall be shared by the member nations on a basis to be agreed by the Assembly. It also provides for the creation of an Emergency Rehabilitation Fund controlled by an Emergency Rehabilitation Fund Committee. National contributions to the Rehabilitation Fund will be fixed by the Committee subject to the approval of each contributing nation, and the Committee will also make allocations from the Fund. The Committee will consist of representatives of the three States making the largest contributions for administrative expenses and three members elected by the Executive Board.

"Section six contains provisions relating to ratification, amendment, and interpretation which follow closely those in the statutes of other international bodies.

"Section seven contains provisions requiring member nations to supply information about education and cultural matters, defining the legal status of the organization and its staff, providing for cooperation between the organization and existing international organizations in the educational and cultural fields, and governing the relationship of the organization to any agency for coordinating public international organizations."

FIRST CONFERENCE OF COMMISSIONS OF INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

[Released to the press by the Inter-American Development Commission May 2]

The program for the First Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development, to be held in New York May 9 to 18, was announced May 2 by Nelson A. Rockefeller, chairman of the Inter-American Development Commission.

The Conference will bring to the United States many prominent businessmen from the other American republics for discussion of measures for further development of the natural resources of the Americas.

The Inter-American Development Commission and the 21 commissions in the American republics were organized under government sponsorship, with membership consisting of businessmen representative of commerce, industry, and finance. They are channels for collaboration between government and business in economic development. Established in wartime, the commissions have aided the mobilization of hemisphere economic resources for the war effort.

The agenda of the Conference is organized under two sections: (1) Economic Development and Investments and (2) International Trade and Transportation. Specific topics of the agenda follow:

SECTION I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENTS

Subjects: Analysis of the pertinent parts of reports presented by the national commissions and discussions of the following subjects so far as they pertain to a consideration of the basic objective above: Full utilization of natural resources, economic stability, currency stabilization, establishment of new industries, instruments for economic development, technical assistance, levels of living, debt services, credit facilities, equitable credit terms, equality of treatment of foreign investments, taxation, methods of investment, government operations, and private enterprises.

SECTION II. INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION

Subjects: Analysis of the pertinent parts of the reports presented by the national commissions and discussion of the following subjects so far as they pertain to a consideration of the basic objectives above: Trade barriers (tariffs, quotas, exchange control, export taxes, State trading), customs unions and preferences, commodity policies (international agreements, subsidies), monopolies and cartels, transportation facilities and services, rate policies, equality in protection from risks, national merchant marines, and tourist trade.

American Republics

FELLOWSHIPS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION FOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget has issued, pursuant to statutory authority and official recommendations and subject to appropriations available, regulations with respect to fellowships in public administration which will be awarded to qualified applicants from the other American republics. The fellowships, which will be awarded by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget with the approval of the Secretary of State, will be of the intern-training and training-in-research type and may include advance university instruction at colleges and universities and practical training and observation in Government departments and agencies. Each application shall be transmitted to the Secretary of State by the government of the American republic of which the applicant is a citizen through the American diplomatic mission accredited to that government.

Each applicant awarded a fellowship may be granted, upon the recommendation of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, monthly allowances for quarters and subsistence during the entire period spent in the United States, or its territories or possessions; certain transportation expenses; a *per diem* in lieu of subsistence while in travel status (except that no *per diem* will be

allowed concurrently with monthly allowances); and other expenses. Each applicant shall submit written reports of progress in studies and research at such intervals as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget may direct.

Fellowships may be awarded for periods not exceeding 12 months of actual study and research and may be extended for not exceeding the same periods. Fellowships may be canceled for cause by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, with the approval of the Secretary of State.

The full text of the regulations appears in the *Federal Register* of May 6, 1944, page 4799.

VISIT OF COLOMBIAN MUSEUM DIRECTOR

Señorita Teresa Cuervo Borda, Director of Casa Colonial, the national museum of colonial art and history at Bogotá, Colombia, has arrived in Washington as a guest of the Department of State. She plans to visit not only archives, libraries, and museums in the national capital and other areas of the United States but also to observe what has been done in such colonial restorations as those at Williamsburg, Virginia, for the Casa Colonial, in addition to being a national museum, is a masterpiece of the restoration of an early Spanish colonial house.

Near East

BIRTHDAY OF THE KING OF IRAQ

[Released to the press May 2]

The President has sent the following message to His Highness Prince Abdul Ilah, Regent of the Kingdom of Iraq, on the occasion of the birthday of the King of Iraq:

MAY 2, 1944.

It gives me great pleasure to express to His Majesty King Faisal II my sincere good wishes on this anniversary of his birth and to convey to the people of Iraq the greetings of the people of the United States on this happy occasion.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

The Department

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF DEPARTMENTAL PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

Departmental Order 1272 of May 3, 1944¹

Purpose and Authority. The purpose of the present order, issued under R.S. 161 (5 U.S.C. 22), is to set forth the principles and policies which are to govern the inauguration of the new personnel program under Departmental Order 1218 as amended.

The Department of State exists to serve the public interest within the framework established by the Constitution, by statute, and by regulation. The Department has the major responsibility, under the President, for determining the foreign policy of the United States Government and for conducting its foreign relations.

The observance of the principles and policies outlined herein is fundamental to fulfilling the Department's responsibilities. The best interests of all will be served by the improvement of Departmental standards for discharging these responsibilities and by giving due recognition to each employee's effort.

Since it is the practice of the Department to call in Foreign Service officers to supplement the regular staff of the Department, it is incumbent upon these officers, while on duty in the Department, to subscribe to the principles and policies outlined below.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

1. The Department recognizes as a fundamental requirement of effective operation, the need for and the importance of establishing and maintaining mutually satisfactory and effective working relationships among all employees. The Department realizes that its responsibilities will be performed most ably if all its employees understand the importance of their work and identify themselves with it. It is the responsibility of each administrative official to organize his work so

that every member of his staff will feel the challenge of contributing to his full capacity in the task to be done.

2. It is the primary objective of the Department's program of personnel administration to recruit, develop, and maintain a staff of qualified, efficient, and well-adjusted workers and to encourage the maximum use of their skills and abilities. This may be accomplished principally through the proper selection, placement, upgrading, supervision, training, and remuneration of employees and through the maintenance of proper working conditions.

3. The Department recognizes that the individual employee's rights and interests with reference to his position are based upon his ability and performance without discrimination or prejudice. He is entitled to fair treatment by his supervisors, equitable compensation for his services, and deserved consideration for his advancement within the Department.

4. The Department intends to create and maintain an environment for work which will encourage employees to grow and foster a high degree of effort and productivity. It is essential that all officials in administrative or supervisory positions clearly understand and apply the major principles and policies of departmental personnel administration in the interest of high morale.

POLICIES

1. *Appointment.* The Department selects its staff on the basis of merit, without discrimination. The selection of candidates is based on the requirements of the position, ability, skill, training, experience, character, and physical fitness. All appointments are made in accordance with applicable Civil Service laws and regulations.

2. *Placement and Transfer.* (a) Employees are placed in positions for which they are equipped

¹ Effective May 3, 1944.

by experience, training, and physical fitness. Physical fitness is considered an important factor in the selection of each employee. It is the aim of the Department to make the best possible use of the skills and abilities of employees at all levels. If the initial placement does not engage the full capacities of employees, consistent with the Department's requirements and efficiency, steps will be taken to transfer them to positions more commensurate with their capacities. Administrative and supervisory personnel have a responsibility to assist in making such adjustments.

(b) It will be the policy to make inter-division transfers wherever necessary in the best interest of the Department's work. In order to avoid dislocation in operations within the division concerned, it is the obligation of each supervisor so to train employees and organize the flow of his work as to facilitate the release of efficient employees for upgrading elsewhere in the Department.

3. *Promotion From Within.* (a) In order to encourage the development of careers in the Department, the policy of promotion from within will be observed. Promotions are made on the basis of competency on the present job and ability to assume and discharge efficiently greater responsibilities. Ability of the individual to work harmoniously and effectively with fellow employees and to contribute to the improvement of methods and procedures, are factors in advancement to more responsible duties. Each administrator and supervisor should be alert to and should assist in the development of a high degree of efficiency in the employees whose work he directs.

(b) In filling vacancies, consideration will be given first to proficient employees within the immediate section, then within the division, and, finally elsewhere within the Department. If other considerations are equal, length of service may be a determining factor in promotions. If qualified employees are not available, the Department will make appointments from outside when it is deemed to be in its best interest.

(c) It is the intention of the Department to recognize the efforts of its employees to raise their qualifications for service. It is incumbent upon every employee to inform his supervisor and the Division of Departmental Personnel of addi-

tional qualifications acquired through study or other means of self-development. Adequate records of experience, training, and performance will be maintained for each employee as a method of carrying out this policy.

4. *Classification of Positions.* It is the policy of the Department to make equitable payment for the work performed. This means that positions will be properly classified and graded on the basis of duties and responsibilities, in accordance with the provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended.

5. *Service Ratings.* Service ratings for all Federal employees are prescribed by law. The development of sound standards of performance is an inherent part of each supervisor's responsibility, and he is called upon to appraise objectively and continuously the individual performance of his subordinates on the basis of such standards. This appraisal is one of the factors in determining the advancement or retention of employees and provides the basis for promotion under the Mead-Ramspeck Act of August 1, 1941.

6. *Overtime.* (a) It is the policy of the Department to perform its day-to-day functions within the prescribed work-week, and supervisors have the responsibility to organize their work so that this policy may be observed. Voluntary overtime of employees in order to meet abnormal pressures of work will be considered by the Department as a factor in giving due recognition for service.

(b) When emergencies require the Department to direct employees to work beyond the normal work day, they shall be duly compensated. Overtime compensation for such work may be given, or compensatory leave in lieu thereof.

7. *Leave.* The Department favors the intelligent use of annual leave for the purpose of rest, recreation, and recuperation as a benefit to both the employee and the Department. The period of continuous leave must be determined as a matter of administrative discretion, in the light of the urgency of the work of the employee.

8. *Separations.* (a) Continued employment by the Department requires that employees render honest, efficient, and loyal service. It is the policy of the Department to terminate appointments when such separation will promote the efficiency

of the service. This will be done in accordance with Civil Service procedure. Employees whose appointments must be terminated for any cause whatsoever will be accorded a fair hearing by the Department under procedures already in effect. They will also be informed of their right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission and, at the discretion of the Commission, to have their names placed on reemployment lists.

(b) When a reduction of force is necessary, employees will be retained on the basis of merit, with due allowance for length of service and other considerations prescribed by Civil Service regulations. Since service ratings are the criteria of merit, the Department expects all supervisors to make accurate evaluations of employees.

9. *Training.* The Department considers it a responsibility of management to train the staff as a means of increasing efficiency. It is a major responsibility of every supervisor to see that each employee under his supervision is instructed in his duties and in the best methods of performing them. The Department will assist employees to attain the required level of performance through training programs administered within a division or, where circumstances warrant, on a Department-wide basis. Such programs are designed to improve work practices and processes at all levels.

10. *Supervisory-Employee Conferences.* The Department recognizes that frequent consultations between employees and their supervisors are essential to good working relationships. All supervisors will be encouraged to develop a program of supervisory-employee conferences and to acquire the technique of securing group participation through the conference method. These conferences will provide a medium for the exchange of information and constructive ideas and for the development of leadership among employees. When properly conducted, they will contribute to the development of high morale and to the stimulation of a growing interest in the Department's methods of operation.

11. *Employee Suggestions.* It will be the policy of the Department to encourage suggestions for improving the policies, the methods and procedures, the working conditions, and other phases of employment. Employees should feel free to

make suggestions to their immediate supervisors or to higher officials of the Department. The effective carrying out of the Department's responsibilities requires full employee participation in the conduct of its affairs. An employee-suggestion system will be established, by means of which employee suggestions will be given proper consideration.

12. *Counseling.* The Department will provide an adequate and competent counseling service for its employees. This service will assist individual employees to solve the problems arising in their work and employment relations, as well as those of a more personal character.

13. *Grievances.* The Department will see that all employees are fairly treated in every respect. To this end supervisors are encouraged to use every available means to aid in solving the problems of their employees. Where an adjustment between supervisor and employee does not seem possible, the Counseling Service is available for consultation and guidance. If the problem cannot be satisfactorily adjusted through these channels, employees may avail themselves of the procedure established by the Department for the hearing of grievances. Employees are assured complete freedom in presenting grievances, without fear of reprisal or discrimination. The Department emphasizes the responsibility of all officials to cooperate in the observance of this policy.

14. *Health and Safety.* The Department will provide an adequate program for the health and safety of its employees. The purpose of this program will be to maintain the health and well-being of every employee, which will automatically increase efficiency and productivity, thus reducing absenteeism. In addition to first-aid care for the sick and injured the program will cover such matters as personal hygiene, nutrition, safe and sanitary working conditions, and related subjects.

15. *Employee Organizations.* Organizations of government employees have a logical place in government affairs. The Department subscribes to the belief that its employees have a right to join or refrain from joining employee organizations. Any choice made in this matter will be without interference, coercion, restraint, fear of discrimination or reprisal.

16. *Employee Services.* The Department realizes that the personal adjustment of its employees to life in the community has an important bearing on their attitude toward their work and the satisfaction they derive therefrom. Employees may be assisted in becoming happily integrated into the community through help regarding housing, transportation, financial matters, health, recreation, and other individual interests. Staff members will cooperate with employees in organizing and promoting cultural, recreational, and educational activities.

17. *Supervisory Responsibilities.* (a) The Department believes that high morale among its employees is fundamental to the successful carrying out of its functions. Supervisors are key people in the Department and the creation and maintenance of high morale in their units is their immediate responsibility. The methods of organizing and administering their work should include continuous instruction of the employees in the techniques of their work, enlistment of their interest in proficiency, and recognition of their wholehearted endeavor.

(b) It will be the policy of the Department to instruct supervisors in the proper application of these principles and policies.

The Division of Departmental Personnel has the responsibility for assisting operating officials in the establishment and maintenance of a progressive personnel program designed to stimulate employees so that their efforts will result in satisfaction to themselves, credit to the Department, and benefit to the nation.

CORDELL HULL

PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF AMERICAN COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Departmental Order 1264 of April 28, 1944¹

Mr. Homer S. Fox is hereby designated Consultant on Foreign Trade Protection and Promotion in the Division of Commercial Policy.

¹ Effective Apr. 28, 1944.

² *Press Releases*, May 13, 1939, p. 395.

The Consultant on Foreign Trade Protection and Promotion shall have responsibility for developing plans and advising the Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy with respect to the protection and promotion of American commercial and agricultural interests in foreign countries and under the general supervision of the Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy, for the execution of the functions relative to the protection and promotion of American commercial and agricultural interests abroad, which were transferred to the Department of State by Reorganization Plan No. II,² and responsibility with respect to which was placed in the Division of Commercial Policy by Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944.

CORDELL HULL

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1265 of May 1, 1944, effective May 1, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Stanley K. Hornbeck as Special Assistant to the Secretary.

By Departmental Order 1266 of May 1, 1944, effective May 1, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Joseph C. Grew as Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs.

By Departmental Order 1268 of May 2, 1944, effective May 2, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. John M. Cabot as Acting Chief temporarily of the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs.

The Foreign Service

CONFIRMATIONS

On May 3, 1944 the Senate confirmed the nomination of S. Pinkney Tuck to be American Minister to Egypt and R. Henry Norweb to be American Ambassador to Portugal.

CONSULAR OFFICES

The American Vice Consulate at Manta, Ecuador, was closed, effective April 29, 1944.

Treaty Information

GRANTING OF PLENIPOTENTIARY POWERS IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN RELATIONS TO EACH OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Under provisions of the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on February 1, 1944, each Soviet Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements with them.

A translation of the law and a translation of a circular note of February 11, 1944 from the Soviet Foreign Office concerning the reorganization of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, with which the law was enclosed, were transmitted to the Department of State with a despatch of February 15, 1944 from the American Embassy at Moscow.

The circular note reads in part as follows (translation):

"With a view to expanding international relations and to strengthening the collaboration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with other states, and in view of the growing need of the Soviet Republics for establishing direct relations with foreign states, the new Law provides that each Soviet Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements with them and to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives. The Law of February 1, 1944, introduces appropriate amendments into the present Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of December 5, 1936."

A translation of the text of the law follows:

THE LAW FOR THE GRANTING TO THE UNION REPUBLICS OF PLENIPOTENTIARY POWERS IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND FOR THE CORRESPONDING REORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM AN ALL-UNION TO A UNION-REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT.

With a view to extending international relations and to strengthening the collaboration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with other states and in view of the growing need of the

Union Republics to establish direct relations with foreign states, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

1. To provide that the Union Republics may enter into direct relations with foreign states and conclude agreements with them.

2. To include in the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. the following amendments:

(a). Add to Article 14 point "a" of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. after the words "representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties" the words "the establishment of the general form of mutual relations of the Union Republics with foreign states" whereby this point will read as follows:

"(a). Representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other states, and the establishment of the general form of mutual relations of the Union Republics with foreign states."

(b). Add to the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. Article 18-a with the following content:

"Article 18-a. Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements with them and to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives."

(c). Add to Article 60 of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. point "e" with the following content:

"(e). Establishes representation of the Union Republic in international relations."

3. To reorganize the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs from an All-Union to a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., A. GORKIN.

MOSCOW, KREMLIN, *February 1, 1944.*

EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, UNITED STATES AND GUATEMALA

The American Ambassador to Guatemala transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a despatch dated April 24, 1944, an agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Guatemala for the exchange of official publications. The agreement, which was concluded by an exchange of notes dated March 23, 1944 and April 13, 1944, became effective on March 23, 1944.

Lists of official publications to be exchanged accompanied each note. Under the terms of the agreement, each Government agrees to furnish to the other Government, without the necessity of subsequent negotiation, new and important publications which may be initiated in the future. The official exchange office for the transmission of the publications on the part of the United States is the Smithsonian Institution; the official exchange office on the part of Guatemala is the Tipografía Nacional. The publications exchanged will be received for the United States by the Library of Congress and for Guatemala by the Biblioteca Nacional de Guatemala. Each Government agrees to bear postal, railroad, steamship, and other charges arising in its own territory and to expedite the shipments so far as possible.

REGULATION OF INTER-AMERICAN AUTOMOTIVE TRAFFIC

Honduras

The Director General of the Pan American Union, by a letter of May 2, 1944, informed the Secretary of State that on April 24, 1944 His Excellency the Ambassador of Honduras in the United States, Señor Dr. Don Julian R. Caceres, signed, in the name of his Government, the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was deposited with the Pan American Union and opened for signature on December 15, 1943.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- Temporary Raising of Level of Lake St. Francis During Low-Water Periods: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada Continuing in Effect the Agreement of November 10, 1941 as Continued by the Agreement of October 5 and 9, 1942—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington October 5 and 9, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 377. Publication 2101. 2 pp. 5¢.
- Haitian Finances: Supplementary Agreement Between the United States of America and Haiti—Signed at Port-au-Prince August 28, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 378. Publication 2107. 2 pp. 5¢.
- Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Ecuador—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington February 24, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 379. Publication 2109. 3 pp. 5¢.
- The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 2, May 5, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. Publication 2113. 25 pp. Free.

Legislation

- Supplemental Estimate—Department of State: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Department of State, fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$50,000, in the form of an amendment to the budget for said fiscal year. S. Doc. 186, 78th Cong. 2 pp.
- Estimate of Appropriation To Enable the United States To Participate in the Work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting an estimate of appropriation to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, as authorized by the act of March 28, 1944 (Public Law 267), in the amount of \$450,000,000, and a proposed provision authorizing the disposition or expenditure by the President of supplies, services, or funds available under the act of March 11, 1941 (22 U. S. C. 411-419), in the amount of \$350,000,000. H. Doc. 572, 78th Cong. 5 pp.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1944

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

MAY 13, 1944

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The War

DECLARATION BY THE AMERICAN, BRITISH, AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS REGARDING THE FOUR AXIS SATELLITES

[Released to the press May 12]

Through the fateful policy of their leaders, the people of Hungary are suffering the humiliation of German occupation. Rumania is still bound to the Nazis in a war now bringing devastation to its own people. The Governments of Bulgaria and Finland have placed their countries in the service of Germany and remain in the war at Germany's side.

The Governments of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States think it right that these peoples should realize the following facts:

1. The Axis satellites, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland, despite their realization of the inevitability of a crushing Nazi defeat and their desire to get out of the war are by their present policies and attitudes contributing materially to the strength of the German war-machine.

2. These nations still have it within their power, by withdrawing from the war and ceasing their collaboration with Germany and by resisting the forces of Nazism by every possible means, to shorten the European struggle, diminish their own ultimate sacrifices, and contribute to the Allied victory.

3. While these nations cannot escape their responsibility for having participated in the war at the side of Nazi Germany, the longer they continue at war in collaboration with Germany the more disastrous will be the consequences to them and the more rigorous will be the terms which will be imposed upon them.

4. These nations must therefore decide now whether they intend to persist in their present hopeless and calamitous policy of opposing the inevitable Allied victory, while there is yet time for them to contribute to that victory.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

FIRST CONFERENCE OF COMMISSIONS OF INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

Message of President Roosevelt ¹

[Released to the press by the White House May 9]

It gives me great pleasure to extend a very warm greeting to the delegates of the First Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development.

The Americas, through joint action based upon the principles agreed upon at the Pan American meetings, have mobilized their resources against the common enemy. They are patrolling hemisphere waters, strengthening military bases, supplying great quantities of strategic materials. These are all playing a notable part in the ever-rising strength of the United Nations' fighting forces.

But many tasks requiring joint effort among the Americas remain. One of the most important immediate jobs is preparation for the time when we will have to readjust our economies after war production has passed its peak. How well we succeed in making a smooth transition from war to peace

will depend in large part upon how we prepare now.

The Inter-American Development Commission, and the 21 individual country commissions, constitute one of the invaluable mechanisms which the Americas have created for mutually beneficial cooperation. The delegates to this conference have an important function in preparing for the future as well as aiding the wartime mobilization of hemisphere resources. This Conference and the commissions provide a particularly effective channel for the direct participation by private business in hemisphere economic progress.

This Conference is building upon a strong foundation—cooperation, equality, and opportunity—which we together have laid through the years. Inter-American cooperation has been tested in peace and in war, and today is preparing for the readjustment period ahead of us.

Message of the Secretary of State ²

[Released to the press May 10]

I am most happy to have this opportunity of extending a message of greeting to the Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development and of wishing it full success in its deliberations.

Although the present circumstances demand that our energies be devoted primarily to the prosecution of the war, it is also important that plans be outlined now for post-war economic development. In the formulation of such plans it is highly desirable that representatives of private business and financial interests in the American republics consult together on important issues and make known their views to the governments and to the public generally.

The Conference of the Inter-American Development Commissions, therefore, has an excellent opportunity for constructive accomplishment. The exchange of opinions based on national points of view can be most helpful in arriving at a mutually satisfactory understanding on many important questions. This should permit agreement on broad principles which will serve as a basis for specific programs. Such exchanges of views can also facilitate the coordination of national programs in an effective manner.

¹ Read at the opening session of the Conference in New York, N. Y., May 9, 1944.

² Read at the opening plenary session of the Conference, May 10, 1944.

Concentration upon the number and complexity of post-war economic problems, serious as these will be, perhaps tends to create a state of mind which reflects an undue caution concerning the future. This Conference, with the strength and vitality of private initiative behind its work, can provide a bold and vigorous leadership in directing plans, thoughts, and hopes to the almost un-

limited opportunities and possibilities for economic progress in the years of peace to come. Expanded production and trade, based on sound and liberal principles, bringing more goods and services to more people—these are goals worthy of the best efforts of all of us. I feel certain that the Conference will chart a straight course toward those objectives.

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

A CHALLENGING OPPORTUNITY

[Released to the press May 13]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: During your meetings you have been taking counsel as to practical ways and means of safeguarding and increasing the prosperity of the countries in North and South America. You have considered the Western Hemisphere as a whole. You have been right in doing this.

The American nations have a common destiny. They are locked together by ties of friendship and by ties of self-interest. It is clear that the foundation of the foreign policy of the United States must be the policy of the good neighbor; and that while we hope this will become world-wide, it will always be applied to the American group of countries. So far as the United States is concerned, no policy can be sound unless it takes account of this basic reality.

Your plan has been to provide greater development for the Americas by setting up industries where possible in the other American republics. In time, if you are fully successful, no country will be limited to agriculture or mining; but all will have as great a measure of factory and industrial life as they find it to their advantage to have.

From the point of view of the United States this is thoroughly sound. We have long since escaped from the idea that some countries were merely beds of raw materials or agricultural production, to be exploited for the benefit of foreign manufacturers. We have come to that conclusion partly because it was morally wrong. It is simply not right for some countries to expect to maintain the high

prosperity which can come with industry by exploiting the inability of other countries to create and support industries for themselves. But we have also learned that the self-interest of the United States, as a manufacturing country, is best served by the growth of industry elsewhere. Our best customers have been industrialized countries. What we lose in competitive industry we more than make up in markets occasioned by the increase in wages and the growing prosperity of the countries which improve their economic life.

In general, we will explore the possibilities for accomplishing this growth of industry in the American republics through private enterprise. This is as it should be, since America is a continent of private enterprise. But it is appropriate to realize fully the contract with society which private enterprise is assuming. In these days, private investment and private enterprise take on obligations not only to their investors and owners but also to their labor and to society. This is especially true in the American republics, where the growth of industry will change certain civilizations from the old course of an agricultural society.

An enterprise today is expected to give substantially continuous employment. It seems probable that this obligation will be stressed in countries which turn from agriculture to industry, because land at least furnished shelter and food—even at a low standard—to the people on it at all times.

¹ Delivered in New York, N.Y., May 13, 1944.

A factory which pays relatively high wages for certain periods, drawing men away from the land, will not be considered successful if it throws those men out on the street at intervals, leaving them to charity or starvation. We are just beginning to learn this in the United States, for the obligations are beginning to be asserted against private enterprise here just as they are elsewhere.

And where any area becomes industrialized you will find that private enterprise, or private enterprise and the state working together, are expected to provide general employment for the population which must find its livelihood in that area. This, too, is an obligation which is being brought home to the United States as well as to other American republics. This is partly due to our experience after the last war. Our returning soldiers, on discharge from the Army, will not be content to sell apples; and I think it unlikely that British soldiers on discharge will walk up and down the streets with blankets asking for coppers, as happened in some English cities after the last war. Neither does it seem likely that the people of any country will stay quiet if there are on the one hand material resources and the machinery to make needed goods out of them, both lying idle while unemployed people unsuccessfully seek work.

Both investment and private enterprise have to take account of these social demands and make their plans accordingly. Plans can be made which will take account of these conditions, and we will arrange to make them.

These demands can be met. But the best brains and the best planning and the best management in the hemisphere will be needed.

When industry is entering a new area, experience shows that it has to do a number of things. It has to provide training for workers who until now have not had a chance to learn modern skills. It has to offer opportunity to capable people to make progress in the organization and in the industry. This means opportunity for better technical education. Not infrequently it means assistance at the lowest levels: provision for better health, provision for better feeding, provision for better living conditions.

You cannot operate a sound industrial plant on the peon system. Ultimately, sound and healthy industrialization means the end of the peon system—and that is just what it ought to mean.

Private enterprise and private investment in the hemisphere, looked at against this background, thus widens its horizon. It has to provide steady work for the people who work for it—and that means planning, scheduling of production, leveling off the peaks and valleys of production. It ought to mean also reasonable unemployment-compensation arrangements to take care of those interruptions which cannot be foreseen or provided against, either by direct compensation or by bracketing industrial employment with a certain amount of agricultural resources.

It means planning for workers' health, and that in turn means working with the public-health authorities in the country in which the enterprise is situated.

It means working with the education systems of the area in which the enterprise is at work. The workers who are becoming trained will want better training for their children.

It means that the enterprise must take a vivid interest in the supply and cost of food and of the necessities of life. The managers of the enterprise in the coming generation ought to be the first line of defense against exploitation by profiteers in food or medical supplies or other economic necessities. All this is part of the process of progressive raising of living standards. It is part of the everyday work of a modern industrial enterprise.

It is particularly welcome to know that you who are businessmen have endeavored to tackle this problem on the theory that ownership of the enterprises you project shall be in part, if not in whole, in the country where the enterprise is located. We are progressively learning that no enterprise is sound unless it returns to the country in which it is, in one form or another, as much as it takes out. There is at present no reason why this should not be brought about. In older days we used to say that the countries of America outside of the United States and Canada lacked capital. This is no longer true. At present it is

far more difficult to find management than to find money; and the problem of most of the Americas is to make effective use of the capital which it has accumulated as a result of the war. If this is done, there ought to be no difficulty in cooperation between the technicians of the United States and the enterprises of the other American republics, which will be mutually beneficial to both.

In the Americas, no one can prevent our progress except ourselves. We have the resources, we have the technical ability, we have the capital, and, God knows, we have the need for goods. We

have a challenging opportunity to enter a stage of development more promising to the men and women of our countries, of all walks of life, than perhaps the world has even seen. We shall need to find new methods in economics and finance as modern as the new methods which we have developed in engineering, in chemistry, and in production. We shall undoubtedly need greater development in the art of government and in bringing together the resources of public and private organization. The work is fundamental. From the conditions so created, countries can build anew.

General

CULTURAL-COOPERATION PROGRAM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Address by Assistant Secretary Shaw ¹

[Released to the press May 8]

Six years ago—in 1938—a separate division to handle international cultural relations was established in the Department of State. This action was but a tardy recognition in terms of organization of the fact that such relations are of essential importance to all men, regardless of country, race, creed, or economic status. Certainly it would be misleading to suggest that governments have only recently interested themselves in promoting and facilitating the international exchange of knowledge, skills, and the arts.

The scholars of your university are better able than I to trace the history of cultural relations, but I suspect that the history of the subject is nothing less than the story of mankind. One of the best known of the early cultural-exchange ventures of modern history is to be found in the story of Marco Polo and his father, Nicolo Polo. The accounts of their travels tell us that on Nicolo Polo's first visit to Kublai Khan, that renowned ruler requested Nicolo to return on a second mission with a hundred able teachers of the liberal arts and religion. Unfortunately, as we know,

this particular exchange of learned men was not carried out, but on the return visit to Kublai Khan's court Nicolo did take with him his son, Marco Polo. The following brief excerpt from a history of the travelers indicates that Marco Polo thoroughly understood the work of a cultural-relations attaché in the sense in which we use that term today. I quote:

“Mark, during his stay at court, had observed the Khan's delight in hearing of strange countries, their marvels, manners, and oddities, and had heard his majesty's frank expressions of disgust at the stupidity of his commissioners when they could speak of nothing but the official business on which they had been sent. Profiting by these observations, he took care to store his memory or his notebooks with all curious facts that were likely to interest Kublai, and related them with vivacity on his return to Court.”

It is worth noting, moreover, that Marco Polo's success seems in large measure to have been due

¹ Delivered at the Loyola University Forum, New Orleans, La., May 8, 1944.

to his appreciation of the basic principle that in sound international cultural relations there must be reciprocity. We, like him, must be always on the alert to know the other person's way of life as well as to make our own way known to these others. A well-conceived and effectively administered cultural-relations program must in the long run be genuinely cooperative. The simple words "give and take" are words of practical wisdom in this field of work.

The interest of our Government in the development of cooperative cultural exchanges with other nations is motivated neither by sentimental nor by sinister purposes. It is based simply on a clear recognition that the daily processes of living and of living spiritually and intellectually are the common—indeed the commonest—interest of all mankind. And, after all, international relations in the last analysis consist of dealings, whether diplomatic, commercial, or, for want of a better word, "cultural", in matters which are of common interest to men of all nations.

We hear a great deal today to the effect that this war is a "people's war" and that it must be followed by a "people's peace". A vitally important idea is permeating international affairs when men begin to speak in terms of a people's war and a people's peace. That idea, of course, is a real belief in the worth of the individual human being entirely irrespective of nationality, race, creed, or economic status. It is an important idea for many reasons, but for us it is *all* important because it represents the central core of faith around which our country and indeed all free countries have built their institutions and their very lives. In the connection we are dealing with in this talk it represents a conviction that necessary as governments are they alone cannot win this war and they alone cannot make or maintain a secure and a fruitful peace. This is the faith stated in simplest terms which is at the heart of our international cultural-relations program.

I am going to examine the concept of cultural relations with you today in terms of the tangible things which make up our cultural-cooperation program. First, however, it will be helpful to clear away a basic misconception which caricatures this whole subject. The worst of several

misconceptions with which we have to deal is the misunderstanding created in some people's minds by the very term "cultural relations". Sometime in our past history the word "cultural" became associated somehow with a privileged, an esoteric, a relatively idle and unproductive group in our society. I do not need to enter into a lengthy description of the group to which I refer. Among other attributes it was considered to have the characteristic of putting on "false airs". Now, the putting on of false airs is the last thing which ought to be associated with a man or woman of culture, but at least some members of the group to which I am referring decided that their inadequacies would be best hidden by making overmuch of that which they entirely lacked, namely, a serious and a creative concern with things of the mind. That is how the word "culture" got a bad name. The answer to this misunderstanding is not to turn good words over to bad company, but rather to turn the bad company out. There is no place in the cultural-relations program of this Government for the dilettante.

Let me mention another misconception. Our cultural-relations program includes the fine arts, and it is right that it should do so. But I want to make it clear that the words "culture" and "cultural" as we use them are not at all restricted to the fine arts, important as they undoubtedly are. We use these terms to cover the entire range of knowledge—technical and otherwise—that knowledge in which men have a common stake and which in one way or another can advantageously be shared cooperatively.

So much for the general principles, the philosophy which we have applied and which we propose to continue applying in the field of international cultural relations. I want now to tell you of some of the specific things we have actually done. They have fallen into certain categories: the exchange of professors and students; travel grants to leaders of science, education, and the professions; assistance in the maintenance of libraries and the translation of books; encouragement of cultural institutes; and the use of motion pictures and radio.

Under our program 23 professors have been exchanged between the United States and other republics in the Western Hemisphere. Last year,

for instance, the National University of Mexico expressed interest in receiving from the United States a professor who could teach English as a foreign language. Dr. Albert Markwardt of the University of Michigan was given this assignment and was made Director of the English Language Institute in Mexico City, which specializes in the training of English teachers for the Mexican public schools. Similarly the Venezuelan language specialist, Mariano Picón-Salas, was brought to Columbia University to teach in the Romance Language Department. Thus the current of interchange has been in both directions, which is as it should be.

Since 1940 the Department of State has in part supported the exchange of students by issuing travel grants to some and by awarding maintenance grants each year to a carefully selected group of graduate students from the other nations of the hemisphere. We know that nearly all these students have had a successful and profitable stay in the United States, for, every day, letters are received in the Department from some of them who have either returned to their homeland or who are still on our campuses. They tell us what they think of the experience of living in the United States. Let me read you an excerpt from one of these student letters, written by a young man 28 years old who has studied soil science at a university in the Middle West. He is both critical and fair. He writes:

"The university life in the United States differs . . . very much from the university life of the Latin American countries, and from that of the university life of my own country, especially in methods of education. I have observed here that the university students are conducted as 'kids' of high school. In other words they do not have any mental independence during their college years . . .

"In other respects of the American university life, we the Latin American students have a great lesson to learn, and I want to point it out. One of them is the higher training in citizenship. The other lesson that we need to learn and assimilate is the dignity of manual labor and the role that this thing plays in the humble dignity of the American

students, working in tasks which in my country would be considered beneath the proud dignity of a university student."

Nearly all the students assisted by the Department are graduate students. About a third of them are studying medicine and dentistry, and most of the others are in the various sciences or engineering.

Another kind of grant is offered by the Department of State for exchange visits in the Western Hemisphere by leaders of science, education, and the professions. You have doubtless met some of these prominent visitors. They have come from 20 of the other American republics, and they have included scholars and university presidents, at least 50 journalists, a number of leaders in social welfare, and many scientists working upon health and agricultural problems.

These three types of grants are of particular importance, since they enable people to travel and exchange ideas in the most effective possible way, namely, face to face.

We are no less interested in centers of American culture abroad. Not long ago there came over my desk in the Department of State the annual report of the Benjamin Franklin Library at Mexico City. This library was set up on a modest scale in 1942 with funds from the United States Government. It now has 8,000 volumes concerning the United States, of which over 1,000 were donated by private citizens during the past year. Nearly 60,000 loans of books were made in 1943. Interestingly enough, about half the readers were Mexican children who crowded into the small reading-room specially reserved for them, and overflowed into the halls. The auditorium in the library is used for weekly motion pictures on the United States and for lectures by visiting Americans. English classes, also given in the building, showed a remarkable growth last year. Whereas in January there were 150 students, in November there were 650. In addition to these libraries devoted exclusively to the United States, our Government has aided approximately 500 public libraries in Central and South America to increase their collections of books in English about the United States.

We have concerned ourselves with the translation of books from English into Spanish and Portuguese, and the translation of books from those languages into English. As you know, our bookstores in the United States have seldom carried titles by Latin American authors, and the reverse is also true; bookstores in Central and South America prior to the war offered for sale almost no translations of books from the United States, whereas European books, especially those from Spain, France, and Germany, were to be found everywhere. To meet this need, a program was inaugurated in 1941 to give special grants to publishers, generally sufficient to pay the cost of the translation of a book; the publisher then took care of publication and distribution.

The cultural-cooperation program also assists groups of private citizens who are interested in developing better understanding between the United States and the other American republics. In the principal cities of the hemisphere there are centers which are commonly known as cultural institutes. They are equipped with small libraries of American books and periodicals. Lectures are arranged and motion pictures and an occasional exhibition are shown at these institutes. Nearly all these institutes offer classes for the teaching of English, Spanish, and Portuguese. You will understand how strong and independent these organizations are when I tell you that they raised approximately half their total budgets through local donations last year. Latest reports indicate that the institutes now have enrolled over 12,000 students of English.

Let me emphasize the fact that this is no one-way project, for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs has been aiding the establishment of inter-American centers here in the United States which carry on similar activities, including the promotion of the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

No account of our cultural-relations program would be complete without mention of the useful part that motion pictures and radio have played. Educational motion pictures are presented in schools, hospitals, and army training-camps; and before all kinds of public gatherings, for we have ever in mind that our program is essentially a democratic one—a people's program. I recall recent

reports of exhibitions in city department stores and in village squares, and the pictures themselves concern agriculture, public health, the industries of the United States, our geography, our sports, and our schools. Recently the audiences which have seen these pictures have exceeded 3,000,000 persons a month.

The radio has also been useful in reaching large masses of people. A single radio chain in Colombia, which was broadcasting English lessons prepared by a local American resident, received 13,000 requests for the small printed textbook which accompanied the radio course.

Many of the activities which I have just mentioned owe a great deal to the collaboration and assistance of other agencies, both inside and outside the Government, and notably, of course, to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and, in the case of activities carried on outside of the American republics, to the Office of War Information.

We are often asked: Is our cultural-relations program successful? Is it realistic? Does it pay? Of course, it is not a perfect program. Nothing in a democracy is perfect. Mistakes have been made; improvements are and always will be in order; they have been suggested and are being carried out; but the successes have been tangible, and it is a fact that this program has done much to open up an uninterrupted current of ideas between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. This is not a Department of State evaluation alone but that of independent judges. In 1941 five members of the Appropriations Committee of the United States House of Representatives made a tour of the hemisphere and investigated, among other things, the work in cultural relations. The committee members reported that the program, conducted at relatively modest cost, was generally effective and productive of notable results. Their report contained suggestions for strengthening the program, including greater emphasis on the teaching of English, and a stronger program for the translation of books. During the past two years marked progress has been made in these two activities.

I would like to cite another judgment on this program—that of the other governments in the hemisphere. Their active cooperation with the Department of State, including the sharing of the

financial expense of many projects, has been most gratifying. For instance, in Nicaragua the Government is providing free of charge the building and utilities for the United States Library; in Brazil the Government has set up at its own expense six professorships in United States language and literature in its national universities; and in Peru the Government appropriated \$50,000 last year for the expense of Peruvian students coming to the United States and \$10,000 for United States students to study in Peru.

I have given to you a brief account of some of our experience to date in conducting a program of cultural relations. How should we shape our plans for the future?

We seek the fundamental goal of constructing after the war a more stable world order, both with respect to the maintenance of peace and to the achievement of the freedoms, the economic advancement, and the various forms of security demanded by the peoples of all nations.

There is need for developing a greater understanding of cultural differences and a greater discernment of common beliefs and values beneath these differences. The separation of nations into violently opposed and sternly barricaded ideological camps is a disaster of the first magnitude. It is essential too that we make a concerted effort toward a greater understanding and a greater consensus among the peoples of the world in the field of ideas and values if an international order in any degree approximating our hopes for peace is to be achieved.

How will our cultural-relations program be extended and what will be its principal activities?

A program with the Axis-dominated countries on the continent of Europe must be considered in the light of conditions after those countries are liberated. Looking beyond Europe, long-range programs are needed in the Near and Middle East, where a better understanding with the peoples of that part of the world is already a matter of first-rate importance. Already we have received many requests. We have been asked by the Afghan Government to send American engineers to replace the Japanese engineers in Afghanistan; the Government of India has requested an hydrau-

lic engineer; China has requested more than 20 technical experts of various kinds.

We are assisting Chinese students as a wartime measure. Approximately 1,500 of these students were studying in the United States at the outbreak of the Pacific war. They were unable to return home and were cut off from their usual source of funds, and about 350 have received financial aid from the United States Government, and a similar number were given aid by the Chinese Government.

Another major activity which the Department foresees is the world-wide exchange of books and periodicals and the wider use of public libraries. Our great foundations in the United States have already made a beginning in this work. The Rockefeller Foundation has given \$50,000 for the stockpiling of United States technical and scholarly journals during the war for distribution to foreign libraries after the war. The American Library Association is calling for donations of many types of books to be sent to libraries in devastated areas. United States publishers are discussing measures to reduce the export price of their books and thus make them more accessible to schools and libraries abroad. Some United States magazines have published inexpensive overseas editions. The Department of State is studying these private activities and proposes to lend assistance in some regions where private initiative is unable to bear the full burden.

There remains one important and far-reaching activity to which I shall devote the remainder of my remarks. That is the problem of assisting Europe and Asia to rehabilitate their schools and other cultural institutions. That problem is a challenge to our Government and to our people—a challenge even to the boys and girls in our schools who enjoy advantages which are denied to many children in Europe.

We have recognized that there are three distinct parts to this problem: (1) emergency aid for the liberated countries; (2) educational policies toward the Axis countries; and (3) a permanent international organization for education.

We have now, as you know, taken action on the first of these problems, relating to liberated areas.

We have stated our policy, and our official delegation to London, where the rebuilding of education in the liberated countries has been discussed, has just returned.

The press has recently carried many reports on the destruction of educational facilities in Europe. We know that the occupied countries in western Europe—France, Belgium, Holland, and Norway—have so far suffered relatively little damage to their universities and schools, but that many of their teachers and professors have died in concentration camps. In eastern Europe on the other hand—in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece—the Germans have destroyed virtually all intellectual and cultural life. Early in the war Germany gave particular attention to the elimination of scientists, students, and teachers, and nearly all the equipment of libraries, laboratories, and schools has been destroyed. The University of Warsaw, for example, formerly contained thirty-one scientific institutes. Fifteen were completely destroyed by the Germans and eight others have been stripped of all equipment.

At the University of Cracow, largest scientific center in Poland, the library was removed by the Germans, and 170 professors were deported to concentration camps where many have since died.

It is unnecessary to burden you with further details. Reports from all parts of eastern Europe indicate the almost total destruction of educational facilities and the disappearance of most leaders of education. These people, where liberated, will need help in order to help themselves. They must have equipment and training for their personnel before they can begin to restore the process of civilized living.

In our recent statement of policy concerning the educational restoration of the liberated countries we have recognized that each nation has determined and must continue to determine its own educational system. Each of these liberated nations is clearly entitled to this freedom of choice, and in that connection the following words of our policy statement deserve emphasis:

“It would be unwise for this Government to undertake to apply, much less impose, a foreign educational program or system in any liberated country, or to develop a program for the place-

ment of American teachers in the schools of these countries, or for the preparation of textbooks in the United States for use in such schools.”

These are activities of which the Department of State does *not* approve. The policy statement recognized the usefulness of four types of aid to the liberated countries. These are:

First, assistance in restocking books, scientific equipment, and other teaching aids.

Secondly, assistance in providing opportunities for the training of foreign students in American institutions.

Thirdly, assistance in reestablishing essential library facilities.

And finally, assistance in recovering educational and other cultural materials looted by the Axis.

In order to cooperate with the other United Nations in carrying out these activities the Department sent to London last month a delegation of six Americans under the leadership of Congressman J. William Fulbright of Arkansas to collaborate with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. The Conference is recommending to the participating governments a plan for a temporary international organization for education. This plan is now under consideration. At the appropriate time the problem of a permanent organization will be considered in the light of experience and the existing circumstances.

It is not possible at present to make any precise statement concerning education or the treatment of education in the Axis countries, and particularly in Germany. These are questions to be determined by combined agreement on the part of the United Nations. They are questions to which we are devoting much careful thought, since we are fully alive to their momentous importance in terms of the kind of world in which our children and our grandchildren are to live. This much, however, I can say: We believe that, while force can be used to destroy the way of life of a people, it cannot successfully build and permanently maintain a new life. Other and very different methods must be used—methods which are the very antithesis of the methods practiced by our enemies.

And now, by way of conclusion, I want to ask your cooperation in carrying on the important part of our foreign relations which I have tried to describe. We do not think of our cultural-relations program as any exclusively governmental activity. Rather do we think of that program as the expression of the best thought of our universities, colleges, and educational organizations, and of ourselves in the Department of State as a source of information for the guidance of that expression and as a focusing and coordinating center from which it may proceed with a maximum of effectiveness.

American Republics

VISIT OF PERUVIAN ARCHITECT

Señor Emilio Harth-Terré, distinguished Peruvian architect, has arrived in Washington as a guest of the Department of State. As he is at the present time engaged with plans for the immediate rebuilding of the National Library at Lima, which was devastated by fire in 1943, he plans to visit the larger libraries of this country and to observe in detail such library services as stacks, elevators, and air-conditioning.

Señor Harth-Terré is Professor of Fine Arts in the School of Fine Arts at Lima and is a founding member of the National Council for the Preservation and Restoration of Historical Monuments. In the latter capacity he was charged with the now completed reconstruction of the Cathedral of Lima. He has also reconstructed, among many other important works, the tower of the Church of Santo Domingo, which fell during an earthquake; the façade of the Church of La Merced, destroyed in the Revolution; and the Convent of St. Augustine at Saña.

During his tour of this country, Señor Harth-Terré will give a number of lectures and conduct several round-tables on Peruvian art and architecture.

VISIT OF DIRECTOR OF MEXICAN INSTITUTE OF TROPICAL MEDICINE

Dr. José Zozaya, Director of the Institute of Public Health and Tropical Diseases of Mexico, has arrived in Washington as a guest of the Department of State. Dr. Zozaya, a Harvard graduate, is also chairman of the Medical and Biological Sciences section of the *Comisión Impulsora y Coordinadora de la Investigación Científica*, an organization which was established last year by President Avila Camacho and which corresponds to our National Research Council.

While he is in the United States Dr. Zozaya will visit public-health centers and universities in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago; will spend some time at Harvard and the University of Michigan; and will extend to young physicians who wish to specialize in tropical medicine and to established specialists in that field invitations to pursue their investigations at the Institute of Public Health and Tropical Diseases of Mexico.

VISIT OF HAITIAN PHYSICIAN AND ENGINEER

[Released to the press May 11]

Two distinguished Haitians, Mr. Felix Bayard and Dr. Catts Pressoir, have arrived in Washington as guests of the Department of State. Mr. Bayard is head of the Government Printing Office of Haiti and editor of *Le Moniteur*, the official gazette. Dr. Pressoir, physician and educator, is professor of psychology in the Lycée Pétiot at Port-au-Prince.

Mr. Bayard is especially interested in printing processes. During his stay in Washington he will observe the work of the Government Printing Office. He will then spend several weeks visiting printing establishments in New York and Albany.

Dr. Pressoir, during his visit to this country, will devote especial attention to university methods and programs. He will visit medical colleges and centers of learning in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Chicago.

The Department

SYSTEMATIZING DEPARTMENTAL ORDERS AND OTHER ISSUANCES

Departmental Order 1269 of May 3, 1944 ¹

Purpose and authority. The purpose of the present order, issued under authority contained in R. S. 161 (5 U. S. C. 22), is to systematize the various classes of orders, instructions, and notices of the Department of State, exclusive of those relating solely to the Foreign Service, in the following series:

- Departmental Orders
- Departmental Regulations
- Departmental Designations
- Administrative Instructions—
 - General Administration
 - Personnel
 - Budget and Fiscal
 - Communications and Records
 - Coordination and Review
 - Operating Facilities
 - Security Control
 - Official Travel
- Public Notices
- Announcements (unnumbered)

The content of each of the foregoing series will be as indicated herein.

1 *Departmental Orders.* (a) The continued series of Departmental Orders will deal with the organization of the Department, the definition and assignment of functions and responsibilities (including the establishment of primary units down to and within divisions), relations with other agencies, and delegations of authority by position titles.

(b) Departmental Orders will be signed by the Secretary or Acting Secretary.

2 *Departmental Regulations.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise all regulatory mat-

ter of general applicability and legal effect, that is, rules which affect the public and are issued under statute or Executive order. Departmental Regulations must under the law be issued in the codified form and style of the Code of Federal Regulations and be transmitted immediately upon signature to the Division of the Federal Register, National Archives, for filing and promulgation in the Register.

(b) Departmental Regulations will be signed by the Secretary or Acting Secretary.

3 *Departmental Designations.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise designations of individuals by name to principal positions within the Department, including assistant chiefs of divisions and officers of comparable responsibility, and also necessary delegations to individuals by name of obligating, certifying, approving, and like types of authority.

(b) Departmental Designations will be signed by the Secretary or Acting Secretary, or the Assistant Secretary in charge of administration.

4 *Administrative Instructions.* This new multiple series will be the medium by which the policies and organization set forth basically in Departmental Orders will be implemented in detail. The series will be subdivided into several separately numbered categories: General Administration; Personnel; Budget and Fiscal; Communications and Records; Coordination and Review; Operating Facilities; Security Control; and Official Travel.

5 *Administrative Instructions—General Administration.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions on subjects not

¹ Effective May 3, 1944.

primarily related to those specially dealt with in the following categories of Administrative Instructions.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Administrative Management and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

6 *Administrative Instructions—Personnel.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise the detailed instructions on various aspects of personnel administration.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Departmental Personnel and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

7 *Administrative Instructions—Budget and Fiscal.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions on various aspects of budgetary and fiscal administration.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Budget and Finance and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

8 *Administrative Instructions—Communications and Records.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions on the handling of telegraphic and other communications and on the custody and disposition of records.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Communications and Records and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

9 *Administrative Instructions—Coordination and Review.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions on the preparation, coordination, and signature of the Department's correspondence.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Coordination and Review and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

10 *Administrative Instructions—Operating Facilities.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions on supplies, equip-

ment, space, messenger service, duplicating service, and other operating facilities of the Department.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Administrative Management and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

11 *Administrative Instructions—Security Control.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions to insure the security of information, transactions, and documents of concern to the Department.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Assistant Secretary in charge of administration as Security Officer of the Department or, in his absence, by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

12 *Administrative Instructions—Official Travel.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise detailed instructions issued in accordance with statutes and regulations governing official travel, notification of changes made in the Standardized Government Travel Regulations, and other pertinent matters.

(b) This series of Administrative Instructions will be signed by the Chief of the Division of Budget and Finance and approved by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

13 *Public Notices.* (a) This new numbered series will comprise items of information which are of public interest and of sufficient legal import to require publication in the Federal Register but which, being non-regulatory in nature, are not properly included in the Code of Federal Regulations; for example, notices of public hearings on trade agreements.

(b) Departmental Public Notices will be signed by the Secretary or Acting Secretary.

14 *Announcements.* (a) In addition to the foregoing regular numbered series, this new unnumbered category will be the vehicle for informative items of timely interest within the Department, such as patriotic or charitable appeals or general notices to the personnel.

(b) Announcements will be signed by the appropriate responsible officers of the Department.

15 *Control, clearance, and distribution.* (a) All of the foregoing classes of material shall be cleared with the Office of Departmental Administration, which shall be responsible for: (1) decision regarding appropriate treatment in one of the Departmental series; (2) analysis of the proposal from the standpoint of organization, functions, and over-all administrative considerations, including its effect throughout the Department; (3) matters of form and style; (4) clearance of the draft through other offices, including consultation with the Office of the Legal Adviser and, where necessary, the Division of Research and Publication; and (5) processing and distribution of the document.

(b) Any office or division which desires to initiate a document in any of the foregoing series is requested to consult with the appropriate staff of the Office of Departmental Administration in planning and developing the draft.

16 *Standards of style.* (a) As a convenience to drafting officers, standards of style and arrangement for Departmental Orders, Departmental Designations, and Administrative Instructions are given in annex A of the present order.

(b) Standards of style and procedure for Departmental Regulations and Public Notices, and also for Executive orders and proclamations, are given in annex B of the present order. The requirements set forth herein and elaborated in annex B to this order supersede those set forth in Departmental Orders 663 of January 19, 1937, 790 of March 30, 1939, and 820 of October 5, 1939, which are hereby repealed.

(c) In general the standards of style for the unnumbered Announcement series should accord with the Style Manual of the Department of State; the form of this series must necessarily be adapted to the variable nature of the context, and standards therefor cannot be established.

17 *Maintenance of series files in the several Offices and divisions.* All Offices and divisions shall maintain a permanent file of all issues in the several series prescribed in this order. It is recommended that the documents be kept serially by classes, thus making them available for frequent reference and for use in orienting new personnel.

18 *Issuance of intra-Office and intra-divisional instructions.* In addition to the documents dealt with in this order, it is assumed that each Director of Office and Chief of Division will issue instructions on the internal affairs of the Office or division. The appropriate staff of the Office of Departmental Administration is available for consultation in the drafting of such instructions. In most cases the Office of Departmental Administration should be consulted in advance, in order to decide whether the subject requires treatment at the Department level. It is suggested that intra-Office and intra-divisional instructions be issued in appropriately numbered series and that copies thereof be filed with the Office of Departmental Administration for purposes of information.

19 *Effective date of documents in the series.* Unless otherwise specifically indicated therein the effective date of any order, designation, or instruction will be the date of its signature and the effective date of any regulation will be the date of filing in the Division of the Federal Register, National Archives.

CORDELL HULL

MAY 3, 1944.

ANNEX A TO DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1269

STANDARDS OF STYLE AND ARRANGEMENT FOR DEPARTMENTAL ORDERS, DEPARTMENTAL DESIGNATIONS, AND ADMINISTRATIVE INSTRUCTIONS

The following paragraphs on standards of style and arrangement are to govern in the preparation of Departmental Orders, Departmental Designations, and Administrative Instructions.

- 1 Serial numbering
- 2 General style
- 3 Subject-matter
- 4 Headings and paragraphs
- 5 Preamble to orders
- 6 References to officials by title
- 7 Preliminary draft
- 8 Final draft for signature
- 9 Signature and date line
- 10 Dates of issue and effect

- 11 Supplemented, amended, or superseded documents
- 12 Cross-reference citations
- 13 Accompaniments
- 14 Amendment of the standards
- 15 Repository for the signed originals and first carbons
- 16 Indexes

1 *Serial numbering.* (a) Each of the new series or subseries is to be numbered consecutively, beginning with arabic 1; the Departmental Orders will continue the present serial numbering. The serial number is to be inserted in the banner heading immediately after signature.

(b) Administrative Instructions will bear only one number, that of the subseries, which is to be assigned in accordance with paragraph (a) above. For example: Administrative Instructions—General Administration 1, 2, etc.; Administrative Instructions—Budget and Fiscal 1, 2, etc.

(c) Citations to the numbered series are to be given in the following abbreviated form:

Departmental Orders: DO
 Departmental Regulations: DR
 Departmental Designations: DD
 Administrative Instructions—
 General Administration: AI-GA
 Personnel: AI-P
 Budget and Fiscal: AI-BF
 Communications and Records: AI-DCR
 Coordination and Review: AI-CR
 Operating Facilities: AI-OF
 Security Control: AI-SC
 Official Travel: AI-OT

2 *General style.* In general the style of these series is to be governed by the Style Manual of the Department of State. Any deviation therefrom must be approved by the Office of Departmental Administration.

3 *Subject-matter.* Each document is to be limited to one subject, which is to appear as an all-capital centered heading immediately following the banner heading.

4 *Headings and paragraphs.* The following style relating to headings and paragraphs applies to all documents issued in these series:

(a) All headings are to be topical and as short as possible.

(b) Paragraphs are to be numbered consecutively throughout, beginning with arabic 1, followed by one space but no period; they are also to carry underscored paragraph headings, with only proper names capitalized.

(c) Subparagraphs to a numbered paragraph are to be lettered consecutively in parentheses, beginning each time with (a). Lettered paragraphs are *not* to carry paragraph headings.

5 *Preamble to orders.* The text of every order is to begin with a preamble giving the purpose of and authority for its issue; if deemed advisable, it may also give the background necessary for a clear understanding thereof.

6 *References to officials by title.* References to officials, wherever possible, are to be by title only. However, in the case of an Assistant Secretary of State or a Special Assistant to the Secretary, it may sometimes be necessary to use the personal name as well as the title.

7 *Preliminary draft.* A preliminary draft should be prepared for submission to all interested offices for approval and initialing. Such draft should be initialed by the originating office, which must assume final responsibility therefor other than that attaching to the Office of Departmental Administration under paragraph 14 of Departmental Order 1269.

8 *Final draft for signature.* The final draft for signature is to be prepared as follows:

(a) Special, colored, letter-size sheets with banner headings have been provided for the series and are to be used for the first page of the final draft. Blank sheets of a corresponding color are to be used for all following pages.

(b) The first carbon (first page excepted) is to be on the regular blue sheets customarily used for filing in the Division of Communications and Records; other carbons, as needed are to be on flimsy paper.

(c) The first page of all carbon copies of all documents is to match the first page of the original with regard to color of paper and banner heading.

(d) The symbols of the originating or responsible offices are to be placed only on the carbon copies, blue carbons included; the initials of the originating or responsible officers are to be placed only on the blue carbons.

(e) The initials of responsible and approving officers are to be inserted prior to signature.

9 *Signature and date line.* (a) Sufficient space is always to be left for the signature. The title of the Secretary is not to appear under the signature of a document in any of these three series; the title of all other signing officers is to be typed in, immediately beneath the space left for signature.

(b) The original only is to be signed.

(c) The date is to be placed on the original and first carbon at the end of the document, on the line immediately following the signature, indented five spaces from the left-hand margin.

10 *Dates of issue and effect.* The date of issue is the date of signature and is to be entered with the date of effect in the banner heading prior to processing for distribution. The date of effect is determined by circumstances; if not otherwise specifically indicated in the document, it is to be the date of its signature.

11 *Supplemented, amended, or superseded documents.* Statements with regard to supplemented, amended, or superseded documents in these series are to be definite, with accurate citations to the serial numbers and dates of the documents affected.

12 *Cross-reference citations.* Cross-reference citations, where necessary, are to be given at the end of the document, immediately preceding the signature.

13 *Accompaniments.* (a) All accompaniments are to bear appropriate references to the documents they accompany.

(b) Accompanying forms, graphs, and tables are to bear appropriate designations or numbers, and month-and-year date; references to them should always be made in the appropriate places in the text of the document they accompany.

(c) Accompaniments to a document are to be listed at the end of the document they accompany.

14 *Amendment of the standards.* These standards of style and arrangement may be amended, supplemented, or abrogated only as deemed necessary and approved by the Office of Departmental Administration.

15 *Repository for the signed originals and first carbons.* The Office of Departmental Administration is to be the repository for the signed originals of the above classes of documents and also for the originals of all notices; the Division of Communications and Records is to be the repository for the first carbons thereof.

16 *Indexes.* Indexes to the above classes of documents will be issued periodically by the Office of Departmental Administration.

ANNEX B TO DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1269

STANDARDS OF STYLE AND PROCEDURE FOR DEPARTMENTAL REGULATIONS AND PUBLIC NOTICES

Since under the law (44 U.S.C. 305(a); 1 CFR 2.2) the Departmental Regulations and Public Notices must be filed with the Division of the Federal Register, National Archives, immediately upon signature in order to be legally effective as of the date of issue and to be promulgated in the Register as soon thereafter as possible, and since under the law (1 CFR, 1943 Cum. Supp., pt. 2), the Departmental Regulations must be issued in the form and style of the Code of Federal Regulations, the preparation of both of these series must differ in certain respects from that of all other series. The following standards of style and procedure are to govern in the preparation of Departmental Regulations and Public Notices.

- 1 Two editions of each series
- 2 Serial numbering
- 3 Codification of the Departmental Regulations
- 4 Subject-matter and headings
- 5 Arrangement of the Departmental Regulations
- 6 Arrangement of the Public Notices
- 7 General Style
- 8 Preamble
- 9 Headings
- 10 References to officials by title

- 11 Preliminary drafts
- 12 Final drafts for signature
- 13 Signature and date line
- 14 Dates of issue and effect
- 15 Supplemented, amended, or superseded regulations
- 16 Cross-reference citations
- 17 Accompaniments
- 18 Amendment of the standards
- 19 Repository for the signed originals and first carbons
- 20 Filing of the regulations and notices with the Division of the Federal Register
- 21 Executive Orders and Proclamations

Attachment: Sample of CFR codification

1 *Two editions of each series.* (a) The Departmental Regulations and Public Notices will each necessarily be issued in two editions, a regular Departmental edition and a special edition for the Federal Register. The Departmental edition will be the official source of the Register edition.

(b) The two editions will be textually identical; differences in arrangement and procedure are indicated hereinafter.

2 *Serial numbering.* (a) Each series will be numbered consecutively, beginning with arabic 1.

(b) In the Departmental edition the serial number will be inserted in the banner heading; in the Register edition it will be inserted in brackets immediately preceding the preamble. In each edition the insertion should be made immediately after signature.

3 *Codification of the Departmental Regulations.* The Departmental Regulations are to be codified for inclusion in title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations, under the appropriate part heading of the Code sample attached hereto); if the subject is not already covered in the Code, a new part heading must be assigned.

4 *Subject-matter and headings.* Each document is to be limited to a single subject, which will be indicated by the part heading in the Departmental Regulations and by the main heading in a Public Notice.

5 *Arrangement of the Departmental Regulations.* (a) The Departmental Regulations are to be arranged in arabic-numbered parts, arabic-num-

bered sections, and lettered paragraphs (lower-case letters in parentheses); subparagraphs (preferably indented) are to be arabic-numbered in parentheses.

(b) The section number is to include the part number and to be preceded by the section symbol; for example, section 1 of part 1 would have "§1.1" as its section number.

(c) The sections are also to carry underscored section headings.

(d) The paragraphs and subparagraphs are not to carry headings of any kind.

6 *Arrangement of the Public Notices.* Other than as indicated in paragraph 4 above, the arrangement of the Public Notices is to be governed by the context; however, for simplicity in reference it is desirable that the paragraphs be numbered consecutively in arabic numerals and be given an underscored paragraph heading.

7 *General style.* Except as otherwise indicated herein or in the Federal Register Regulations as modified by the Archives, the general style of the Departmental Regulations and Public Notices is to be governed by the Style Manual of the Department of State. Any deviation therefrom must be approved by the Office of Departmental Administration.

8 *Preamble.* The text of every Departmental Regulation and Public Notice is to begin with a preamble stating the purpose of and authority for its issue.

9 *Headings.* All headings are to be topical and as short as possible.

10 *References to officials by title.* References to officials are to be by title only.

11 *Preliminary drafts.* (a) The preliminary drafts are to be prepared in the same way as those of all the other series. See DO 1269, annex A, par. 7.

(b) Each such draft Regulation and Public Notice is to be submitted to the Division of Research and Publication for codification, editing, or approval.

12 *Final drafts for signature.* The final drafts for signature are to be prepared as follows:

(a) The Departmental edition of both the Regulations and the Public Notices is to be prepared in the same way as all the other series. See DO 1269, annex A, pars. 8(a)-8(e).

(b) The Register edition of both the Regulations and the Public Notices is to be typed on legal-size sheets, the original on plain white paper, the first carbon on the usual blue paper, and seven additional carbons on white flimsy paper. Neither the original nor any copy of this edition is to bear office symbols or the initials of approving officers.

13 *Signature and date line.* (a) Sufficient space is always to be left for the signature. The title of the Secretary or Acting Secretary is to be typed in, immediately beneath the space left for signature.

(b) The original of each edition is to be signed.

(c) The date is to be placed at the end of the document on the line immediately following the signature, indented five spaces from the left-hand margin.

14 *Dates of issue and effect.* The date of issue is the date of signature. The date of effect is the date of filing in the Division of the Federal Register, or a date subsequent thereto if specifically so indicated in the document. Both dates are to be inserted in the banner heading of the Departmental edition prior to processing for distribution.

15 *Supplemented, amended, or superseded regulations.* Statements with regard to supplemented, amended, or superseded regulations are to be definite, with specific reference to the affected title and section of the Code of Federal Regulations. A footnote giving the number of the corresponding Departmental Regulation series is to be inserted in the Departmental edition.

16 *Cross-reference citations.* Cross-reference citations, where necessary, are to be given at the end of the document, immediately preceding the signature.

17 *Accompaniments.* The procedure with regard to the accompaniments of documents is to accord with that for all the other series. See DO 1269, annex A, par. 13.

18 *Amendment of the standards.* These standards of style and procedure may be altered by revision of the regulations of the National Archives, so far as those regulations are applicable; otherwise only upon approval of the Office of Departmental Administration.

19 *Repository for the signed originals and first carbons.* (a) The Office of Departmental Administration is to be the repository for the signed originals of the Departmental edition of both issuances; the Division of Communications and Records is to be the repository of the first carbons thereof.

(b) The National Archives will be the repository for the signed originals of the Register edition of both issuances; the Office of Departmental Administration, the Division of Communications and Records, and the Division of Research and Publications will each be the repository for one carbon thereof.

20 *Filing of the regulations and notices with the Division of the Federal Register.* (a) Four copies of the regulations and notices (the original bearing the Department seal and three certified copies thereof) are to be transmitted to the Director of the Division of the Federal Register, National Archives, at the earliest possible moment after signature. The Office of Departmental Administration will assume responsibility for the affixation of seal, the certification, and the prompt delivery of the documents to the National Archives.

(b) After the Register edition has been duly recorded in the National Archives, the dates of issue and effect may be inserted in the banner heading of the Departmental edition and that edition processed for distribution in the Department.

21 *Executive Orders and Proclamations.* (a) The preparation of Executive Orders and Proclamations is specifically governed by Executive Order 7298 of February 18, 1936, the pertinent provisions of which are incorporated in the Federal Register Regulations (1 CFR 2.6). The drafting of and procedures for such orders and proclamations will therefore conform with those regulations.

(b) At least seven carbon copies (one blue and six flimsies) are to be made of every Executive Order and Proclamation prepared in the Department of State, the original and six carbons being required for the Bureau of the Budget.

(c) The proclamations prepared by all Government departments and agencies, after signa-

ture by the President, are sent to the Department of State for signature by the Secretary, affixation of the Great Seal, and immediate transmission of the original and two carbon copies to the Division of the Federal Register, National Archives, for filing and promulgation. The Office of Departmental Administration will continue to have responsibility for the proper performance of these functions.

(d) Nothing in this paragraph 21 shall be construed to apply to proclamations regarding treaties, conventions, protocols, and other international agreements.

[Sample of CFR Codification]

CODE OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS

TITLE 22—FOREIGN RELATIONS

Chapter 1—Department of State

Part 8—Certificates of Authentication

[Departmental Order 1218-A]

Under the authority contained in R. S. 161 (5 U.S.C. 22), § 8.1 of title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations, issued on May 24, 1943 (8 F.R. 6918), is hereby amended to read as follows:

§ 8.1 *Officers authorized to sign and issue certificates of authentication.* The Chief or Acting Chief, Division of Administrative Management, is hereby authorized to sign and issue certificates of authentication under the Seal of the Department of State for and in the name of the Secretary of State or Acting Secretary of State. The form of authentication shall be as follows: "In testimony whereof, I, _____, Secretary of State (or Acting Secretary of State), have hereunto caused the Seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Chief (or Acting Chief), Division of Administrative Management, of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this _____ day of _____, 19____, Secretary of State. By _____, Chief (or Acting Chief), Division of Administrative Management." (R.S. 161; 5 U.S.C. 22)

The title of this part is hereby changed to read "Part 8—Certificates of Authentication".

This amendment is effective immediately.

CORDELL HULL
Secretary of State

ESTABLISHMENT OF DIVISION OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS ANALYSIS AND LIAISON

Departmental Order 1271 of May 3, 1944¹

1 *Establishment of the division.* There is hereby established a Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison in the Office of American Republic Affairs. The Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison shall be responsible for: (a) analysis of data and preparation of special studies and reports on developments within and among the Latin-American countries; (b) liaison with other offices of the Department and with other agencies of the Government on matters of general policy in the inter-American field which are outside the scope of the geographic divisions of the Office; and (c) formulation of policy to be adopted by the Office of American Republic Affairs concerning inter-American organizations, conferences, and conventions.

2 *Organization of the division.* The Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison shall consist of three sections: Analysis Section; Liaison Section; and Inter-American Section.

3 *Analysis Section.* (a) The Analysis Section is responsible for the collection and analysis of data from all sources, including regular Departmental despatches and memoranda, reports of other Federal agencies, and published documents bearing on the work of the Office of American Republic Affairs; the conduct of special studies on current conditions, trends and policy questions of interest to the divisions of the Office of American Republic Affairs; the assembling and digesting of research materials on background and policy developments of interest to officers of the Office, the missions, and selected officers of the Department; cooperation with other divisions of the Department on research relating to the other American Republics, particularly the divisions of the Office of Special Political Affairs and the Office of Economic Affairs; cooperation with the research staff of other Government agencies engaged in research on Latin-American problems; contact, when appropriate, with the Division of Research and Publication; and maintenance of a reference service on

¹ Effective May 3, 1944.

data concerning the other American Republics for all officers of American Republic Affairs, other officers of the Department and other Federal agencies who may have occasion to call on this service.

(b) This section shall serve as the research staff to the Director and Deputy Director of the Office on problems with which they are dealing, and to the Chiefs of the divisions on special problems. In rendering this assistance, the section shall take the initiative in selecting topics warranting analysis and shall develop recommendations bearing on policy, as well as answering requests for information and research. The section will work with the planning staff of the Office of Foreign Service Administration on the development of standards for the improvement of reporting from the missions and for the evaluation of Foreign Service reports.

4 *Liaison Section.* (a) The Liaison Section is responsible for maintaining liaison on policy matters of the Office of American Republic Affairs, outside the scope of the geographic divisions, with other offices of the Department concerned with general inter-American activities, and for advising the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and other agencies of the Government carrying on programs in the other American Republics on the relation of their programs to the policy of the Office of American Republic Affairs.

(b) The Liaison Section will assist the Chief Informational Liaison Officer in carrying on the work of the Information Service Committee; in advising with the Special Assistant, Mr. McDermott, on press matters; and in consulting with the Office of Public Information on its public information activities and its cultural relations programs.

5 *Inter-American Section.* The Inter-American Section will formulate and recommend policy and action to be adopted by the Office of American Republic Affairs on Departmental problems of an inter-American character as distinguished from problems falling within the scope of the geographic divisions. The section will also, working closely with the Division of International Conferences and the Division of International Security and Organization, handle for the Office of American Republic Affairs policy matters relating to

American participation in inter-American organizations, meetings, treaties, and conventions.

6 *Assistance from other divisions of the Office.* In performing its work the division will call upon the geographic divisions of the Office of American Republic Affairs for assistance in keeping currently apprised of developments in and policy toward the several countries.

7 *Transfer of personnel to the division.* Personnel presently performing any of the functions cited in this order are hereby transferred to the Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison.

8 *Routing symbol.* The routing symbol for the Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison shall be RL.

9 *Departmental Order amended.* The provisions of Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, which relate to the functions of the Office of American Republic Affairs, are accordingly amended.

CORDELL HULL

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Designation 1 of May 3, 1944, effective May 3, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. John C. Dreier as Chief of the Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison, Office of American Republic Affairs.

[Released to the press May 8]

Because of the serious illness of his wife, which occurred on the eve of his intended return to Algiers, Mr. Edwin C. Wilson has found it necessary to remain here in Washington and will therefore be unable to resume his duties as representative of the United States to the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers.

Mr. Wilson has been designated as Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs of the Department, and he assumed his new duties on May 8, 1944.

Treaty Information

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS: PROCEDURE, FORMALITIES, AND THE INFORMATION FACILITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

By *William V. Whittington*¹

I

In article II, section 2 of the Constitution of the United States it is provided, with reference to the powers of the President, as follows:

“He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; . . . ”

The treaty-making power under the Constitution and the relative functions of the several branches of the Government in the making and execution of treaties are subjects which have been dealt with in countless volumes, articles, and discourses. They are subjects concerning which it is easy to excite discussion in almost any group of individuals interested in the processes of government.

However, little has been written with respect to matters of a procedural or formal character affecting the making of international agreements. An explanation of certain procedures and formalities incident to the making of treaties and other international agreements should be useful, not only as a guide for officials having responsibilities in connection with negotiations but also as a source of information for others who may have an interest, either practical or academic, in the subject.

Some insight into these procedures and formalities may be obtained by giving attention to the functions and the work of the office of the Department of State which is charged with the immediate responsibility in regard to such matters: the Treaty Section of the Division of Research and Publication.

In order to gain a proper perspective it is well to relate a bit of departmental history.

On April 21, 1928 there was created in the Department of State a Treaty Division, “organized in response to the need for centralization and consistent direction in the drafting and negotiation of agreements with other countries.”²

The functions of the Treaty Division, as outlined in official publications, were as follows:³

“Charged with assisting, when and as requested by the responsible officers, in the drafting of treaties and other international agreements, and correspondence pertaining to the negotiation, construction, and termination of treaties. The division is also charged with maintaining a set of treaties and other international agreements in force to which the United States is a party, and likewise those to which it is not a party, together with the pertinent laws, proclamations, Executive orders, and resolutions; maintaining lists of treaties and other international agreements between the United States and foreign governments which are in process of negotiation or ratification; collecting and keeping available information regarding the application, interpretation, and status of treaties; analyzing treaties by subject,

¹The author of this article is Assistant Chief of the Treaty Section, Division of Research and Publication, Department of State.

²*The Department of State of the United States*, rev. ed. June 1936, prepared by E. Wilder Spaulding and George Verne Blue, Division of Research and Publication. (Department of State publication 878, p. 30.)

³*Register of the Department of State*, to and including the edition of Oct. 1, 1942; and *Congressional Directory*, to and including the edition of Jan. 1944 (78th Cong., 2d Sess.).

and assembling, comparing, and studying the provisions on the same subject in different treaties; examining the texts of treaties, conventions, or international agreements to which the United States is a party, with a view to recommending such action as may be required to obtain the fulfilment by the other party of its duties and obligations and to effect the performance of the duties and obligations of the United States by legislative or administrative acts; maintaining lists of treaties, conventions, or international agreements expiring or subject to extension with a view to considering the renewal or extension thereof; performing the duties of a secretariat for all treaties of which the United States is the depositary; and with performing such other duties as may be assigned by the Secretary of State."

By Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, relating to the organization of the Department of State, it was provided that the Legal Adviser "shall have general responsibility for all matters of a legal character concerning the Department, including matters of a legal character formerly dealt with by the Treaty Division, which is hereby abolished."

By the same departmental order certain of the functions of the former Treaty Division were transferred to the Division of Research and Publication, as follows:

"The Division of Research and Publication shall have responsibility in matters pertaining to: . . . (d) collection, compilation and maintenance of information pertaining to treaties and other international agreements, the performance of research and the furnishing of information and advice, other than of a legal character, with respect to the provisions of such existing or proposed instruments; procedural matters, including the preparation of full powers, ratifications, proclamations and protocols, and matters related to the signing, ratification, proclamation and registration of treaties and other international agreements (except with respect to proclamations of trade agreements, which shall be handled in the Division of Commercial Policy); and custody of the originals of treaties and other international agreements; . . . "

By the end of the year 1943 the staff of the Treaty Division had been reduced, through retirements, deaths, and wartime manpower problems, to a total of four regular full-time employees, each of whom had had years of training and experience in matters affecting treaties and other international agreements. The staff, records, and offices of the former Treaty Division were transferred to the Division of Research and Publication and became the nucleus of the Treaty Section of that Division. Other competent assistants have been added to the staff since January 15, 1944.

It is necessarily true that the brevity of description required by departmental orders leaves much to be desired so far as the presentation of an adequate picture of the work is concerned. A field of operations that is potentially as broad as the entire field of foreign relations is summarized in less than a hundred words. To obtain a better appreciation of certain factors which are, in some respects, no less important from the standpoint of an effective conduct of foreign relations than the technical negotiations which precede the signing of an international agreement or the action which is taken in connection with Senate consideration of an international agreement, it would be helpful to give some attention to the functions of the Treaty Section.

II

"collection, compilation and maintenance of information pertaining to treaties and other international agreements"

Before proceeding any farther, perhaps it would be well to concentrate upon the words "treaties and other international agreements". The usual distinction between treaties, in a constitutional sense, and Executive agreements should be borne in mind. An international agreement which is entered into subject to the constitutional procedures incident to approval by the Senate and subsequent ratification by the President is regarded as a treaty in the constitutional sense. Other international agreements, effected in a variety of ways in pursuance of the Executive authority and not requiring submission to the Senate for its advice

and consent to ratification, are commonly referred to as Executive agreements.¹

The immediate availability of full, accurate, and authoritative information concerning treaties and other international agreements which have been entered into—not only agreements between the Government of the United States and foreign governments but also agreements which have been entered into between other governments and to which the United States is not a party—is essential: essential in the determination of policies and programs affecting the foreign relations of the United States, and essential in the intelligent preparation for negotiations with foreign governments and in the effective handling of those negotiations.

Frequently one must perceive clearly where one has been in order to understand better what lies ahead. It was Patrick Henry who said: "I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." "Study the past if you would divine the future" is the way Confucius expresses the same idea.

In short, the collection, compilation, and maintenance of authoritative information pertaining to treaties and other international agreements is an indispensable part of the process of treaty-making.

The technicalities involved in the performance of this task are almost inexplicable to one who has not dealt with the problems at first-hand. To speak, for instance, of signatures, ratifications, adherences, reservations, depositaries, procedures for bringing into force or for termination, proclamations, execution, source references, et cetera, probably conveys a very nebulous picture of the scope of the work involved.

The Treaty Section, continuing a system devised in the former Treaty Division, undertakes to maintain a card-index file in which there is a separate card record for each treaty, and for each interna-

tional agreement other than a treaty, with respect to which any information is available. These card records are undoubtedly among the most frequently consulted records in the Department of State. The aim is to have these records so complete, and yet so concise, that any inquiry concerning a particular treaty or other agreement may be answered reliably within the space of a minute or less, so long as the inquiry does not require a technical analysis of the provisions or extensive research and the compilation of material.

To indicate here every kind of information that is cataloged on the "treaty cards" would be, of course, impossible. At the risk of being tiresome, one fairly typical example will be given. The record taken for this purpose is one which relates to the Convention for the Suppression of the Abuse of Opium and Other Drugs, signed at The Hague January 23, 1912, and the Final Protocol relating thereto, signed at The Hague July 9, 1913.²

The record for the Opium Convention and Final Protocol shows at the top and to the left of the card the words "Opium and Other Drugs", which are the key to the record's place in the alphabetical index. Immediately below these key words are the words "The Hague January 23, 1912". Among other information shown on the record are: The full titles of the convention and final protocol; the places and dates of signature; the name of the depositary government; information, with appropriate references to convention provisions, showing "How made effective", "Date of entry into force", "Term", and "Procedure for termination"; a space for inserting information as to the date of termination, at such time as the instruments are terminated; an indication of specific references in the convention to prior treaties; the date of proclamation by the President; information concerning final action, if any, taken by each of the 58 signatory countries and each of the adhering countries for bringing the convention into force; information concerning reservations made by signatory countries; source references to official publications containing the texts of the convention and final protocol, including among others the Statutes at Large, the United States Treaty Series, and the

¹ For additional comments on this subject, see "Treaties and Their Legal Effects", an address delivered on May 4, 1940 at a luncheon of the Federal Bar Association by William V. Whittington (*Bulletin*, May 11, 1940, p. 502); also *The Making of Treaties and International Agreements and the Work of the Treaty Division of the Department of State*, an address delivered on Apr. 29, 1938 before the Conference of Teachers of International Law by William V. Whittington (Department of State publication 1174).

² Treaty Series 612, 38 Stat., pt. 2, 1912, 1937.

League of Nations Treaty Series; and remarks concerning other matters of interest in relation to the convention and final protocol, including references to legislation and court decisions affecting their operation.

Substantially the same kind of information as that indicated above is recorded for each multilateral treaty—that is, each treaty to which there are more than two contracting parties. In the case of bilateral treaties, with only two contracting parties, similar information is recorded, except that notations regarding exchange of ratifications take the place of notations regarding deposit of ratification or adherence. Pertinent information is recorded also, in a similar way, with respect to other international agreements.

There are, of course, many treaties and other agreements to which the United States has been a party but which are no longer in force and also a vast number of foreign treaties and other agreements to which the United States is not a party. To have readily available information regarding such treaties is sometimes no less important than to have information regarding treaties of the United States presently in force.

The Treaty Section undertakes to keep the treaty cards at all times as accurate and reliable as possible, well knowing that it is likely to be called upon at any time for information upon which an important course of action may depend.

In addition to these card records, the Treaty Section maintains records and registers showing the progress of treaty negotiations and the action taken toward bringing into force a treaty which has been signed. Just as it is necessary in any railway system to know at any time the location of a particular railway car, its direction of travel, and the load it is carrying, it is necessary in the process of treaty-making to follow a particular treaty through its various stages: signature, submission by the Secretary of State to the President, transmission by the President to the Senate, reference to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, publication in Senate confidential document, removal of the Senate's "injunction of secrecy", report of the Committee to the Senate either with or without amendment, advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, ratification

by the President, exchange or deposit of ratification, proclamation, and registration.

It is necessary also to follow the treaties and other international agreements of the United States through the stages of publication in the official series and in the Statutes at Large. Treaties of the United States which enter into force as a result of ratification by and with the advice and consent of the Senate are printed in an official Treaty Series. Other international agreements of the United States, which are commonly referred to as Executive agreements and most of which are effected by the simple procedure of an exchange of diplomatic notes expressing a mutual understanding concerning matters of an administrative character, are printed in an official Executive Agreement Series, which was inaugurated in 1929. Before that year a number of Executive agreements had been printed in the Treaty Series.

Each treaty and each Executive agreement is printed separately in leaflet form in the appropriate numbered series. At the present time the Treaty Series numbers run to 986, although actually there are more than a thousand separate instruments in the series, owing to the fact that among the earlier numbers there are some accompanied by letters or fractions. There are 391 separate publications in the Executive Agreement Series at this time.

The Treaty Section handles the preliminary task of preparing treaties and other international agreements of the United States for publication in the Treaty Series or Executive Agreement Series, follows the progress of each document in the course of publication, and, when the publication has been completed, obtains from the Government Printing Office a supply of each of the printed leaflets. The Section is in a position, therefore, in response to inquiries, to supply copies of printed treaties and Executive agreements of the United States to officials and to others who may have need for them. In the event that the supply of printed leaflet copies has been exhausted, as is the case with some of the earlier treaties, the Section is able to direct inquirers to the United States Statutes at Large or to other official publications containing the texts of international agreements. Frequently

it has been found necessary to invite the attention of inquirers, including lawyers, to the fact that under title 1, section 30, of the United States Code the Statutes at Large "shall be legal evidence of the . . . treaties, international agreements other than treaties, . . . therein contained, in all the courts of the United States, the several States, and the Territories and insular possessions of the United States."

Frequently the need for information concerning a particular agreement or a particular provision is not so important as the need for a reference to or an analysis of all provisions relating to a particular subject. Certain types of provisions are the subject of frequent inquiry. It is convenient, therefore, to have readily available in some cases lists of treaties or compilations of provisions relating to a particular matter; for example, provisions relating to the competency and authority of consular officers in connection with the settlement of estates or the rights of inheritance, acquisition, and ownership of property. The Treaty Section undertakes, as did the former Treaty Division, to prepare such lists or compilations as ready sources of information.

The Treaty Section prepares material relating to treaties and other international agreements for publication in the Department of State *Bulletin*, under the heading "Treaty Information".

It should be clear from the incomplete picture presented above concerning the information facilities of the Treaty Section, that the collection, compilation, and maintenance of information pertaining to treaties and other international agreements is a task which requires continuous and careful research involving the study of agreements, laws, judicial decisions, and any available document or publication which may have a bearing upon the matter. Among the members of the staff of the Section are some who have a knowledge of foreign languages. Consequently, many publications in foreign languages can be examined within the Section without the need for burdening the Department's central translating staff.

III

"the performance of research and the furnishing of information and advice, other than of a legal

character, with respect to the provisions of such existing or proposed instruments"

The following comments in an address delivered a few years ago are pertinent:¹

"During the past 160 years the conduct of international relations, while facilitated in certain respects by reason of improved methods of communication and transportation, has tended to become far more complex and to require an increasing use of carefully negotiated treaties or agreements for the regulation of intercourse between the nations.

"In the conduct of our foreign relations there is no more important function imposed upon the Department of State than that of the negotiation of agreements with other nations, whereby the rights, privileges, and immunities of American citizens may be given a legal status independent of general international law, which, only too often, is inadequate to guarantee the desired measure of protection and security.

"In general, therefore, the task of preparing for and negotiating agreements with foreign countries, especially in regard to commercial dealings or trade reciprocity, requires a vast amount of study and intensive research. A large part of this labor involves the analytical study of provisions in other treaties, both those which continue in force and those which, for one reason or another, have ceased to be in force, containing provisions of a comparable nature."

The Treaty Section receives many inquiries or requests for information each day. During some months the telephone inquiries alone have totaled a thousand or more. These inquiries may be from other offices of the Department of State, from offices of other departments or agencies of the Government, from the offices of Senators or Representatives, from foreign diplomatic missions in Washington, and from lawyers, authors, and others. In any case, where the existence or status of treaty provisions may be a factor to be considered, the Treaty Section is likely to receive by telephone or in writing, or sometimes by the per-

¹"Compilation of Analytical Treaty Index", an address delivered on Apr. 20, 1938 at a luncheon of the Federal Bar Association by William V. Whittington (Department of State *Press Releases*, Apr. 23, 1938, p. 496).

sonal visit of the inquirer, a request for information regarding such provisions.

The inquiries range from simple questions which may be answered by quick reference to the treaty cards to complex questions which may require days or weeks of research. In some cases an authoritative response to an inquiry may be a vital factor in determining the political or military action of this Government. In some cases the granting of a right to an individual, either an American citizen abroad or an alien in this country, may depend upon the nature of the information furnished in response to an inquiry.

The officers of the Treaty Section, in addition to the preparation of research memorandums, draft official correspondence furnishing information within the scope of the functions of the Section, including instructions to American diplomatic missions abroad, notes to foreign diplomatic missions in Washington, letters to other departments or agencies of the Government, and letters to individuals or organizations.

Other offices of the Department call upon the Treaty Section for assistance and advice in connection with pending or contemplated negotiations for treaties and other international agreements. Officers of the Treaty Section, assisting in the drafting of instruments, have participated in discussions and conferences, not only in Washington but in foreign countries. They are credited with having given material assistance particularly in matters of treaty terminology, style, procedures, and formalities. They have had considerable experience in dealing with treaty matters and have made extensive studies concerning treaty procedures not only of the United States but also of foreign countries.

In as much as the Legal Adviser of the Department is charged with the responsibility of giving advice of a legal character, the officers of the Treaty Section do not undertake to give such advice. However, offices of the Department having need for information and advice, other than of a legal character, with respect to existing or proposed treaties or other international agreements may and do call upon the Treaty Section. Whenever requested by the appropriate officers of the Department, and upon the basis of information as to the substance of desired provisions, the technical

officers of the Section have prepared provisional or tentative drafts of treaties or other agreements, or of provisions to be incorporated in such instruments, for consideration by the Department.

IV

"procedural matters, including the preparation of full powers, ratifications, proclamations and protocols, and matters related to the signing, ratification, proclamation and registration of treaties and other international agreements (except with respect to proclamations of trade agreements, which shall be handled in the Division of Commercial Policy)"

As might well be imagined, even by one who knows little more about treaties than the fact that they are contracts or agreements between two or more sovereign governments, there is much more to the process of treaty-making than a mere "meeting of the minds" or, for that matter, than the signing of a written document.

The conduct of foreign relations is burdened necessarily with certain formalities with which we would not wish to be bothered in dealing with our neighbors next door. This is especially true in the matter of entering into agreements.

Some of the formalities and procedures incident to the making of international agreements may seem cumbersome, but there can be no doubt that they are essential. In many cases there is substantial uniformity in the practices of the various governments.

Treaties and other international agreements may be negotiated in a variety of ways. Most Executive agreements of the United States have been effected by exchanges of notes, usually consisting of an interchange of official communications between two governments, one of the notes making a proposal with respect to some administrative matter of mutual concern to both governments and the other note accepting the proposal and acknowledging that the agreement is to be considered in effect. There is no complexity as to the procedure in such cases, and usually there is no formality different from that involved in the sending of any diplomatic communication.

In the making of treaties and certain other international agreements, arrangements customarily are made for the signing of a single instrument

in one or several languages. In the case of bilateral treaties or agreements the instrument is engrossed and signed in an original for each government. This is usually the culminating act in a series of discussions or a period of negotiations between the authorities of the two governments. In the case of multilateral treaties the negotiations frequently are conducted in an international conference, called especially for that purpose, at which the interested governments are represented by delegates. The original of the multilateral treaty, when signed, is retained in the archives either of a depositary government or of an international organization such as the Pan American Union or the League of Nations. The depositary authority will furnish certified copies to all the signatories of the treaty.

Full powers. Each representative or plenipotentiary who signs a treaty is furnished a full power, signed by the chief executive of his government. This full power, which is the formal evidence of the representative's authority to sign on behalf of his government, just as a power of attorney is the evidence of authority for the performance of certain acts, must be prepared especially for the occasion, naming the representative and showing his title and a clear indication of the particular instrument which he is entitled to sign. A full power for the signing of a treaty on behalf of this Government contains a statement to the effect that the signing of the treaty is subject to ratification by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The terminology of full powers, although of a standard form in some respects, will vary according to the nature of the instrument to be signed, the mode of its negotiation, and the countries involved.

Engrossing. When the terms of the treaty or other international agreement have been agreed upon, the text thereof, either in one language or in several languages, will be engrossed for signature—that is, it will be typed, exact in all respects as agreed upon, on so-called "treaty paper". The treaty paper used by the Department of State, in the case of an instrument to be signed in Washington, is a high-quality, large-size double sheet, with blocked lines marking off a portion thereof slightly less in size than a standard long sheet of typewriting paper. The paper is heavy and both

sides may be used. The double sheet makes it possible to bind the completed document in book fashion. When the text is in more than one language, the languages preferably are typed in parallel columns. When this is not convenient the engrossing will be done if possible in such a way that the languages will appear on pages facing each other. In some instances it is necessary to have the full text in one of the languages follow the full text in the other language, for example, an instrument signed in English and an oriental language, such as Chinese.¹ Since the Department of State does not have machines for the typing of oriental languages, the Department usually enlists the aid of a person or persons capable of engrossing such language by hand on the treaty paper. The text of the treaty or other agreement, in all languages in which it is to be signed, is engrossed in duplicate. The duplicates are the same in all respects with the sole exception of the *alternat* form: in the original to be retained by the Department of State for this Government the references to the two governments will place this Government first and the signature of this Government's plenipotentiary will appear first, while in the original to be transmitted to the other government that government will be placed first in the references and the signature of that government's plenipotentiary will appear first.

Signature. When the engrossing of a treaty or other international agreement which is to be signed in a single instrument has been completed arrangements are made for signature. The arrangements are made, usually by telephone, with the office of the Secretary or Acting Secretary of State and with the foreign diplomatic mission concerned for the signing of the agreement at a certain time and place, the place being ordinarily the office of the Secretary or Acting Secretary. At the time agreed upon, the signing officers, together with those who are charged with handling the formalities, and certain others who may have had a hand in negotiating the particular agreement, gather, and within a comparatively short space of time the signing will have been accomplished. There is more ceremony in some cases

¹ See Treaty Series 984, the treaty relinquishing extra-territorial rights in China and the regulation of related matters, signed at Washington Jan. 11, 1943.

than in others, depending upon the nature of the agreement. In the case of all treaties and of most other international agreements signed in a single instrument, the signatures of the plenipotentiaries are accompanied by their seals, with ribbons fastened in the seals and binding the document. One of the duplicate originals is handed to the foreign plenipotentiary for transmission to his government, while one is retained in the Department of State.

Procedure governed by nature of agreement. When the formality of signing and sealing the instrument has been completed, the next step depends upon the nature of the agreement. In the case of certain agreements other than treaties, such as reciprocal trade agreements negotiated and signed in pursuance of existing legislation authorizing such agreements, the next step is proclamation by the President. That is a subject to be dealt with hereinafter. In the case of a treaty the next step is that which is directed toward ratification. It should be mentioned at this point also that the comments above concerning the arrangements for, and the act of, signing agreements have reference primarily to bilateral instruments. It has been indicated elsewhere that multilateral instruments are, as a rule, signed in a single document which is retained by a stipulated depository, certified copies of the multilateral instrument being furnished to all the signatories.

Transmission to the Senate. After a treaty has been signed and sealed, a communication constituting a report on the treaty and explaining the provisions thereof at such length as circumstances appear to make desirable is prepared for transmission by the Secretary of State to the President. Accompanying this report to the President will be the original of the treaty in the case of a bilateral treaty, or a certified copy in the case of a multilateral treaty, and a message from the President to the Senate for transmission of the treaty, and the report. If the President should approve thereof, he will sign the message and will send the documents on their way to the Senate.

Reference to Committee. Upon receipt by the Senate the English text of the treaty, together with the accompanying papers, is ordered to be printed in a Senate document and the matter is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The material printed in the Senate document will be based upon exact "printer's copies" which are made in the Department of State and are sent along with the original material. A supply of the printed Senate document is received in the Department of State for official use. The text of the treaty is not made public until the Senate removes its "injunction of secrecy". This may be done quickly after the reference to the Committee or it may be done after the Committee has given full consideration to various factors. When the Senate indicates that the treaty is made public, copies of the Senate document are available for general distribution.

Action by the Senate. Hearings are held by the Committee on Foreign Relations in due course and the Department of State is represented in such hearings by one or more persons familiar with the subject-matter of the treaty and the procedure by which it was entered into. The Committee, in reporting its recommendations with respect to a treaty which has been under consideration by it, customarily submits to the Senate a written report, usually quite brief, which will be printed in a numbered Senate executive report. If the Committee should have approved the treaty as submitted by the President, it will "report the same favorably to the Senate without amendment with the recommendation that it advise and consent to its ratification". On the other hand, if the Committee has any objection or suggestion to make concerning the treaty the report will set forth the matter in such detail as the Committee may deem appropriate.

Ratification. Upon the supposition that the Senate, in accordance with recommendations made by the Committee on Foreign Relations, advises and consents to ratification of the treaty the original document will be returned to the Department of State with a resolution certifying to that effect. It then becomes necessary for an instrument of ratification to be prepared for the President's signature. This instrument will set forth all pertinent facts, including the title of the treaty, the date of signature, the countries involved, and the language or languages in which signed, with an indication that the original or the certified copy of the treaty is annexed thereto, followed by a specific statement as to the action taken by the Senate, with the text of any reservation or amend-

ment which the Senate may have proposed, and a declaration by the President that he has seen and considered the said treaty and that he does thereby "in pursuance of the aforesaid advice and consent of the Senate, ratify and confirm the same and every article and clause thereof." A duplicate of this ratification, the duplicate commonly being referred to as "the exchange copy", is prepared at the same time. It differs from the principal instrument in that the text of the treaty usually is set forth "word for word" in the instrument of ratification, whereas the principal instrument annexes the original or the certified copy. The instrument of ratification and the exchange copy thereof then are sent to the White House where, if approved by the President, he will sign them and have them returned to the Department of State for further action.

Deposit of ratification. In the case of a multilateral treaty, the exchange copy of the instrument of ratification will be sent with an official communication to the depositary authority and will be "deposited" by that authority with the archives pertaining to the treaty. If the United States be the depositary, then this Government will send to the other signatories of the treaty notices informing them of the deposit of this Government's ratification. Depositary authorities are charged by the terms of the treaties entrusted to their custody to notify all signatories concerning all deposits of ratification and also concerning all adherences to or withdrawals from such treaties. The term "adherence" is used customarily in the case of a non-signatory country or territory which becomes a party to the treaty in accordance with provisions in the treaty for that purpose. It is usual, by the terms of the treaty, for the treaty to come into force as to each signatory upon the deposit of its ratification or as to each non-signatory upon the deposit or notification of its adherence. The provisions may vary in this respect.

Exchange of ratifications. In the case of a bilateral treaty, the usual procedure is to make arrangements for the formal exchange of the respective instruments of ratification of the two governments. The formalities in this respect are much the same as in the making of arrangements for signing the treaty. A document called a protocol of exchange is prepared for signature by the

plenipotentiaries effecting the exchange of instruments, as formal evidence of the action taken. This protocol of exchange, which sets forth the essential facts concerning the action taken, is engrossed in duplicate (an original for each government), on treaty paper of the kind to which reference has been made. It is usual, by the terms of a bilateral treaty, for the treaty to come into force upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

Proclamation of treaties. Although the exchange or deposit of ratifications is customarily the final action needed to bring the treaty into definitive international effect, a treaty is always proclaimed by the President. This proclamation, which is prepared in the Department of State, refers in exact terms to the title, date, and signatories of the treaty, with an indication as to the language or languages in which the treaty was signed, then usually embodies the signed original of the treaty, followed by statements with respect to all pertinent matters upon which the full effectiveness of the treaty depends, including the provisions concerning the coming into force of the treaty, the action taken in pursuance of those provisions, and a textual reference to any reservation which may have been made in regard to this Government's obligations under the treaty. The proclamation concludes with a declaration to the effect that the President has caused the treaty "to be made public to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States of America, the citizens of the United States of America, and all other persons subject to the jurisdiction thereof". The proclamation is sent to the White House for the President's approval and signature. After the proclamation has been signed by the President it is returned to the Department of State for such further action as may be needed, including publication.

Proclamation of trade agreements. The procedure for the proclamation of reciprocal trade agreements is different in some respects from the procedure with respect to treaties. Reciprocal trade agreements and other international agreements which are not treaties are not ratified. No instrument of ratification is necessary. The trade agreements which have been entered into under the act of 1934, or under that act as extended and

amended,¹ have contained provisions whereby such agreements would enter into force after a specified lapse of time following the exchange of the President's proclamation for the instrument of ratification or the proclamation of the foreign government. This has meant that in preparing the proclamations of trade agreements it has been necessary to have them prepared and signed in duplicate. One of the duplicates is an exchange copy, and formalities are observed for the exchange of proclamations or for the exchange of the proclamation for an instrument of ratification in much the same way as in the case of an exchange of treaty ratifications. After this exchange, a supplementary proclamation, simpler in both form and substance than the principal proclamation, is prepared and sent to the White House for signature by the President. The object of this supplementary proclamation is to proclaim the date on which the trade agreement is to come into force. When this action has been taken, the usual procedure with a view to publication is taken. Meanwhile, as a matter of practice the Department of State, as promptly as possible, has furnished photostat copies of trade agreements to those departments and agencies of the Government which are charged with the carrying out of the obligations of this Government under such agreements.

Publication. When all procedures necessary to give full effect to a treaty or other agreement have been followed as indicated above, preparations are made for the publication of the texts thereof in the official Treaty Series or Executive Agreement Series and in the United States Statutes at Large. It is appropriate here to point out that title I, section 30, of the United States Code contains the following provision:

"The Secretary of State shall cause to be compiled, edited, indexed, and published, the United States Statutes at Large, which shall contain . . . all treaties to which the United States is a party that have been proclaimed since the date of the adjournment of the regular session of Congress next preceding; all international agreements other than treaties to which the United States is a party

that have been signed, proclaimed, or with reference to which any other final formality has been executed, since that date; . . ."

Press releases. Upon certain occasions the Department of State issues press releases giving information concerning action taken with respect to treaties or other international agreements. Such occasions include the signing, the exchange or deposit of formal instruments, and the signing of proclamations or supplementary proclamations. The texts of such press releases are printed in the Department of State *Bulletin*, together with other information regarding treaties and other international agreements.

Registration. When treaties have been printed in the Treaty Series or when other international agreements have been printed in the Executive Agreement Series the Department of State sends certified copies of the printed texts to the Pan American Union and, when circumstances affecting postal communication have permitted, to the League of Nations for registration in accordance with arrangements made on this subject. In the case of the League of Nations, of course, this action is merely evidence of cooperation with a view to the recording or registration of international agreements by the League and with a view to the publication of such agreements in the League of Nations Treaty Series.²

The drafting of full powers, supervising the engrossing of formal documents, handling the formalities in connection with the signature of treaties and other formal instruments, the drafting of reports and messages with a view to ratification of treaties, participation when needed in connection with Senate Committee hearings with respect to treaties, the drafting of instruments of ratification, proclamations, and protocols, the deposit of instruments of ratification in the case of multilateral treaties, the registration of treaties and other agreements, the preliminary work in preparing treaties and other agreements for publication, and, in general, fulfilling the responsibilities of a

² See Executive Agreement Series 70, 49 Stat., pt. 2, 3659: arrangement effected by exchange of notes between the Acting Legal Adviser of the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the American Consul at Geneva, Jan. 22 and 23, 1934.

¹ 48 Stat. 943; 50 Stat. 24; 54 Stat. 107; 57 Stat. 125.

secretariat, including the drafting of official communications and press releases relating to such matters, require considerable technical training and painstaking effort. The above outline of certain procedures and formalities should be sufficient evidence of that fact. This work is a part of the responsibility of the Treaty Section, except that, with respect to proclamations of trade agreements, the determination of the context of such proclamations is a matter that is handled in the Division of Commercial Policy.

V

“and custody of the originals of treaties and other international agreements”

After the signing of an international agreement and until such agreement has entered into force and the Treaty Section has prepared the texts for publication in the Treaty Series or Executive Agreement Series, the Section is charged with responsibility as custodian of the originals or certified copies of treaties and other international agreements.

When the material for publication is placed in the hands of the editorial staff of the Division of Research and Publication the custody of the originals or certified copies is transferred to the section of the Division charged with maintaining the permanent archives of international agreements.

In the case of some treaties which have been signed on behalf of the United States but which, for one reason or another, do not enter into force with respect to the United States, the originals or certified copies thereof usually are held in the Treaty Section until such time as circumstances warrant the placing of such documents in the permanent archives of the Department as “unperfected treaties”.

In as much as the Treaty Section is the Department's clearing-house for information in regard to treaties and other international agreements and for a time is the custodian of originals or certified copies of such instruments, offices of the Department which have the primary responsibility for handling negotiations of international agreements dealing with matters within the scope of their respective functions have also the responsibility for keeping the Treaty Section informed

with respect to such agreements concluded or signed, including agreements effected by exchanges of notes.

VI

So much for a behind-the-scenes view of some of the less-publicized ramifications in the process of making treaties and other international agreements.

The procedures, formalities, and functions which have been the subject of comment may be compared with cogs in the wheels of a giant machine: when all are properly geared and lubricated the machine will operate smoothly and efficiently, but let one of the cogs cease to function as it should and there may be embarrassing consequences. In other words, all these procedures, formalities, and functions are essential and important factors in dealing with foreign relations.

ADDITIONAL DIVERSION OF WATERS OF THE NIAGARA RIVER FOR POWER PURPOSES

An arrangement between the United States and Canada providing for an additional emergency diversion for power purposes of waters of the Niagara River above the Falls has been entered into, subject to approval by the Senate, by an exchange of notes dated May 3, 1944 between the Secretary of State and the Canadian Ambassador in Washington.

This arrangement, which supplements the arrangement effected by an exchange of notes of May 20, 1941 (Executive Agreement Series 209; see *Bulletin* of June 7, 1941, p. 709, and June 14, 1941, p. 736) and the supplementary arrangement effected by exchange of notes dated October 27 and November 27, 1941 (Executive Agreement Series 223; see *Bulletin* of Dec. 6, 1941, p. 456), amends in its application article V of the treaty of January 11, 1909 between the United States and His Britannic Majesty relating to the boundary between the United States and Canada (Treaty Series 548), to permit, for the duration of the emergency unless terminated earlier by agreement, an additional diversion of the waters of the Niagara River above the Falls.

**MUTUAL-AID AGREEMENT,
CANADA AND THE FRENCH COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION**

The American Embassy at Ottawa transmitted to the Department of State, with a despatch of April 20, 1944, a copy of an agreement, signed at Ottawa on April 14, 1944 between the Government of Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation on the principles applying to the provision by Canada of Canadian war supplies to the French Committee of National Liberation under the War Appropriation (United Nations Mutual Aid) Act of Canada, 1943. The agreement became effective on April 14, 1944, the date of signature.

The text of the agreement follows:

Whereas Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation are associated in the present war, and

Whereas it is desirable that war supplies should be distributed in accordance with strategic needs of the war and in such manner as to contribute most effectively to the winning of the war and the establishment of peace, and

Whereas it is expedient that the conditions upon which such war supplies are made available should not be such as to burden post-war commerce, or lead to the imposition of trade restrictions or otherwise prejudice a just and enduring peace, and

Whereas the Government of Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation are mutually desirous of concluding an agreement in regard to the conditions upon which Canadian war supplies will be made available to the French Committee of National Liberation,

The Undersigned, being duly authorized by the Government of Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation respectively for the purpose, have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE I

The Government of Canada will make available under the War Appropriation (United Nations Mutual Aid) Act of Canada, 1943, to the French Committee of National Liberation such war sup-

plies as the Government of Canada shall authorize from time to time to be provided.

ARTICLE II

The French Committee of National Liberation will continue to contribute to the defence of Canada and the strengthening thereof and will provide such articles, services, facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply and as may from time to time be determined by common agreement in the light of the development of the war.

ARTICLE III

The French Committee of National Liberation will, in support of any applications to the Government of Canada for the provision of war supplies under this agreement, furnish the Government of Canada with such relevant information as the Government of Canada may require for the purpose of deciding upon the applications and for executing the purposes of this agreement.

ARTICLE IV

The French Committee of National Liberation agrees to use any war supplies delivered to it under this agreement in the joint and effective prosecution of the war.

ARTICLE V

The French Committee of National Liberation will not without the consent of the Government of Canada sell to any other Government or to persons in other countries war supplies delivered to it under this agreement.

ARTICLE VI

The Government of Canada will not require the French Committee of National Liberation to re-deliver to the Government of Canada any war supplies delivered under this agreement except as specifically provided in Articles VII and VIII and subject to any special agreement which may be concluded in the circumstances contemplated in Article IX.

ARTICLE VII

Title to any cargo ships delivered under this agreement will remain with the Government of Canada and the ships shall be chartered to the French Committee of National Liberation on terms providing for their re-delivery.

ARTICLE VIII

Upon the cessation of hostilities in any major theatre of war, any war supplies which have been transferred to the French Committee of National Liberation under this agreement and are still in Canada or in ocean transit shall revert to Canadian ownership, except those supplies destined for a theatre of war in which hostilities have not ceased or supplies made available for relief purposes or such other supplies as the Government of Canada may specify.

ARTICLE IX

The Government of Canada reserves the right to request:

(a) the delivery, after the cessation of hostilities in any theatre of war, for relief and rehabilitation purposes, to another United Nation or to an international organization, of automotive equipment supplied under this agreement;

(b) the transfer to Canadian forces serving outside Canada after the cessation of hostilities of vehicles, aircraft, ordnance or military equipment supplied under this agreement to the French Committee of National Liberation if such war supplies are required for the use of such Canadian forces and are not required by the French Committee of National Liberation for military operations; and

(c) the return to Canada after the war, if required in Canada for Canadian purposes, of aircraft and automotive equipment supplied under this agreement which may still be serviceable, due regard being had to the degree of wastage likely to have been suffered by these articles, provided that when the identity of such Canadian equipment has been lost as a result of pooling arrangements or for other reasons, the French Committee of National Liberation may substitute equipment of a similar type.

The French Committee of National Liberation agrees to use its best endeavours to meet any such requests on such reasonable terms and conditions as shall be settled in consultation with the Government of Canada.

ARTICLE X

The Government of Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation re-affirm their desire to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between Canada and France and throughout the world. They declare that their guiding purposes include the adoption of measures designed to promote employment, the production and consumption of goods, and the expansion of commerce through appropriate international agreements on commercial policy, with the object of contributing to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Declaration of August 14th, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

ARTICLE XI

This agreement will take effect as from this day's date. It shall apply to war supplies furnished to the French Committee of National Liberation by the Government of Canada under the authority of the War Appropriation (United Nations Mutual Aid) Act of Canada, 1943, or substituted Act, including supplies furnished under the said Act before the conclusion of this agreement. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the Government of Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation.

Dated at Ottawa this fourteenth day of April, nineteen hundred and forty-four.

Signed for and on behalf of
the Government of Canada:

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
C. D. HOWE

Signed for and on behalf of
the French Committee of
National Liberation:

G. BONNEAU

TREATY BETWEEN CANADA AND CHINA FOR THE RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS IN CHINA

The American Embassy at Ottawa transmitted to the Department of State, with a despatch of April 19, 1944, a copy of a treaty between Canada and the Republic of China concerning the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China and the regulation of related matters, with exchange of notes, signed at Ottawa on April 14, 1944.

The English text of the treaty and the exchange of notes follow:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of Canada, and His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China;

Desiring to promote a spirit of friendship in the general relations between Canada and China, and for this purpose to adjust certain matters in the relations of the two countries;

Have decided to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada:

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, and

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China:

His Excellency Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to Canada;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

In the present Treaty the expression "companies" shall be interpreted as meaning limited liability and other companies, partnerships and as-

sociations constituted under the laws of Canada or of the Republic of China as the case may be.

ARTICLE II

All provisions of treaties or agreements in force between Canada and China, which authorize any British or Canadian authority to exercise jurisdiction in China over Canadian nationals or companies are hereby abrogated. Canadian nationals and companies shall be subject in China to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China, in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

ARTICLE III

The Government of Canada will cooperate, to the extent that any Canadian interest may be involved, with the Government of the Republic of China in negotiations and arrangements for the abandonment by foreign Governments of special privileges held by them in Peiping, Shanghai, Amoy, Tientsin and Canton, and will raise no objection to any measures which may be directed to the abolition of such special privileges.

ARTICLE IV

(1) Article II of the present Treaty shall not affect existing rights in respect of, or existing titles to, real property in China held by Canadian nationals or companies. Such existing rights and titles shall be indefeasible except upon proof, established through due process of law, that such rights or titles have been acquired by fraud or by fraudulent or dishonest practices, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the official procedure through which it was acquired. It is agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defence and the right of eminent domain and that no such rights or titles may be alienated

to the Government or nationals (including companies) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China. And it is further agreed that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in this Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that if, and when, the Government of the Republic of China declines to give assent to a proposed transfer, the Government of the Republic of China will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the nationals or companies to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and to pay adequate compensation therefor.

(2) Should the Government of the Republic of China desire to replace by new and appropriate deeds existing documentary evidence relating to real property held by Canadian nationals or companies, the new deeds shall fully protect the prior rights and interests of the Canadian nationals or companies, and their legal heirs, successors or assigns.

(3) Canadian nationals or companies shall not be required by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connection with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the day of coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE V

The Government of Canada having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within the territory of Canada to travel, reside and carry on trade throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to accord similar rights to Canadian nationals within the territory of the Republic of China. Each of the two Governments will endeavour to accord in territory under its jurisdiction to nationals and companies of the other country in regard to all legal proceedings and in matters relating to the administration of justice, and to the levying of taxes or require-

ments in connection therewith, treatment not less favourable than that accorded to its own nationals and companies.

ARTICLE VI

The consular officers of one High Contracting Party, duly provided with exequaturs, shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places and cities of the other High Contracting Party as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to interview, to communicate with, and to advise nationals or companies of their country within their consular districts; they shall be informed immediately whenever nationals of their country are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in their consular districts and they shall, upon notification to the appropriate authorities, be permitted to visit any such nationals; and, in general, the consular officers of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other shall be accorded the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

It is likewise agreed that the nationals or companies of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other shall have the right at all times to communicate with the consular officers of their country. Communications to their consular officers from nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties who are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in the territory of the other High Contracting Party shall be forwarded to such consular officers by the local authorities.

ARTICLE VII

(1) The High Contracting Parties agree that they will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty or treaties of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights upon the request of either of them or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which they are both now engaged. The treaty or treaties to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and

practice as reflected in modern international procedure and in the modern treaties which each of the Governments has concluded with other Powers in recent years.

(2) Pending the conclusion of the comprehensive treaty or treaties referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in the territory of the Republic of China of the Canadian Government or of Canadian nationals or companies should arise in future and if these questions are not covered by the present Treaty and annexed exchange of notes or by the provisions of the existing treaties, conventions and agreements between the Governments of Canada and the Republic of China which are not abrogated by or inconsistent with the present Treaty and annexed exchange of notes, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the two Governments and shall be decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

ARTICLE VIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that questions which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China and which are not covered by the present Treaty and annexed exchange of notes shall be discussed by representatives of the High Contracting Parties and decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law and modern international practice.

ARTICLE IX

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Chungking as soon as possible. The present Treaty shall come into force and be effective on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Ottawa this fifteenth day of April, 1944, corresponding to the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the thirty-third year of the Republic of

China, in duplicate in English and Chinese, both texts being equally authentic.

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
LIU SHIH SHUN

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

Ottawa, April 14, 1944.

SIR,

In connection with the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for Canada, I have the honour to state that it is the understanding of the National Government of the Republic of China that all rights and privileges relinquished by His Majesty the King, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, as provided in the Treaty and exchange of notes of January 11, 1943, between the Republic of China on the one hand and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India on the other, have been similarly relinquished by His Majesty the King for Canada. This understanding, if confirmed by your Government, shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered to be effective upon the date of the entry into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm the above understanding on behalf of the Government of Canada.

I avail [etc.]

LIU SHIH SHUN

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
Ottawa.

OTTAWA, April 14, 1944.

EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of today's date reading as follows—

[Here follows the note from His Excellency Liu Shih Shun printed above.]

I have the honour on behalf of the Government of Canada to confirm the understanding of the National Government of the Republic of China that all rights and privileges relinquished by His Majesty the King, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, as provided in the Treaty and exchange of notes of January 11th, 1943, between the Republic of China on the one hand and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India on the other, have been similarly relinquished by His Majesty the King for Canada.

This understanding shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered to be effective upon the date of the entry into force of that Treaty.

Accept [etc.]

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Secretary of State for External Affairs

His Excellency Dr. LIU SHIH SHUN,
*Ambassador of the Republic of China,
Chinese Embassy, Ottawa.*

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

El Salvador

The American Embassy at San Salvador informed the Department of State, by a despatch of April 24, 1944, that on March 29, 1944 the National Legislative Assembly of El Salvador ratified the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944. The decree of ratification of the Convention, copies of which were enclosed with the despatch, was published in the *Diario Oficial* of April 20, 1944.

The decree reads in part as follows (translation): "The present decree will have the force of law from the day of its publication in the *Diario Oficial*."

PROTOCOL ON PELAGIC WHALING

The White House announced on May 10, 1944 that on that date the President transmitted to the Senate, with a view to receiving the advice and consent of that body to ratification, a protocol relating to pelagic whaling operations, which was signed at London on February 7, 1944 for the United States of America, the Union of South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway.

AGREEMENT FOR UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

India

The Office of the Personal Representative of the President of the United States at New Delhi informed the Department of State, in a despatch of April 10, 1944, that the Legislative Assembly of India and the Council of State (Upper House) had approved on April 5 and 6, 1944, respectively, the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed at Washington on November 9, 1943.

The Foreign Service

The American Consulate at Southampton, England, was reestablished, effective April 30, 1944.

Legislation

Extension of Lend-Lease Act:

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H. R. 4254. April 26, 1944. ii, 54 pp.

S. Rept. 848, 78th Cong., on H. R. 4254. [Favorable report.] 5 pp.

Estimate of Appropriation for the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas: Communication from the

President of the United States transmitting an estimate of appropriation for the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, for the fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$59,000. H. Doc. 568, 78th Cong. 2 pp.

Retired Officers or Employees of the United States Tendered Decorations From Foreign Governments: Message from the President of the United States transmitting list of retired officers or employees of the United States for whom the Department of State is holding decorations, orders, medals, or presents tendered them by foreign governments. H. Doc. 583, 78th Cong. 3 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Plantation Rubber Investigations: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico Continuing in Force an Agreement of April 11, 1941 as Supplemented by an Agreement of July 14, 1942 and an Agreement of March 3, 4, and 29 and April 3, 1943, and Texts of Above-Cited Agreements—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico City July 10 and September 20, 1943; effective July 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 364. Publication 2105. 20 pp. 10¢.

Recruiting of Mexican Non-Agricultural Workers: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico City April 29, 1943; effective April 29, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 376. Publication 2108. 14 pp. 5¢.

Foreign Affairs of the United States in Wartime and After: Address by Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, before the American Federation of Labor Forum on Labor and the Post-War World, New York, N. Y., April 12, 1944. Publication 2110. 9 pp. 5¢.

Diplomatic List, May 1944. Publication 2117. ii, 122 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Education in China Today [with bibliography], by C. O. Arndt, Severin K. Turosinski, and Tung Yuen Fong. 1944. (Federal Security Agency, United States Office of Education.) 12 pp. 5¢ (available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office).

Greece, Selected List of References; compiled by Ann Duncan Brown and Helen Dudenbostel Jones. 1943. (Bibliography Division, Library of Congress.) iv, 101 pp., processed. Available from Library of Congress (free to institutions only).

Colombia, Land of El Dorado. 1944. (Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.) 16 pp., illus. Available from CIAA.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
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PUBLISHED WEEKLY WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

MAY 20, 1944

VOL. X, No. 256—PUBLICATION 2123

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The War

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House May 20]

President Roosevelt made the following statement on May 20 in connection with Vice President Wallace's trip to China:

"I have asked the Vice President of the United States to serve as a messenger for me in China. He is taking with him Mr. John Carter Vincent, Chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs, State Department; Mr. Owen Lattimore, Deputy Director of the Overseas Branch, Office of War Information; and Mr. John Hazard, Chief Liaison Officer, Division for Soviet Supply, Foreign Economic Administration.

"Eastern Asia will play a very important part

in the future history of the world. Forces are being unleashed there which are of the utmost importance to our future peace and prosperity. The Vice President, because of his present position as well as his training in economics and agriculture, is unusually well fitted to bring both to me and to the people of the United States a most valuable first-hand report.

"For the time being nothing more can be said of certain aspects of the Vice President's trip. Suffice it to say that he will be visiting a dozen places which I have long wanted to see. He left today and will report to me upon his return which is expected about the middle of July."

WARTIME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND POST-WAR TRADE

Address by Charles P. Taft¹

[Released to the press May 17]

The League of Women Voters seeks good government in community, state, and nation and intelligent participation in government by all citizens, especially women. The League has emphasized the importance of foreign affairs and in that part of its program has made one of its greatest contributions to the national interest.

We need good government in our communities. We have made great progress in the 50 years since the National Municipal League first was organized, and started people thinking about good public services well administered. The reforms that began in the cities have spread to the states and national governments, and the League has had an important part in every one of those fields.

Those principles of local self-government and sound administration in public service are more important than ever today. Our civil-affairs officers in Italy have found, and later in Germany and Japan will find, their greatest difficulty in the development of local political responsibility. I heard Count Sforza say a few months ago that Italy has one of the oldest traditions of local self-

government, which gives hope there, in spite of the twenty-odd years of suppression.

But it will be in Germany, with its centralized dictatorship, and in Japan, where little if any democratic experience or ideal has ever existed at the grass roots, that we shall have occasion to think well of our own citizenship and freedom—something we may have taken too lightly heretofore. We have a jewel of great price that we must cherish and preserve when we have won our battle in its defense. We are the oldest republic in the world with a tradition of democracy that developed even faster than in the British Isles and Holland, from which came its beginnings. We face the menace of the dictatorships with a pattern of living and government essential for the future of the world.

This is a critical moment in the war. It is a critical moment from the strategic standpoint,

¹Delivered before a meeting of the Indiana League of Women Voters, Indianapolis, Ind., May 17, 1944. Mr. Taft is Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, Department of State.

with two of the prongs of our great world offensive already started toward the vitals of our enemies. In Italy and around the world, in the central and southwest Pacific, parts of the supreme attack have begun. The great invasion is poised.

The real crisis is spiritual. We Americans reacted none too well to the news from Cassino and Anzio, and we have been showing signs of strain. Can we stand up when the casualty lists begin to mount from the second and third and fourth fronts? We have been tired, and the British for good reason have been more tired than we. They have been at it two years longer than we, and they have lost in proportion to their population 10 or 12 times as many as we have, military and civilian, at the front and in the bombing blitz. Probably that is why criticism of both of our Governments, and especially of their foreign policies, rose on both sides of the Atlantic during these bleak winter months when plans were coming to fruition.

This was the time when our faith and toughness began to be put to the test. Can we hold to our beliefs and stay by our judgment? Old principles sometimes seem watery and ineffective, patience wears thin, and you suspect your most trusted leaders.

Mr. Hull himself was thus suspect during that period, but his speech of April 9 reasserted his leadership of Americans of good-will, Democrats and Republicans alike. Mr. Hull presented to the people of the United States a vigorous reaffirmation of faith with a democratic toughness of fiber that gives hope to all of us, and gave specific guidance in some of these problems of foreign policy that have been a source of worry in the United States.

This was his final paragraph:

"All of these questions of foreign policy which, as I said earlier, is the matter of focusing and expressing your will in the world outside our borders, are difficult and often involve matters of controversy. Under our constitutional system the will of the American people in this field is not effective unless it is united will. If we are divided we are ineffective. We are in a year of a national election in which it is easy to arouse controversy on almost any subject, whether or not the subject is an issue in the campaign. You, therefore, as well as we

who are in public office, bear a great responsibility. It is the responsibility of avoiding needless controversy in the formulation of your judgments. It is the responsibility for sober and considered thought and expression. It is the responsibility for patience both with our Allies and with those who must speak for you with them. Once before in our lifetime we fell into disunity and became ineffective in world affairs by reason of it. Should this happen again it will be a tragedy to you and to your children and to the world for generations."

My own concern in the Department of State in helping to produce that unity and prevent disunity is in the economic field, and particularly in the current operations of many Government departments which affect our foreign relations. While theoretically I have Wartime Economic Affairs, and Harry Hawkins the Office of Economic Affairs, meaning long-time and post-war economics, the line can never be drawn with any exactitude. Every day I have to know from Mr. Hawkins' divisions what is long-time policy in order to have our operating divisions guide current operations in the direction called for by that policy.

Mr. Hull referred to a number of these economic problems in his address. I am sure you will be interested in having me spell out some of his brief references. One of our most important responsibilities is in dealing with the European neutrals. Our growing strength and that of our Allies makes only one outcome of this war possible, he said:

"We can no longer acquiesce in these nations' drawing upon the resources of the Allied world when they at the same time contribute to the death of troops whose sacrifice contributes to their salvation as well as ours. We have scrupulously respected the sovereignty of these nations; and we have not coerced, nor shall we coerce, any nation to join us in the fight. We have said to these countries that it is no longer necessary for them to purchase protection against aggression by furnishing aid to our enemy—whether it be by permitting official German agents to carry on their activities of espionage against the Allies within neutral borders, or by sending to Germany the essential ingredients of the steel which kills our soldiers, or by permitting highly skilled workers and factories to supply products which can no longer issue

from the smoking ruins of German factories. We ask them only, but with insistence, to cease aiding our enemy."

The problem of German espionage by official agents in Spain and Ireland is a political matter not in my field. But the situation with reference to ferro-alloys from the neutrals surrounding Germany is very much my business. Wolfram (tungsten), nickel and chrome, and molybdenum and manganese come from Finland, Turkey, Spain, and Portugal; iron ore and ball bearings come from Sweden, and other articles from Switzerland. We are saying to all these countries, with all the seriousness we can muster—you cannot continue to help the Germans kill our boys. You have limited these shipments considerably by agreement with us. Now you must limit them all still further and stop shipping what can be used by our enemies. Turkey has stopped chrome. Spain has cut wolfram to 25 percent of what she issued export licenses for in 1943. Our political and economic warfare people are going after Portugal and Sweden.

Mr. Hull referred to order in Europe as essential for the winning of the war. The order required is economic as well as military or police order. It is going to be terribly difficult to get the necessary food and supplies into Europe and distribute them equitably. Rationing will have to continue and somebody has to administer it. Inflation is one of the serious difficulties until normal channels of exports and imports are opened. So price control must continue. Americans of the blood of the liberated nations are naturally concerned and want to give and send money. Until the economic machinery is running on a relatively normal basis, sending money into these countries is no help but on the contrary will only contribute to inflation. The only answer is to ship food and supplies, and that will go just as fast as the governments and UNRRA can accomplish it. When food is a little more plentiful, then people can help their relatives by food drafts, mass extra shipments packaged on arrival in the foreign country and delivered to the person designated. That was done after the last war, but it will not be possible again for some time to come.

The process that gets supplies where they must go is a complicated one in which the United

States and the United Kingdom are operating as partners. That is no mere phrase. We have 44 United and Associated Nations, but they have not yet completely learned to work together. The British and Americans are doing so, and their experience is a pattern for real progress toward international peace among all nations.

Each of us, the British and ourselves, produce certain goods for the war effort. There are not enough to go around and each of us has agencies that allocate our production and our raw materials to the domestic needs, and to the demands of the war abroad. For instance, there is a U.S. Food Requirements and Allocations Committee, with members among others from the Army, Navy, Maritime Commission, War Production Board, War Food Administration, Foreign Economic Administration, and State Department. The War Production Board Requirements Committee is the same kind of body in the field of raw materials and manufactured goods from the United States.

But then you have to measure U.S. allocations against supplies in the United Kingdom and other parts of the world, and needs abroad as well. So the United States and the United Kingdom come together in what are called the Combined Boards—Combined Food Board, Combined Raw Materials Board, Combined Production and Resources Board, and Combined Shipping Adjustment Board, with Canada sharing in certain of these operations. There is full disclosure of all information and a successful effort to operate with pooled resources and an agreed allocation of supplies available from other areas.

But what you need from other countries does not come without effort, and the Government itself often has to send representatives abroad to be sure we get what we need. We may have to provide incentive payments, or even put on development programs to secure marginal production. In connection with that you must provide enough supplies to maintain the basic economies of those countries, and because there is virtually no area which is not contributing in some measure to our united war effort, we find ourselves, United States and United Kingdom, assuming the responsibility of organizing the provision for the basic needs of the non-Axis world.

That means a pretty complete disruption of normal lines of trade and a disruption equally of

the usual commercial channels. One of our steady persistent pressures, especially now as all but a few items are, while short, adequate for restricted needs, is to restore the use of the usual importers and exporters with their connections in banking, insurance, and as far as possible in shipping. Inertia is hard to overcome, and foreign governments, which have learned how to manage trade, don't let go easily of their trade controls.

When surpluses come, as they have begun to in the case of wool, balsa, and shellac, for instance, we are faced with the problem of cutting back orders to fit requirements, although we may have made extensive moral commitments abroad. The State Department and Foreign Economic Administration have their more extensive headaches with those questions.

As these supplies become easier and the shipping more abundant, the allocations by some of these boards have less and less basis in supply and shipping considerations and more and more in post-war objectives for trade. We are scrutinizing those decisions thoroughly and reviewing them to get rid both of unnecessary restrictions and of assignment of purchasing or selling areas that have become an assignment of markets divorced from strictly war considerations.

At that stage you have to define your objective for post-war trade. My chief, in his speech of April 9, reiterated the policy of this Government:

"The heart of the matter lies in action which will stimulate and expand production in industry and agriculture and free international commerce from excessive and unreasonable restrictions. These are the essential prerequisites to maintaining and improving the standard of living in our own and in all countries. Production cannot go forward without arrangements to provide investment capital. Trade cannot be conducted without stable currencies in which payments can be promised and made. Trade cannot develop unless excessive barriers in the form of tariffs, preferences, quotas, exchange controls, monopolies, and subsidies, and others are reduced or eliminated. It needs also agreed arrangements under which communication systems between nations and transport by air and sea can develop. And much of all this will miss its mark of satisfying human needs unless we take agreed action for the improvement of

labor standards and standards of health and nutrition."

Those ideals and objectives are not mere generalities. With the experience of 10 years in administering the trade-agreements program, the staff of the State Department in commercial and commodity policy has been working for 2 years on very specific proposals and has been exploring their practical applications with the British, Canadians, and Latin American countries.

Against the program you have first the old high-tariff ideas. These have lost any general support but still constitute an important section of opinion.

Against this program also you have the program of the Federation of British Industry and the views expressed recently in a series of articles in the *London Economist*. These views call for a sterling bloc of the United Kingdom, colonies, and the dominions, plus the nearby European powers. Within that bloc would be a managed economy on an international scale, to protect those within the bloc from the competition and trade and financial policies of the other nations.

I will only say tonight that whatever you may hear at the moment, there is a large and I believe preponderant section of British opinion in business and in government to the contrary, and in favor of Secretary Hull's general proposals. That is always on the condition that trade is so restored that Britain can export all that it must export to pay for the things it must import if it is to live at all.

But the most dangerous views that we must meet are those of the pessimist, who says: Yes, this is all right in theory, and I would go along if it were possible. But these other nations will only look out for No. 1, especially the British and Russians, and in the end we shall only live by barter and bilateral exchanges that get us those few things we need. We must become self-contained and stand by our own strength. So speaks the pessimist and jingo-nationalist.

In that way lies disaster. Our metals are running out, and so may our oil eventually unless we exercise some restraint when our automobiles go back unrestrained on the highways after the war. Other essentials must come from abroad, and in 50 years, like the British, we shall have to export to pay for the things we need for life.

We need an act of faith, not by ourselves, but jointly with the British Commonwealth and China and the other great trading powers. Russia is a state trader, but there is already evidence that that situation can be met by amicable agreement.

We shall travel after this war, as our people have always traveled, and many times more often. The money we spend abroad enables foreigners to buy our goods.

Every country will need industrial rehabilitation and reconstruction. We can afford to give long credits at low interest to industrialize them with our machinery, for that makes more customers, able to buy more. It need not be economic imperialism, for, as in the case of the Export-Import Bank, we can require that the cost of local supplies and labor for projects abroad shall be furnished abroad, and at least 50-percent investment from the foreign nation. An industrialized world with adequate labor protection and social-

welfare measures means that we do not need to worry in the end about cheap labor. In the meantime our productive labor has shown that cheap labor is usually not as productive and that we can compete with anybody if we have a fair chance without controls and quotas and tariffs in foreign countries.

Nobody is looking for free trade. Free trade without restriction could mean utter disruption of successful industries and major unemployment in spots. But the automobile industry has been only one demonstration—wheat in the northwest states is another—that the most expert industrial and agricultural country in the world does not need to fear competition. Cheap labor is inefficient labor. We can afford to buy foreign products we need and use them for our profit, convenience, and pleasure, while we sell ours in exchange, around a great free globe of peace and prosperity.

SUPPLIES FOR LIBERATED AREAS

By *James A. Stillwell*¹

It is not at all surprising that John Q. Public has so many and varied misconceptions concerning the role of the United States Government in providing supplies for the relief of the liberated populations of the world. The campaign for victory, with all its tremendous problems of logistics and its requirements of secrecy, cuts across so many of the plans for relief that officials with direct responsibility often develop differing viewpoints. Many Government officials not directly connected with these operations have the same misconceptions of the problem as those so frequently expressed by the citizens at large.

At first glance this state of affairs may sound appalling, but by reviewing the varied events in the development of the United States Government's participation in the foreign-relief activities one can understand much easier that a state of confusion could exist. A review of those events tends to develop an appreciative attitude toward the groups who are directly responsible for producing relief supplies.

As early as September 1941 a group of officials in the United Kingdom began to lay the ground-

work for the planning of civilian-supply requirements for the areas of Europe, then dominated by the Axis. The Allied governments realized that this was a problem of direct concern. Therefore, the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements was established in London under the leadership of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross. The purpose of the Committee was to establish over-all requirements for food, clothing, medical and sanitary supplies, and temporary shelter that would be necessary in the event of liberation of the Axis-dominated areas.

This Committee worked out an elaborate set of requirements for each of the countries under Axis domination. It divided these programs into four "time periods" of six months each, developing one set of figures upon what was called an "unscorched policy" and another upon what was called "scorched policy". Obviously, on an unscorched assumption the damage inflicted by a retreating army and the destruction necessary to the advance

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of the Allied forces were assumed to be negligible. The importation of relief supplies under such conditions would naturally be far less in quantity than that necessary under any condition that would be likely to exist following the defeat of the Axis forces.

The figures developed on the second assumption, or scorched policy, pyramided into fantastic proportions. In the developing of these two programs, the Committee accumulated a great mass of invaluable factual data. It made elaborate studies of the eating habits in the various countries of Europe and drew up detailed tables of the nutritional value of food consumed and the average caloric consumption of the population of Europe. From these studies the Committee developed all the subsequent programs of food requirements for the liberated populations of Europe.

The Leith-Ross committee consisted of members from the United Kingdom, the United States, and the various governments-in-exile. United States representatives, however, did not participate actively in the formulation of the figures. The various technical groups drawn from the Ministry of Food and from the Ministry of Supplies of the British Government did the actual work on these studies.

In preparing its figures, the Leith-Ross committee did not attempt to relate the requirements to supply availability but concentrated its efforts to produce requirements figures based upon arbitrary assumptions.

Early in March 1943 the British Government appointed Sir Hubert Young to direct a systematic revision of the Leith-Ross figures based upon actual trends and anticipated developments in the Allied war against the Axis.

In this work Sir Hubert Young was appointed as working assistant to Sir Robert Sinclair. They established various working parties which reviewed the figures by commodity and which produced voluminous reports concerning every phase of civilian supply in the liberated countries.

A review of the reports of the Leith-Ross committee and those of the Young-Sinclair working parties would prompt many people to say that a lot of paper had been wasted by "stratosphere planning." Such a statement, however, would be a gross injustice to the valuable work that these

two committees had performed. One should remember that the "long distance" planning which has been accomplished in Washington could never have been started without the untold amount of factual data documented by the Leith-Ross committee and by the Young-Sinclair working parties.

Not before the invasion of North Africa was being planned did the United States Government become acutely aware of the practical planning necessary to the relief of the oppressed populations of occupied areas.

Officials interested in post-war relief found it extremely difficult to divert the attention of the leaders in Washington from the actual prosecution of the war to the intangible job of planning civilian supplies for sick and hungry people who, we hoped, might be liberated in the near future. Many people, to be sure, looked upon this Government's first step toward establishing a foreign-relief organization as a "glorified world-wide WPA project."

Governor Lehman faced a rather hostile atmosphere when he came to Washington on December 4, 1942 as Director of the newly established Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations. Military leaders were too busy with the grim business of winning a war and officials of other Government agencies were too engrossed in handling the specific essential jobs outlined for them to discuss problems of relief after a war that was certainly far from being won. To complicate Governor Lehman's problem further, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations received no funds to activate the programs of relief that it had established. Director Lehman was instructed to look to the Lend-Lease Administration for any funds necessary for the procurement of supplies for relief purposes.

This type of procurement was an entirely new field for the Lend-Lease Administration, particularly in view of the fact that all of its previous activities had been on a government-to-government basis; whereas, the handling of procurement for the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation was a very indirect business and one that would necessitate uncertain quantities of supplies for uncertain destinations. This plan would mean "stockpiling relief supplies". Many members of Congress and the allocating authorities in Wash-

ington looked upon such a plan with very little favor.

In order to fulfil its responsibilities, however, the Lend-Lease Administration established a Liberated Areas Branch in March 1943, under the direction of Mr. Walter Thayer. In the meantime, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations had established several technical groups who were producing requirements programs for the relief activities that they anticipated. They had established also a Procurement Division for the purpose of activating these programs into actual goods.

Thus began an era of jurisdictional difficulties.

The Lend-Lease Administration felt its responsibilities as custodian of the lend-lease funds. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation was keenly aware of its responsibilities for directing the relief role to be played by this Government in liberated areas. Differences of opinion would inevitably arise concerning the validity and even the necessity for the supplies that OFRRO was requisitioning. Effective working agreements between the two organizations were soon established, however, and the difficult task of clearing the various hurdles of allocations of materials, production priorities, and delivery schedules progressed.

Both the Lend-Lease Administration and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation were having personnel difficulties which further complicated this process of development; the latter, an entirely new organization, was forced to gather personnel who were entirely unfamiliar with the intricate processes of governmental procurement. All of them were enthusiastic in their main objective of producing a program of civilian supplies for the suffering populations of Europe, but they were definitely annoyed when those programs were not promptly translated into terms of actual supplies. Before the meshing of the gears of the new philosophy of relief could be synchronized with that of the prosecution of the war policy existent in Washington OFRRO and Lend-Lease Administration experienced a period of change.

Mr. Walter Thayer of the Lend-Lease Administration had been called to London to assume an important position on the staff of Mr. Averill Harriman's mission in London; the Assistant Director

of Liberated Areas Branch, Mr. John O'Boyle, was called into Uncle Sam's Army; Mr. Rupert Emerson, formerly Regional Administrator for the Office of Price Administration, was brought to the Lend-Lease Administration to head a new Liberated Areas Division; and the writer was appointed as Deputy Director to assist in the reorganization and enlargement of the Division.

By this time, because of the lack of tangible evidence of progress, the officials of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation were becoming increasingly impatient. The very excellent groundwork done by Messrs. Thayer and O'Boyle enabled the new Liberated Areas Division to produce some early results for OFRRO in the form of actual contracts for the procurement of the goods.

The purchase of supplies for relief purposes was restricted to those items which required a lengthy period of manufacture and which were of common need to all areas. To have procured large quantities of food supplies or other perishable products, since the fact of liberation was undeterminable, would have been impracticable.

Contracts were made, therefore, for the procurement of shoes, used clothing, a few textile materials, and a variety of hand tools and other small equipment necessary to a relief operation. One should point out that procurement was approved only for those items that would obviously be required from this country's production, and that procurement was limited to quantities that could be only a mere token of the actual requirements.

Several million pairs of shoes suitable for relief purposes were procured, sorted, and packed for export. Since these shoes were secured from distressed stocks, the civilian supply of this country was not affected. In view of the fact that leather was in extremely short supply, a shoe was designed to be made primarily of canvas uppers with composition soles. Contracts were let with several manufacturers to produce several million pairs of this type of shoe. As a result, approximately 13,000,000 pairs of shoes, at the average cost of \$1.33 a pair, will be in stockpile ready for relief use by July 1944.

The procurement of supplies for relief purposes presents many more problems than any other type of procurement, particularly while all of the

Nation's industries are busy producing materials for war.

It was essential that any items procured for relief purposes should not create an undue burden either on the material supply or on the production facilities of this country. Public opinion must also be taken into account. Many persons thought that the American public did not look favorably upon restrictive rationing, even though the procurement of large quantities of relief supplies had caused that restriction. To make up relief supplies of those items which could be supplied, as far as possible, without an undue drain on the civilian economy was important; and to maintain the position of the American taxpayer by holding the cost of relief goods to the lowest possible figure was essential.

With those factors in mind, procurement officials were instructed to take advantage of all used materials available. As a result of this instruction, they had to face many more complicated problems.

From a political point of view, the peoples of Europe who would be the recipients of those relief goods had to be given some consideration. The benevolence of the United States Government would not be particularly impressive to those peoples if we attempted to present them with worn-out, tattered clothing and broken-down equipment as our effort toward their relief. Consequently, the procurement of used materials had to be directed in a sensible manner.

The procurement of used articles also presented many operational difficulties. For example, the purchase of new clothing necessary to clothe a stated number of individuals of all ages is relatively simple since it can be ordered by specific sizes, qualities, and amounts. Used clothing, which generally must be repaired and disinfected, cannot be gathered by any definite specifications. The process of sorting, disinfecting, repairing, and packing is in itself a major operation. The procurement contracts, however, always include specific packing instructions so that when the articles are finished they are delivered to the transportation agents properly packed, marked, and ready for shipment.

In spite of all these difficulties, large amounts of used garments of all types, including blankets, were assembled and made ready for export.

Neither the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation nor the Office of Lend-Lease Administration had any specific information concerning when, where, or how much of these goods would be needed. This fact made all these operations more difficult.

The War Department had also been drawn into the relief business by virtue of its participation in the invasion of Sicily and Italy. The War Department's basic philosophy concerning civilian supplies in liberated areas was drawn from the rules adopted at the Geneva Conference. Under these rules, the armed forces were obligated to prevent starvation and the spread of disease and pestilence among the people of the areas they occupy. They could fulfil this obligation by distributing basic Army rations to starving people and by applying simple precautions for their health and sanitation.

The Secretary of War, soon realizing, however, that the regular operational divisions of the Army could not be expected to handle properly the civilian-supply problems presented by the liberation of large populations, established a Civilian Affairs Division in his General Staff and appointed Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring as its Director. This Civilian Affairs Division was to be responsible for the establishing of policies, the programming of requirements, and the administering of the relief activities of the Army in all areas where the United States was to participate in military operations.

With so many different organizations dealing with relief problems for the same areas and with no definite understanding among them as to the specific responsibilities of each, a general state of confusion naturally developed. For this reason, the Department of State was directed to establish the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination under the direction of Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson. This Office was to provide a forum where jurisdictional questions among the various agencies could be heard and general agreements could be reached concerning the operations of this Government's relief activities. Up until this time, little attention had been given to the problem of coordinating the Anglo-American view of relief operations. Obviously, this coordination was necessary if we expected the United Kingdom to bear a part of the material and financial burden.

The idea of an international relief organization had been quite generally discussed, but the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom recognized that they would have to bear the major portion of the cost.

The very nature of our military relations with the United Kingdom made it simple to establish a combined mechanism for handling military relief problems. The Combined Civil Affairs Committee was therefore organized under the Combined Chiefs of Staff for the purpose of dealing with the civilian-supply problems which directly affected military operations. Thus civilian-supply problems in Italy became a proper subject for the Combined Civil Affairs Committee. No one knew just how, when, or where military responsibility would cease and civilian responsibility would begin.

These are a few of the problems which Mr. Acheson's coordinating committee had to face. All the civilian agencies directly concerned with relief activities were represented on the Committee. General Hildring was the War Department's representative. The early sessions of the Committee served to outline prominently the disorganized state of this Government's relief efforts and to establish the necessity for the combined planning of the United States and United Kingdom civilian organization and for the direct coordination of those plans with the military relief programs.

The Committee could not possibly relate the civilian agencies' responsibilities to definite time periods, because when a so-called military period would start or end was not known; nor could the Committee determine which civilian agency would assume operational responsibilities when the period of military responsibility had ended.

Negotiation necessary to the establishment of an international relief organization had been quite successful. On November 9, 1943, forty-four nations signed the agreement to participate in an international relief effort.

Representatives of these forty-four nations attended the first conference of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Atlantic City from November 9 through December 3, 1943. Governor Lehman, the Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, was unanimously elected as the Director General of this new

international organization, and Mr. Acheson became the United States member of the council.

It was generally understood that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would absorb the personnel of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

The President, in the meantime, had issued an Executive order for the amalgamation of the Lend-Lease Administration, the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, the Office of Economic Warfare, and the United States Commercial Corporation into one agency: the Foreign Economic Administration. This amalgamation eliminated most of the difficulty of determining which civilian agency would be responsible for relief activities; but it did not establish the relative responsibilities of the military, the United States civilian agencies, and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The United States Army was the only agency of this Government directly involved in current civilian-supply problems in Italy. The military leaders were not eager to continue handling the relief problems in the liberated areas, but no other agency existed, at that particular time, to which they could transfer this responsibility.

On November 10 the President addressed a letter to Secretary of War Stimson directing the War Department to assume the responsibility for shipping and distributing relief supplies to the civilian populations of liberated areas until such time as the civilian agencies would be in a position to take over the longer-range program of relief.

With the placing of this new responsibility upon the War Department and with the establishment of UNRRA, plus the organization of FEA, the character of the work to be done within the Department of State concerning relief operations was materially changed. A residual part of the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination was, therefore, retained in the Department of State as the Office of the Special Adviser on Liberated Areas, and early in November 1943 several area and functional advisers to Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson were appointed to carry out the work necessary in the liberated-areas activities.

One of these positions was designated for an Adviser on Supplies for Liberated Areas, whose

duty was to advise the FEA and the War Department on foreign-policy questions in supplying the liberated areas. The course of events required what in effect was coordination by the Department of State between the United States agencies, UNRRA, and the governments-in-exile.

In spite of the fact that the War Department had had no previous direct responsibility for formulating plans and for preparing the programs of civilian supplies for liberated areas, it was obviously a military necessity in the immediate zone of operations and therefore essential to prepare such plans as promptly as possible. Procurement of supplies had to be coordinated under one general plan. Furthermore, the progress of the war in Europe made it quite obvious that this Government would be caught again in the position of "too little and too late" unless quick results could be obtained in the field of actual procurement of necessary relief supplies.

On November 17, 1943 General Hildring called a meeting of what he designated as an *Ad Hoc* Economic Committee to discuss the activation of the President's directive to the War Department concerning its civilian-supply activities. Since most of the members of the Division of Economic Affairs of the Department of State and the officials of the Liberated Areas Division of FEA were attending the UNRRA Conference in Atlantic City, the Adviser on Supplies of the Department of State attended the meeting, representing both the Liberated Areas of the Department and the Liberated Areas of FEA.

At that meeting the Committee drew up plans whereby a working relationship between FEA, the Department of State, and the War Department would be immediately established for the purpose of preparing a program of supplies for liberated areas.

A Supply Subcommittee which had been established under the jurisdiction of the old OFEC had made very little progress toward accomplishing a combined United States - United Kingdom program for the countries of Europe. This Committee, consisting of representation from the British Embassy Staff, the Department of State, FEA, and the International Division of the War Department, attempted a reconciliation of the Young-Sinclair figures with those which OFRRO had

produced. It failed to accomplish this purpose, mainly because of the lack of a coordinated American view. The Committee had, however, succeeded in performing the very useful function of an operating facility for clearance of current requests from the Allied military leaders in Italy for many types of items which the supply authorities of either the United States or United Kingdom military organizations had failed to procure.

Up until that time the War Department had taken the position that it could supply only those items for civilian relief which were already included in its regular Army supply program. Consequently, it called upon the Lend-Lease Division of FEA to procure such things as clothing and textiles, agricultural implements, seeds, pesticides, and fertilizers.

The handling of civilian affairs in Italy and of the requisitions from General Eisenhower had long since pointed out the necessity of supplying items that would assist the liberated people to produce food, clothing, and other supplies essential to the relief within the area liberated. Actual importation of civilian supplies into the liberated areas of Sicily and Italy was increasing at such a rapid rate that if continued it would have been necessary to import, within a very few months, all of the consumer goods necessary to civilian existence. The civilian-affairs officials of the Allied armies backed by the Allied commander began calling frantically for the importation of agricultural-production goods, particularly seeds, fertilizers, and many types of repair equipment, so that both the agricultural and industrial facilities could be put to work producing indigenous supplies.

Fortunately, the old Liberated Areas Division of Lend-Lease and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation personnel had continued to procure and stockpile several basic items which they were quite certain would be necessary in relief operations. Up to that time, many people had roundly criticized, both publicly and privately, those activities.

Only through these stockpiles was the United States Army able to meet several emergency situations, to avert chaotic conditions developing among the civilian populations, and to make emergency shipments of clothing during the winter months for approximately 400,000 men, women,

and children in Italy. It was able to deliver, also, several thousand tons of fertilizers, seed potatoes, pesticides, coal-mine repair equipment, and many other essential items that could not have been obtained had the stockpiles not been developed.

These experiences were of inestimable value in re-orienting the general approach to the problems of civilian relief and supply.

On December 21, 1943 General Hildring, Chief of the Civil Affairs Division of the General Staff, formed a working party of representatives of the Department of State, FEA, and the International Division of the Army to produce a program of supplies for all the areas of Europe to be liberated. The program had to be of such a character that it would receive the consolidated support of all American agencies.

Since the military period of operations in European areas could not be determined and since it was not known when the invasion would start, the working party agreed that a program should be produced which would be so modest in character that immediate procurement could be undertaken.

For this reason, the first six months were designated, merely for the convenience of planning, as the "military period". However, in some areas the military authorities would have to maintain control of civilian-supply activities for much longer than six months, whereas in other areas military control might not be necessary for longer than one, two, or three months.

The working parties were directed to produce a complete program within seven days' time. They operated day and night, drawing together factual data from the studies made by the Leith-Ross committee, Young-Sinclair working parties, the OFRRO organization, and the technical staffs of the War Department. They produced two sets of figures, designated as "Plan A" and "Plan B".

Plan A was based upon the assumption of a complete collapse of the Axis in Europe by February 1, 1944 and no scorching in the areas liberated. Plan B was developed on the assumption of collapse during the early months of the year but with considerable amount of scorching in the areas liberated. A variation of these plans, assuming collapse during the fall season of the year, was developed to determine the essential differences in the requirements of a particular area for the different seasons of the year.

About January 1, 1944, the supply officials of the United States Army presented Plan A to the British Army Staff for concurrence, through the Supply Subcommittee of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee. The British referred the figures to the War Office in London, and several discussions between the British Military, United States Military, the Department of State, and FEA representatives ensued, before the CCAC gave the program official approval on February 17, 1944.

Plan A in its original form included supplies of food, medical and sanitary supplies, soap, petroleum, coal, clothing, textiles, shoes, and agricultural-production goods for all the countries of Europe except Germany and Austria. The plan included only a small quantity of supplies for the relief of a portion of Allied prisoners of war and alien forced-labor battalions within Germany and Austria. It provided no goods for the relief of German nationals, pending determination of policy on the treatment of Germany after surrender.

The food program in Plan A was based upon tonnages necessary to supplement the indigenous supplies. In a country where a part of the population is receiving on the present ration only 1,500 calories per day per person, Plan A provides sufficient food to supply an additional 500 calories a day for each person. At best, these tonnages will probably supply only enough food to bring the per-capita intake of persons now receiving less than 2,000 calories a day up to that level, which, according to nutritionists, is the minimum for bare subsistence. The average daily consumption of food by the people in the United States is about 3,400 calories. Tonnages of food in Plan A would provide only 7 percent of the calories consumed in the same areas in a corresponding pre-war period.

By volume, Plan A calls for the importation of about 3,300,000 metric tons of food to the liberated areas of Europe during the first 6-month period. To the average individual that may appear to be a staggering figure, and the figures as such should be cautiously used. The common belief of the American people is that the United States will have to be the "bread basket" for all the suffering populations of the world for a period of time after the war is won. For this reason, the average person would automatically assume that a major portion of the 3,300,000 tons of food would have to come from the United States.

The facts are quite contrary to the general impression. Of the total amount of food required in Plan A, supply authorities estimate that only about 16 percent to 20 percent by volume will have to be furnished from the United States. This estimate can be easily understood upon proper analysis of the content of the food program. Of the 3,300,000 tons of food required, wheat alone makes up a total of 2,500,000 tons. The United States is not a major source for exportable surpluses of wheat. Approximately 95 percent of the wheat will have to come from sources outside the United States, such as Canada, Australia, India, and Argentina. By volume, the United States will probably be the source of supply for less than 15 percent of the total requirements. That volume, however, will represent approximately 55 percent to 60 percent of the dollar value of the total program, since the items which the United States must furnish in quantity, such as medical supplies, clothing, textiles, shoes, and agricultural equipment, have a much higher unit cost than do foodstuffs and coal.

The officials of the Army Service Forces of the United States Army have constantly maintained the position that they should procure only those items common to their regular Army Supply Program. They, therefore, requested the officials of the FEA to assume the responsibility for the procurement of the clothing, textiles, shoes, and agricultural-production goods included in Plan A. Since some sort of machinery, under this arrangement, was necessary to coordinate the views of FEA, the Department of State, and the Army on problems of supply, the United States Procurement Committee was established on about February 1, 1944. Its members consisted of the Chief of the International Division, United States Army; Procurement Officer, Liberated Areas Branch, FEA; and the Adviser on Supplies, Department of State. The chief purpose of this Committee was to iron out the operational difficulties encountered in attempting to place the United States portion of Plan A into actual procurement; and in order to carry out its responsibilities, the Committee secured the cooperation of the various governmental agencies which had a direct interest in the supply problems. The Committee established, as a result, the practice of providing a forum where such agencies as the War Shipping Administration, the Treasury, WPB, and the

technical-service branches of the Army could express their views concerning the supply problems presented.

Even after Plan A was produced in its original form, a tremendous amount of work was necessary before the program could be submitted to allocating authorities for recommendations concerning sources of supply. The technical staffs of FEA and the service branches of the Army presented, through the facilities of the United States Procurement Committee, detailed specifications of all the requirements.

If the United States Procurement Committee could have submitted all of the program to one committee or to one industry division of the War Production Board, the United States allocating authority for supplies other than food, the matter of securing advice from the supply authorities would have been reasonably easy. But the process was not so simple as that.

It was necessary to submit the food and soap requirements of the program to the War Food Administration. However, several different divisions of WPB handle the allocation of other commodities in the program, such as medical and sanitary supplies, which consist of some 7,000 items. That part of the program as well as many other parts had to be broken down so that it could be presented to the proper authorities. Coal is under the jurisdiction of the Solid Fuels Administrator; petroleum allocations are handled by the Army and Navy Petroleum Board; textiles, clothing, and shoes come under the authority of the Textile Industry Division of WPB; and agricultural-machinery part of the agricultural program comes under the jurisdiction of another industry division of WPB; and the fertilizer and part of the agricultural program come under the jurisdiction of both the War Food Administration and the WPB.

One should readily understand, therefore, that the presentation of the program (Plan A) to allocating authorities was a major operation.

Many meetings were held, both at high and low levels, concerning the apparent lack of progress in the implementation of Plan A.

In the meantime, however, the United States Army had decided that it had no direct responsibility for programming supplies for the countries of Eastern Europe and therefore did not feel

justified in requesting allocating authorities to indicate sources of supply for the part of Plan A designated for that area. Several conferences were held among the officials of FEA, the Department of State, and the War Department concerning this problem. Subsequently, an agreement was reached whereby the War Department would be responsible for the programming and procuring of the supplies to come from the United States destined for Western Europe, Germany, Austria, and that part of Italy yet to be liberated. Supplies for the Balkans, Southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia would be handled as a direct Lend-Lease operation, but FEA would transfer the supplies so procured to the United States Army for transportation to the ultimate destination. It was assumed that in the part of Eastern Europe which is to be the scene of Russian military operations, the primary responsibility for civilian supplies during the military period would be the direct concern of the Soviet forces, and any assistance required from the United States would be given through the mechanics of the Soviet Lend-Lease Protocol.

In accordance with these agreements, the Department of State, FEA, and the War Department prepared a combined statement which they presented to the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, and from which they drew up the budgets for the fiscal year 1945.

When the American allocating authorities had made their recommendations concerning the source of supply, they presented those recommendations to the Combined Boards for official Anglo-American opinions.

Upon receipt of a source-of-supply recommendation from the Combined Boards, the combined United States - United Kingdom military authorities had to determine procurement responsibility as between these respective countries. That is the point which has now been reached.

From the procedural difficulties outlined above, it is surprising that any supplies have been procured. Actually, however, when the final agreement is reached in a few days as to procurement responsibility on the total requirements of Plan A, enough supplies will already have been procured in stockpile to cover at least 50 percent of the program. Because of the previous procurement activities on the old OFRRO programs, the FEA will

have sufficient quantities of clothing, shoes, textiles, and agricultural equipment to meet a large percentage of the United States share. Sizeable quantities of medical and sanitary supplies, soap and food can be drawn from the Army stockpiles. At the same time, procurement has been proceeding in the United Kingdom to the extent that that nation will be able to provide its share of Plan A for a 90-day period from existing stockpiles. Additional procurement will be necessary, of course, but the actual ability to meet urgent demands is far greater than is generally realized.

In the United States procurement has also progressed enough to be in a position to negotiate cost responsibility with the United Kingdom. This negotiation is now under way.

Of course, Plan A is not a complete program of relief for the Liberated Areas of Europe, nor is it a fixed program for the military period. It covers only a six-month period, and it is expected that the revision processes will be continuous and will be based on actual reports from the field.

The completion of this first effort, however, has provided a basic program against which procurement has proceeded, and the process of its development has established the machinery through which revisions and additional programs can be greatly facilitated.

Some progress has been made toward establishing a direct coordination between the program for the military period with the programs being developed by UNRRA for subsequent periods. It is anticipated, however, that UNRRA will operate only in those areas where the indigenous Allied governments are not capable of handling their own post-military relief activities. Some of these governments may be able to pay for the supplies distributed during the military period. The recipients themselves will pay for much of the food and equipment, which is more correctly described as civilian supply than as relief.

The total burden upon the United States for relief supplies to Liberated Areas cannot, at this time, be determined. If, however, this discussion of Plan A clears up some of the misconceptions concerning the extent and the scope of this Government's plans for providing civilian supplies to the liberated populations of the world, it will have accomplished a useful purpose.

EXTENSION OF THE LEND-LEASE ACT¹

[Released to the press by the White House May 17]

On May 17, 1944, the President approved H.R. 4251, the extension of the Lend-Lease Act, and issued the following statement:

"Once again, by overwhelming majorities, the elected representatives of the American people in the Congress have affirmed that lend-lease is a powerful weapon working for the United States and the other United Nations against our common enemies. For the third time, I am affixing my approval to a Lend-Lease Act.

"When, on March 11, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act first became law, Britain stood virtually alone before the tide of Axis aggression which had swept across western Europe. Everywhere the peace-loving peoples of the world were facing disaster. But the passage of the Lend-Lease Act gave firm assurance to those resisting the aggressors that the overpowering material resources of the United States were on their side.

"After we were attacked on December 7, 1941, lend-lease became an essential part of our own war effort.

"The promise of ever-increasing help which the United States held forth to those who defied the Axis has been fulfilled. In April 1941, the first full month of the lend-lease program, we furnished aid valued at 28 million dollars. In the month of March 1944, the lend-lease aid supplied amounted to \$1,629,554,000—almost as much as the aid rendered during the entire first year of lend-lease operations. From the beginning of the lend-lease program in March 1941 to April 1, 1944, our aid totaled \$24,224,806,000.

"Through lend-lease and reverse lend-lease, the material resources and supplies of the United Na-

tions have been pooled for their most effective use against our common enemies.

"The combined forces and the combined resources of the United Nations are striking with their united strength from all directions against the heart of Nazi Germany. Our fighting men are joined with British, Soviet, French, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Yugoslavian, and the fighting men of the other United Nations. In the Far East and in the Pacific, combined United Nations fighting forces are also striking with increasing power against the Japanese.

"This unity of strength, both in men and in resources, among the free peoples of the world will bring complete and final victory. That victory will come sooner, and will cost less in lives and materials because we have pooled our manpower and our material resources, as United Nations, to defeat the enemy."

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press May 17]

The State Department and the War Department announced on May 17 that the United States Government, under a separate and parallel agreement with the Government of Germany, is effecting an exchange of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war with Germany at Barcelona, Spain, at the same time as the exchange of sick and wounded which is to occur between the British Commonwealth Governments and Germany. By arrangement among the respective Governments, the motorship *Gripsholm* is being used for the transportation of the German repatriates in Allied custody to Barcelona and for the return of the Allied repatriates received at Barcelona. The exchange began on May 17 and should be completed within two or three days. This was the mission on which the *Gripsholm* sailed May 2 from New York, as announced at that time by the State and War Departments.² Until the exchange is actually completed at Barcelona the United States will not be in a position to announce definitively the numbers and identities of the American sick and wounded who are being returned to the United States. Arrangements have been made for this in-

¹ Under the act approved Mar. 11, 1941, as amended, known as "the Lend-Lease Act", agreements have been entered into with the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fighting France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

² BULLETIN of May 6, 1944, p. 413.

formation to be telegraphed promptly upon completion of the exchange operation at Barcelona, at which time next-of-kin of the American personnel being repatriated will be notified by telegram, and the details will be made available to the press.

The *Gripsholm* will return to the United States via a North African port and a port in the United Kingdom and is expected to reach New York about June 10. The vessel is making the voyage under safe-conduct.

CIVIL-AFFAIRS AGREEMENTS WITH BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS, AND NORWAY

[Released to the press May 16]

Agreements in identical terms were concluded on May 16 by the United States of America and the United Kingdom with the Governments of Belgium and the Netherlands and by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. with the Government of Norway. These agreements concern arrangements to be made for civil administration and jurisdiction in the Belgian, Netherlands, and Norwegian territories when

they are liberated by the Allied forces.¹ The Soviet Government has been consulted concerning the arrangements with Belgium and the Netherlands and has expressed its agreement.

These agreements are intended to be essentially temporary and practical in character. They are designed to facilitate the task of Allied commanders and to further the common purpose of the Governments concerned, namely, the speedy expulsion of the Germans from Allied territory and final victory of the Allies over Germany.

The agreements recognize that the Allied Supreme Commander must enjoy *de facto* during the first or military phase of the liberation of the Netherlands such measure of supreme responsibility and authority over civil administration as may be required by the military situation. It is laid down that, as soon as the military situation permits, the Netherlands Government shall resume their full constitutional responsibility for civil administration on the understanding that such special facilities as the Allied forces may continue to require on Netherlands territory will be made available for the prosecution of the war to its final conclusion.

General

NATIONAL FOREIGN-TRADE WEEK

Statement by the Secretary of State ²

[Released to the press May 19]

Since National Foreign-Trade Week was observed last year the war against the aggressors has approached its most crucial stage. Ultimate collapse of the armed forces of our enemies is certain, and we can hasten that collapse if we continue to maintain, at every moment, our utmost effort in complete unity with the other nations associated with us in this war.

The coming victory throws into clearer and sharper focus some of the tremendous tasks and problems which we shall face at the end of hostilities. Without relaxing our war effort in the slightest degree, we must give profound thought

to post-war problems and begin to take steps which will help to solve them. We must hold fast to a clear vision of the security and well-being for which we are fighting and work toward effective means to preserve them after they have been won.

National Foreign-Trade Week is a most appropriate occasion for taking stock of our situation. Employment on the home-front is at an all-time

¹ In the case of the agreements with Belgium and the Netherlands, the press releases contain the following variation: "liberated by the Allied Expeditionary Force under the Supreme Allied Commander".

² Made in connection with the observance of National Foreign-Trade Week, May 21-27, 1944.

high. Many millions now employed in making the things with which war is waged will need good jobs after the war making peacetime products, as will many millions now serving in our armed forces. Private enterprise will, I believe, meet this challenge with courage and resourcefulness. I believe, also, that the great majority of American businessmen will recognize the need, as well as the unique opportunity, for utilizing our enormous capacity in the production of the kinds of peacetime goods best suited to our material and human resources; for choosing those lines of production that can stand on their own feet without heavy tariff protection or subsidies.

Only as people everywhere have opportunity to produce those things and perform those tasks for which they are best fitted and to exchange those products for the products of other people at home or abroad, will the world have the maximum supplies of things to be enjoyed. This can be achieved only as we cooperate with other like-minded nations, as we are cooperating now in war, to provide a basis for expanding trade and commerce among nations on a sound and equitable basis.

The shift from wartime to peacetime commerce will undoubtedly entail some rather difficult adjustments both in our domestic economy and in our economic relations with other countries. Those adjustments must not involve such blunders as occurred after World War I when we, as well as other nations, adopted commercial policies and took economic measures that disregarded and injured the citizens of other countries. Neither this country nor the world could stand a repetition of the bitter resentment among nations, the retaliatory actions, and the economic chaos and depression which finally helped to plunge us into this war.

After this war, international economic relations must be developed through cooperative measures. There must be international arrangement for currency stability as an aid to commerce and the settlement of international financial transactions. Through international investment, capital must be made available for the sound development of latent natural resources and productive capacity in relatively undeveloped areas. Above all, provision must be made for reduction or re-

moval of unreasonable trade barriers and for the abandonment of trade discriminations in all forms.

Such an international system of trade and financial relations, embodying sound economic standards and the principles of justice, must be created and made effective in order to support any international organization that may be set up to keep and enforce the peace. Otherwise, the structure of international security would be threatened with collapse as a result of economic disorder and conflict.

Leadership toward a new system of international relationships in trade and other economic affairs will devolve very largely upon the United States because of our great economic strength. We should assume this leadership, and the responsibility that goes with it, primarily for reasons of pure national self-interest. We ourselves cannot live in prosperity and security in our own country while people in other countries are suffering want and being driven to despair by economic hardship. If we are to have jobs for all our workers and markets for all our goods people in other countries must likewise have opportunity to produce to their maximum capacity and to pay us, with the fruits of their efforts, for the things we want to sell them.

The Government of the United States and other United Nations Governments are endeavoring to make as rapid progress as possible toward the objectives set forth in the the Atlantic Charter, and the mutual-aid agreements, and the Moscow and Telran Declarations. In carrying out this great task they need and must have the support of the people whose interests they serve.

In this matter foreign traders have a special responsibility extending far beyond the mere safeguarding and enhancement of their own business interests. They have a special knowledge of foreign trade and its place as a necessary support of international prosperity and world security. They can contribute much to the establishment of a sound system of trade relations among nations by sharing their knowledge and understanding with other citizens and groups. Observance of National Foreign-Trade Week is one means of carrying out this responsibility.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Remarks by President Roosevelt ¹

[Released to the press by the White House May 17]

MISS PERKINS, MR. GOODRICH, MR. PHELAN, DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE: It is a great pleasure to have you with us here in the White House again. As I pointed out to you when we last met—two and a half years ago—taking part in a conference of the International Labor Organization is not a new experience for me. I take pride in the fact that I was permitted to play a part in the first conference of the Organization that was held here in Washington in 1919.

Those were indeed trying days when last we met in 1941. The fate of the free peoples of the entire world hung in the balance. Yet with the courage and foresight that have always characterized the International Labor Organization, you as representatives of governments, workers, and employers had the boldness to come together from all parts of the world to formulate plans for reconstruction.

You have been meeting in Philadelphia where, one hundred sixty-eight years ago, the Fathers of this Republic affirmed certain truths to be self-evident. They declared that among other things all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. In these words are expressed the abiding purpose of all peoples imbued with the ideals of freedom and democracy.

The Declaration which you have formulated in Philadelphia may well acquire a similar significance. In it you have reaffirmed principles which are the essential bulwarks of any permanent peace. With the expanding use of machinery and the revolution in transportation, it is well that the world should recognize the fundamental principle of your Declaration: "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." This principle is a guide to all of our international economic deliberations.

You have affirmed the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity and under conditions of economic security and opportunity. The attainment of those conditions must constitute a central aim of national and international policy. Indeed, the worthiness and success of international policies will be measured in the future by the extent to which they promote the achievement of this end.

Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have this opportunity of indorsing its specific terms on behalf of the United States. I trust, also, that within a short time its specific terms will be whole-heartedly indorsed by all of the United Nations.

As I look over the report of your work, I see that you have, for the first time in history, set out in a form which could be adopted as a treaty by the nations a particular series of social objectives. I note that among other things they include full employment, wages and working conditions calculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, the extension of social security, the recognition of the right of collective bargaining, provision for child welfare, and the assurance of adequate educational and vocational opportunities. It will be your responsibility to promote these objectives through your own organization and through such international agencies as may be created.

With great wisdom you have realized that these social objectives cannot be attained and supported without a high level of useful economic activity.

¹ Delivered at the White House on May 17, 1944 before the delegates to the Conference of the International Labor Organization.

You have recommended a series of economic policies and undertakings designed to bring about a material economy which will make it possible to maintain them.

You have also wisely provided for the further development and reorganization of the International Labor Organization itself so that it may be broadened and strengthened for carrying out these social objectives, and at the same time integrated on a cooperative basis with whatever new international agency or agencies are created by the United Nations. This forms an admirable pattern for formulating certain aspects of the peace. I want to assure you that this Government will do everything in its power to see that the provisions for the attainment of these social and labor objectives shall be included.

PROPOSED DECLARATION CONCERNING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION ¹

The text of the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization submitted by the Special Drafting Committee follows:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in its Twenty-sixth Session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this day of May in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four, the present Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its Members.

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:

- (a) labour is not a commodity;
- (b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
- (c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
- (d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employ-

The people of the occupied countries are in deep suffering. Their representatives have agreed upon the social objectives and economic policies you have set forth. I trust that this marks the beginning of a new and better day, a period of hope for material comfort, for security, and for spiritual and personal development, for all those groups now suffering so sorely under the heel of the oppressor. The United Nations will be determined that all the oppressed of the earth shall be included in these social objectives.

I want to offer my congratulations to those of you who have participated in this Conference. You have my gratitude for the program of mutual helpfulness which you have laid out—a program which, I am sure, will inspire all of those in our generation who want to build and maintain a just peace.

ers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the Conference affirms that:

- (a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;
- (b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;
- (c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light

¹ International Labour Conference (twenty-sixth session, Philadelphia), *Provisional Record*, No. 16 [XXVI-1944].

and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(*d*) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(*e*) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

The Conference recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve:

(*a*) full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(*b*) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

(*c*) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

(*d*) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(*e*) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(*f*) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

(*g*) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(*h*) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(*i*) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(*j*) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

Confident that the fuller and broader utilisation of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this Declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the Conference pledges the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

V

The Conference affirms that the principles set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world.

FIRST CONFERENCE OF COMMISSIONS OF INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

The Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs has issued *Economic Report, No. 5*, dated May 20, 1944, in which are included brief summaries of the texts of the recommendations adopted by the Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development in New York on May 18, 1944. Recommendations concerning international trade are

included in the report under the following headings:

- Insurance Statistics
- Reduction of Trade Barriers
- Trade Preferences and Discriminations
- Customs Unions
- Subsidies
- Private Agreements Which Restrict International Trade
- State Trading
- Government Purchase Contracts
- International Agreements To Facilitate Distribution of Production Surpluses
- Trade in Mineral Products

- Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Foodstuffs
- International Trade in Relation to Social Legislation

The following recommendations deal with transportation:

- Transportation Facilities and Services
- Overland Transportation
- Merchant Marines
- Air Transportation
- Rates: Maintenance of Inter-American Shipping, Maritime, and Air Transportation—Freight Rates, and Transportation Rates
- Communication Facilities
- Tourist Travel

A PATTERN OF NATIONAL UNITY

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

[Released to the press May 20]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Following your annual custom, you, as social workers, are here assembled to consider your common problems. You have devoted your lives and professional efforts particularly to persons and groups of Jewish origin. This in no sense separates or segregates you from the gallant groups of social workers throughout America who are meeting and attacking problems of human misery wherever and whenever they are found. Jewish social-welfare work is not a thing apart. It is a great element in a great American effort.

Nevertheless, you rightly do have an especial interest in Jewish problems, which form a part of the great complicated country which is America. I hope that never will Jewish problems be considered apart from American problems and that the element of segregation will never creep into our national thinking. Your social work is a particular and splendid demonstration of the unified American approach. In earlier days I had the rare privilege of working at the Henry Street Settlement under the leadership of a great woman, who was also a great Jewess and a great American, Miss Lillian Wald. Her work has been copied and carried on not only in every State of the Union, but also in countries on every continent, and the

world was richer for her tireless devotion. Around us in that vicinity were groups specifically devoted to the large Jewish immigrant population which was then concentrated in Lower New York. I can personally testify that in the many emergencies which concerned Italians, Slovenes, Greeks, and, in fact, many races, we turned when necessary to these Jewish societies, and never were turned away. Reciprocally, I can recall cases in which Jewish families found swift help from organizations whose particular field of endeavor lay with groups of Italians, or Poles, or Negroes.

This was great, because it was human and because it was American. For America is not a combination of different racial groups. It is an integral whole; and no one who loves America, or who understands her ideals, will undertake to foster race blocs in this country. To attempt to divide the United States into separate groups for purposes of pressure politics, and particularly for purposes of foreign politicians, would be an attempt to destroy this country.

Long ago our enemies conceived the idea that America could be thus divided, and weakened, and

¹Delivered at the joint annual meeting of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers, and the National Council for Jewish Education, Cleveland, Ohio, May 20, 1944.

eventually conquered. To this end, in 1937 the Hitler government instructed its propaganda service to endeavor to create racial divisions in this country. The spearhead of this attack was, of course, the encouragement of anti-Semitism; but the plan appears to have been to stir up any other race antagonisms which could conveniently be created and exploited. Happily, that effort almost totally failed, because it was resisted by the solid common sense of most right-thinking Americans, irrespective of their ancestry or the countries from which they came. I venture to predict that no attempt to split race from race, or group from group, will be successful as long as American thought remains true to the teachings of Washington and Jefferson and, beyond all others, Lincoln, great saints in the American calendar of freedom.

It was partly with that in mind that the Department of State in 1941 issued a release, known as Release No. 600,¹ asking that no attempt be made to build up blocs based on race or racial origin. Where anyone had a case to present, it would best be presented to the entire public opinion of the United States; and if help was sought, the most effective help could best be had from united American effort.

In keeping with that spirit, American public opinion as a whole has been brought to bear on the tragic and terrible problem of Jews on the Continent of Europe. Since the days of the Babylonian captivity there has been, perhaps, no deeper tragedy in the dramatic passages of Jewish history than that of today. I do not dwell on the ghastly details of the European terror. We have talked to survivors of it, and to eyewitnesses of unspeakable things. We have met, too, with gleams of light in this black picture; for example, the spontaneous action of the Danish people which made possible the escape of substantially all of the Jews in Denmark when the Nazi hordes began to hunt them down. It is impossible not to remember some groups in Hungary who gave shelter and safety to refugees in the very heart of Hitler's empire. More than a few, seeking safety, found refuge in peasant huts and small villages in Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and, indeed, in

practically all countries on the European mainland. These people risked their own lives to save others, strangers though they were. It is true that Jews today have cause for sorrow and bitterness. But I hope they will also remember the many acts of unrecorded heroism by which some have escaped and some, still in enemy territory, remain alive.

It is the declared policy of this country to attempt to bring war criminals to justice; equally, it must be our duty to remember those who, in danger themselves, endeavored to reach out a helping hand.

It is known to all of you that this Government is endeavoring to do what it can to assist and to rescue these victims of tyranny and hate.

When the war is over, we shall have to meet a series of problems arising from the mania which has thrown its shadow across the world. This war was conceived in hatred, and built on hatred, purposely created and fostered by a savage group of evil men. In considerable measure the psychology created was essentially a disease; for, as you well know, mental and spiritual diseases are today as well recognized medically as are physical diseases. The hate disease was sown and spread by the Nazis for the particular purpose of helping them to make their people fight. Yet the problem cannot be wholly limited to that group. They were able to injure other groups; and the wounds they created are mental and psychological as well as physical. These will take time to heal. We must be swift to recognize the phenomenon and careful in handling it.

In terms of political life, I think that for a time we shall hear louder and more strident voices as extremists endeavor to exploit the troubled and unhappy minds of people who have suffered more pain than the human spirit can easily bear. We shall have to recognize these extremists for what they are, and patiently and endlessly continue to follow in the paths of good-will. In seeking the larger objective of a world of peace-loving nations, we shall have to resolve steadily to put aside the minor irritations which endlessly beset us; we shall have to recognize that progress must be based not on exploiting grievances but on arriving at solutions.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 13, 1941, p. 519.

This will not be easy to do. The quieter voices are too often unheard. Yet at long last when passion is spent the work of reconstruction is eventually done by the people who have had the strength and vision to endeavor to seek the truth and arrive at solutions with wisdom, justice, and charity.

The United States, in company with her major Allies, is committed by the Moscow Declaration to the attempt to form a world organization, based on the principle of participation by all peace-loving nations. Thereby a pathway of hope may be opened which, if followed, may offer assurance that the peace which follows the war will be a lasting settlement, and not merely an armistice between conflicts. It is perhaps appropriate to emphasize one outstanding fact. The international arrangements are, to be sure, of crucial importance. But they will only be valid if the moral sense and public opinion of the nations entering into this organization wholly support governments in this vast endeavor. It is fairly easy to draw plans and to write words. It is far less easy to mobilize and maintain the national will to make these arrangements work. This lesson has been taught us many times by history. A plan for an association of nations was sponsored by the famous French King, Henry IV, known as Henry of Navarre; but it was too far ahead of his time to gain acceptance. An attempt was made after the Napoleonic wars to maintain peace through the European concert of powers; but the will was lacking, and old rivalries, antagonisms, and ambitions proved stronger motives than the desire for a continuing peace. The attempt made by President Wilson and the countries which entered the League of Nations is still fresh in our memories. It is difficult not to conclude that any of these plans might have succeeded had there been determination by all the peoples that these institutions, entered on with hope, should succeed; that smaller matters, even those important in themselves, must be put aside in attaining the larger objective.

In this sense the entire world must seek to do what many of you have been doing here in the United States; must endeavor to sow confidence where there was suspicion, and to refuse to follow demagogues and leaders who seek to exploit na-

tional differences, when true leadership calls for building up international confidence.

In our social objectives, we have long since learned that disease and distress and unemployment anywhere weakens our social fabric everywhere. Increasingly, our communities attempt to prevent or remedy these conditions as rapidly as they appear. We no longer delay preventive action because an epidemic has not reached our town or has not yet threatened our family. We no longer consider that we are safe as long as plague spots breeding crime and poverty and degeneracy are left unattended. We must learn that exactly the same considerations apply to international life and to the cause of peace. For one thing, the disease of war will spread far more rapidly in years to come than has been true up to now. No longer can an American content himself with the belief that a war overseas cannot reach him because two oceans lie between him and the area of active danger. It is far more likely that another war, if it comes, will commence with an attack on the United States, since no General Staff, remembering the experience of the First and Second World Wars, will count America out. A statement recently attributed to General Stulpnagel, the German Military Governor of Paris, bears this out; he is quoted as saying that Germany, having failed in the present effort, must look forward to a new war and that in that war she should begin by paralyzing the United States. Long-range aircraft and new explosives might well bring this sufficiently near to possibility. Instead of having a couple of years to think things over, to decide what we want to do, and to build up our force while others hold a front line, we shall probably be ourselves in the front line on a huge scale. If this is realized, we shall begin to understand the feelings of the European peoples who, if the world cannot prevent wars, must live out their entire lives in fear of sudden destruction. Planning post-war organization is thus not an adventure in starry-eyed idealism. It is a matter of deadly practical necessity.

There is thus offered to every American the opportunity to join directly in post-war reorganization. He can begin with himself. He can study out and understand the need for world organization

which will give security, and can study out and understand why it is of direct importance to him. He can make this clear to his friends and to the community in which he lives. He can assist in making the public opinion, without which no plan can be completed. He can go on maintaining that public opinion so that, when a world organization is constructed, it can work effectively, with the full support of the United States. He can refuse to become party to minor international controversies or to be led into race or national hatred. He can support the efforts of men of good-will who seek with justice as well as strength to resolve questions in friendship and peace, and to defend against the rebirth of organized hatreds like that of the Nazi doctrine. He can practice this.

He can do more. He can practice this at home. Many of us live in communities composed of several races, and of groups of different ancestry. Some communities have, in miniature, many of the currents of thought which we find in the Old World. Not infrequently, the same conflicts which divide race from race and nation from nation elsewhere crop up in these towns and cities. This is the problem of world peace, though it may present itself as a local quarrel between a couple of rival groups, or a violent controversy between a couple of foreign-language newspapers. All of them can work actively at the problem of continuing peace almost without leaving your front doors. The success of world organization depends directly on the success of the will to organize peace in the smallest community as well as in the family of nations.

Statesmanship is not confined to Prime Ministers and Government representatives and professional diplomats. It even transcends the related fields of journalism and science and leadership in public opinion. Every man can be, and today he must be, a statesman. He has the materials for it; he has hour-by-hour information from every part of the world relating to every phase of human life. International problems are actually brought to him not only by news, but by currents of politics and thought which endeavor to affect him and the men around him. He is no longer isolated from the processes of world politics. Whether he will or not, he is actually a part of them. His opinion is struggled for and fought for; his influence, no matter how humble, is courted and sought after

by nations, great and small. He is recognized as having within himself a part of the power which makes for justice or for aggression; for fairness or for hatred; for peace or for war.

America has insisted on a pattern of national unity, but based on the free thought and choice of individuals. She has protected that individual thought and opinion by freedom of information, freedom of speech, and by every historic and constitutional guaranty. She has argued, rightly, that this common bond of decent, law-abiding, and kindly people will resolve her internal conflicts and give her that singleness of purpose which will enable her in the future, as it has in the past, to face the world. She must rely on you, and all of you, and on your countless friends, to accept the responsibility that goes with the right of individual life and thought. She must rely upon you to furnish the strength and will to join in the great decisions which now face the world and to act when action is needed. She is on the eve of her greatest battle. She must depend on the moral and mental strength and courage of Americans to assure that the peace shall be fruitful, just as she must depend on the bravery and the resoluteness of her sons as they face the common enemy.

American Republics

PROTOCOL OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, AND BOUNDARIES, ECUADOR AND PERU ¹

[Released to the press May 20]

The following telegrams were sent by President Roosevelt to the Presidents of Ecuador and Peru and to the President of Brazil; and by the Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil:

To the Presidents of Ecuador and Peru

I have learned with deep satisfaction that Your Excellency's Government, through the good offices of the eminent Foreign Minister of Brazil, Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, has reached agreement on interpretation of the Protocol of Peace, Friendship

¹ BULLETIN of May 17, 1941, p. 596, July 26, 1941, p. 73, Aug. 9, 1941, p. 112, and Feb. 28, 1942, p. 194.

and Boundaries, signed by Ecuador and Peru on January 29, 1942 at Rio de Janeiro. I hope that confirmation of this agreement may be speedily effected by exchange of notes, in order to permit the distinguished Brazilian technical expert, Captain Braz de Aguiar, to complete his inspection of the eastern sector of the boundary on the ground, and thus facilitate completion of the demarcation of all sectors of the boundary as soon as possible. I heartily congratulate Your Excellency on reaching this agreement, which I regard as an outstanding contribution to inter-American solidarity and good-will.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

To the President of Brazil

The splendid outcome of the work of your Foreign Minister, His Excellency Oswaldo Aranha, in adjusting the boundary differences between Ecuador and Peru, will be a source of reassurance and satisfaction to all America. I join the host of friends of your great nation in congratulating

Your Excellency on this outstanding achievement, which is in accord with the Brazilian tradition of the peaceful settlement of boundary disputes by conciliation.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil

I am immensely pleased that your brilliant efforts have so fruitfully assisted the Governments of Ecuador and Peru in delimitation of their common boundary. Your action on behalf of the guarantors of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol again illustrates the highest type of cooperation among the American republics for the peaceful conciliation of their difficulties.

It is a source of special gratification to me, as I extend my heartiest congratulations to you, the Foreign Minister of a great neighbor and an old and good friend, to know that you are continuing the historic achievements of Brazilian diplomacy in the peaceful settlement of boundary problems.

CORDELL HULL

The Department

CHANGE IN TITLE OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN SERVICE ADMINISTRATION AND CREATION OF THE DIVISION OF FOREIGN BUILDINGS OPERATIONS

Departmental Order 1273 of May 6, 1944¹

1 *Change in Title of the Office of Foreign Service Administration.* Departmental Order 1218² of January 15, 1944, is hereby amended to change the title of the Office of Foreign Service Administration to Office of the Foreign Service. The routing symbol of the Office shall be OFS.

2 *Creation of the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations.* There is hereby established a Division of Foreign Buildings Operations in the Office of the Foreign Service to perform the functions of housing and furnishing diplomatic and consular establishments abroad as required by the Foreign Service Buildings Act of Congress, approved May 7, 1926.

3 *Organization and Functions of the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations.* Within the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations are three

Sections, functioning under the direction of the Chief and Assistant Chief of the Division: Buildings Projects Section, Property Management Section, and Furniture and Furnishings Section.

4 *Building Projects Section.* The Building Projects Section is responsible for the analysis, approval and development of projects for the purchase of properties and construction of buildings for the housing of the diplomatic, consular and other agencies of the United States Government abroad. This includes such activities as:

(a) The maintenance of complete information and records concerning property purchases, initial construction, and major improvements of properties.

¹ Effective May 6, 1944.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 22, 1944, p. 45.

(b) Analysis and determination of the needs for acquiring new sites and constructing or altering buildings for these purposes.

(c) Providing of architectural and engineering designs, plans and specifications for the housing of the Foreign Service of the United States.

(d) Analysis and determination upon projects submitted by the missions and other Government agencies for the purchase of property and buildings, for new construction or for major alterations and repairs work.

(e) Supervision and inspection of the construction, alterations, repairs and maintenance operations on Foreign Service buildings and properties.

5 Property Management Section. The Property Management Section is responsible for the supervision of the physical maintenance and use of Foreign Service real properties. This shall include such activities as:

(a) Maintenance of information and records regarding Government-owned diplomatic and consular establishments abroad.

(b) Formulation and execution of plans for the physical maintenance, and routine alteration and repair of such properties.

(c) Analysis and approval of requests for alterations and repairs on Foreign Service properties.

(d) Advice to the missions on property matters.

(e) Conduct of field inspections and surveys of Foreign Service properties.

6 Furniture and Furnishings Section. The Furniture and Furnishings Section is responsible for the initial purchase and replacement of articles of residential furniture and furnishings. This includes such activities as:

(a) Collection and maintenance of complete records and inventories on all Government-owned residential furniture, furnishings, and related articles of equipment in buildings owned or leased by the Department of State.

(b) Preparation of programs for the furnishing of buildings constructed, purchased or leased for Foreign Service residences abroad, and the maintenance of existing furnishings.

(c) Preparation of designs, layouts, specifications, contracts, and orders for such articles of furniture and furnishings.

(d) Analysis and approval of proposals from the field for purchase or maintenance of furniture and furnishings.

(e) Conduct of factory, warehouse, showroom, or field inspections necessary to carry out its responsibilities.

7 Responsibilities of the Chief of Division. (a) The Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Buildings is responsible for general supervision and direction of the work of the Division and the Sections. He shall act as Executive Secretary of the Foreign Service Buildings Commission, established by Act of Congress May 7, 1926, on which are represented the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, and the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. The Chief of the Division is responsible for the preparation and submission to the Commission of reports on the status and projects of the Foreign Service Buildings program, and of reports for the Congress of the United States, and for carrying out the directions of the Foreign Service Buildings Commission.

(b) The Chief of the Division is responsible for the preparation of budgetary programs for initial construction work, property acquisitions, alterations, repairs, maintenance, residential furnishings, and supervision of construction, and is responsible for the expenditure of funds appropriated for such purposes.

(c) The Chief of the Division shall work in close collaboration with the Division of Foreign Service Administration, and shall render to that Division, when required, technical services, including:

(1) Inspection and recommendation of properties for lease; recommendations on lessor-lessee obligations, rental rates and terms and layout requirements.

(2) Inspection of existing leased properties; reports and recommendations on contract party obligations and programs of improvement of existing facilities.

(d) The Chief, in carrying out the responsibilities of the Division, will also work closely with

the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, the Division of Budget and Finance, the Legal Adviser, and the geographical Offices.

8 *Departmental Order Amended.* Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, page 42, is hereby amended, and the functions, personnel and records concerned with this work are hereby transferred to the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations.

9 *Routing Symbol for the Division.* The routing symbol for the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations shall be FBO.

CORDELL HULL

MAY 6, 1944.

MODIFICATION OF THE VISA PROCEDURE

[Released to the press May 16]

A special committee has been set up in the Visa Division of the Department to expedite action in visa cases and to examine newly received applications. Advisory approvals for the issuance of visas may be sent to American consular officers in cases other than those of alien enemies which are recommended by the committee as not requiring consideration under the Interdepartmental Visa Committee Procedure.

Until a simplified form of application is available the longer BC form of application may be used.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Designation 3 of May 6, 1944, effective May 6, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Frederick D. G. Ribble as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Long.

By Departmental Designation 5 of May 6, 1944, effective May 6, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Frederick Larkin as Chief of the Division of Foreign Buildings Operations.

By Departmental Designation 6 of May 16, 1944, effective January 22, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Frank J. Merkling as Assistant on legislative matters to the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Long.

By Departmental Designation 7 of May 20, 1944, effective May 13, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Eric C. Wendelin as Assistant Chief and temporarily Acting Chief of the Division of River Plate Affairs, Office of American Republic Affairs.

Treaty Information

AUSTRALIAN - NEW ZEALAND AGREEMENT, 1944

The text of the Australian - New Zealand Agreement, 1944, providing for Australian - New Zealand cooperation and collaboration, signed at Canberra, Australia, on January 21, 1944, and information and statements relating to the agreement and the Canberra conference are printed in *Current Notes on International Affairs*, January 1944, vol. 15, no. 1, issued by the Australian Department of External Affairs.

RENEWAL OF NAVAL-AVIATION-MISSION AGREEMENT WITH PERU

By exchanges of notes signed at Washington January 31, February 18, April 6 and 29, and May 2, 1944 an agreement was effected between the Government of the United States and the Government of Peru for the renewal of the agreement providing for the assignment of a United States Naval-Aviation Mission to Peru signed at Washington on July 31, 1940 (Executive Agreement Series 178).

The above-mentioned notes renew the agreement of 1940 for a period of two years from July 31, 1944, the date the agreement would otherwise have terminated, and amend that agreement by the addition of the following article:

"The members of this Mission are permitted and may be authorized to represent the United States of America on any commission and in any other capacity having to do with military cooperation or hemispheric defense without prejudice to this Agreement, during the present war emergency."

The terms "Ministry of Marine and Aviation" and "Minister of Marine and Aviation" are changed to "Ministry of Aeronautics" and "Minister of Aeronautics", respectively, wherever they appear in the agreement of July 31, 1940, in conformity with a recent act approved by the Congress of Peru.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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The War

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF OUR ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARD THE EUROPEAN NEUTRALS

By *Livingston T. Merchant*¹

When the United States entered the war in December 1941, the European neutrals assumed a new significance for this Government. From that moment two tests had to be applied to them: how much economic support could they give our war effort and how much help were they giving the enemy. This help to the enemy included opportunities for espionage and the dissemination of propaganda; and, in certain cases, it included, through the export of strategic materials, important and direct economic support to the German war-machine. The effort to cut off economic aid to the Axis has been one phase of total war which for obvious reasons has received little publicity. Important results have, however, been achieved.

In reviewing the effort to eliminate all economic assistance to the Axis on the part of the European neutrals one has to consider only five countries: Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. The geographic situation of these five countries in relation to Germany and to German-occupied territory permits the physical movement of raw materials or of other goods with regularity and on a significant scale. One must remember also, in considering the economic-warfare problems posed by the position of these countries, that the situation of each varies greatly. The five have little in common except non-belligerency. There has remained in this war a lingering and confusing tendency to lump the few remaining non-belligerent countries in Europe into one group and conveniently refer to it as the "European neutrals". This tendency is a relic of earlier smaller wars; today it is totally unreal. One can reasonably assume that the primary reason why Hitler has not long since occupied these countries is that his military advisers have coldly calculated that

the necessary military investment would provide the Wehrmacht with too low a strategic and economic dividend. The escape of these countries from Nazi occupation has not been, therefore, exclusively an individual choice freely exercised.

To emphasize the dissimilarities of these countries one needs only to recall that Sweden and Switzerland are "islands" surrounded by Germany or by German-controlled areas. Turkey and Portugal have treaties of alliance with Great Britain. Spain, a dictatorship under debt to Hitler, is neither island nor ally.

Common factors are, however, evident. In 1940 and in 1941 each of these countries was trading heavily with the Axis, but each was dependent, to some degree, on imports from overseas which the Axis could not supply. To deal with this economic problem the British threw into gear in September 1939 carefully laid plans for the application of an economic blockade against Germany and Italy. The main features of such a blockade were born in the experience of the first World War. It was naturally designed to meet the military and economic realities which the British faced at the start of World War II. The basic premises of the blockade were two in number: first, the naval forces at the disposal of Great Britain and its Allies at that time were insufficient to impose an absolute embargo by men-of-war patrolling every mile of Europe's coastline; second, the neutrals possessed a right to maintain normal trade relations with the enemy. The blockade, therefore, rested for effectiveness at least as much upon the consent of the neutrals as upon the guns of the British Navy. The implements with which the

¹The author of this article is Chief of the Eastern Hemisphere Division of the Department of State.

blockade was enforced included the use of a special type of trade treaty known as the "war trade agreement."

Soon after the outbreak of war in 1939, Great Britain negotiated individual war trade agreements with most of the European neutrals. Although not identical, these agreements closely resembled each other. Turkey, however, was an exception. The guiding principle in each case was the establishment of blockade quotas for the goods received from overseas.

The goods covered by these specific quotas as well as the size of each individual quota were based on an estimate of the normal requirements of the country in question. In return for permission to import through the blockade goods under quota in the amounts set for each quarter, each neutral agreed not to reexport the materials which thus passed through the blockade. Certain other restrictions, varying from country to country in accordance with the strength of Great Britain's bargaining position at the time of the negotiation, were imposed upon the size and character of the neutral's trade with the enemy. Machinery was established in London for the purpose of scrutinizing each individual shipment to a neutral by water. If the particular consignment was approved as being within the quarterly blockade quota, a passport, known as a "navicert," was issued. This gave the shipment safe passage through the blockade. Other components of the blockade were certain fiscal controls and the black list. These denied to enemy individuals and enemy concerns or to those denounced as agents of the enemy in neutral areas trading privileges with the Allies.

In appraising the form and effectiveness of these agreements, one must not forget that the Germany of 1939 to 1943 was vastly different from what it is today. Even last year it had military forces to spare in addition to a powerful air force. The threat of the Luftwaffe brooded over the neutral negotiators every time they sat down at a conference table with the enemies of Germany. Nor was Germany ever averse to punctuating a disappointment over a withheld export license or an unfulfilled commitment by torpedoing on the high seas a neutral ship in whose captain's safe rested a German safe-conduct.

These considerations limited the freedom of choice of the neutrals. The Allies also operated under restraints. At times vital supply needs imposed a limitation which might then be met only from a particular neutral source. The threat of such loss strengthened the hand of the neutral in its negotiation with us, and by the same token forced us sometimes to stay our own hand.

In order to reduce the economic aid to the enemy which was within limits perforce admitted under the war trade agreements, the British made substantial internal purchases from certain countries of materials that they did not necessarily need, but which the enemy required. Operations of this sort, designed to deny enemy acquisitions at the source, were labeled by the British as "preemption." The United States has tended to call them "preclusive purchases."

When this country entered the war in December 1941 it became a partner in the economic-warfare system that the British had established and operated. Thereupon the United States Government took various steps to adapt its existing economic controls and to adopt new measures necessary to implement the partnership. Among the measures was a provision for cooperating with the British on a joint basis in preclusive operations in certain neutral countries.

The Allies' economic policy toward the neutrals in 1942 moved along much the same lines as in 1941 before the United States entry into the war. Secretary Hull, in his speech on April 9, 1944,¹ spoke of our efforts in every direction to reduce the aid which the neutrals by their trade gave the enemy and simultaneously to increase the strength which we might draw from them. The limits on our power continually forced the acceptance of compromises which we would not have freely chosen. The economic and the growing military force which followed the entry of the United States into the war, however, enabled the adoption of steadily intensified economic operations and increasing pressure on the neutrals to gain the avowed objective of the total withdrawal of their economic support to the enemy. Preclusive purchasing operations were multiplied in range and expenditure, and the results became increasingly

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 15, 1944, p. 336.

apparent. Certain of the war trade agreements were renegotiated, and, in the case of at least one, the country concerned became an equal partner with the British in the new agreement.

The year 1943 saw a further rise in the combined power of the Allies. This factor, coupled with the growing scarcity of vital raw materials throughout the world, enabled us to drive harder bargains and to exact greater concessions from the neutrals in our economic relations. The help they gave the enemy continued. It was clearly declining, but it was still substantial. The number of Allied cruisers to be spared for the interception of neutral ships was increasing. The interception of neutral ships, which were brought into contraband-control bases and which were searched by experts, discouraged illicit shipments through the blockade and tightened still further the economic noose on Germany. In 1943 enemy blockade runners from the Far East, as newspaper readers are now aware, suffered a savagely high mortality, which placed additional pressure on the German war-machine.

Throughout the war the economic-warfare agencies of the British and the United States Governments have worked closely with the highest military authorities. They have maintained a constant interchange of information and recommendations concerning the military pressure, through bombing, economic measures, negotiation, or other actions, that could do the most damage. One should recognize, however, that the highest military strategy at times required that the maximum economic pressure not be exerted against a particular country, or occasionally even that economic benefits be conferred for reasons which might bear no apparent relation to the facts available to the public. This observation is made not to extenuate the failures where they have been encountered in our economic warfare, but rather to emphasize the intimacy of the relationship between military and economic warfare.

The time has come when this Government, in the effort to shorten the war, has made abundantly clear the fact that the neutrals of Europe must cease their aid to Germany. Secretary Hull, in his speech of April 9, 1944, said:

“We can no longer acquiesce in these [neutral] nations’ drawing upon the resources of the allied

world when they at the same time contribute to the death of troops whose sacrifice contributes to their salvation as well as ours. We have scrupulously respected the sovereignty of these nations; and we have not coerced, nor shall we coerce, any nation to join us in the fight. We have said to these countries that it is no longer necessary for them to purchase protection against aggression by furnishing aid to our enemy—whether it be by permitting official German agents to carry on their activities of espionage against the Allies within neutral borders, or by sending to Germany the essential ingredients of the steel which kills our soldiers, or by permitting highly skilled workers and factories to supply products which can no longer issue from the smoking ruins of German factories. We ask them only, but with insistence, to cease aiding our enemy.”

When we have achieved that objective completely we can confidently count on a shortening of the war as a direct result. From that time forward the direction of our economic policy toward the neutrals will be in large part controlled by the necessity of reintegrating their resources and their productive capacity into the economy of Europe at peace.

LEND-LEASE OPERATIONS

Letter of the President to Congress Transmitting the Fifteenth Quarterly Report

[Released to the press by the White House May 22]

The following letter of the President to the Congress, dated May 22, 1944, accompanied a report on lend-lease operations for the period ended March 31, 1944:¹

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

I am submitting herewith the Fifteenth Report on Lend-Lease Operations for the period ending March 31, 1944.

United Nations forces are now about to strike new and mightier blows at Nazi-occupied Europe from offensive bases in the West, the South, and the East. The fighting men of many nations have been banded together in combined operations. They are armed with the most powerful weapons

¹ Not printed herein.

that the combined resources and ingenuity of the United Nations can produce. They are ready to bring to bear their strength to continue the crushing process against the Nazis and the German war machine.

Our American forces will go into battle side by side with the men of Britain, France, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands and our other allies. At sea, warships flying many United Nations flags will escort the fleets. In the skies, the R. A. F. will join with the United States Army Air Forces in blasting the paths for our troops and in protecting them from air attack.

For this great undertaking, the United Nations fighting partnership has been made far stronger by lend-lease and reverse lend-lease. Through lend-lease we have made certain that every man in the forces of the other United Nations who goes into battle beside an American fighting man has what he needs to hit the common enemy as hard as possible. Through reverse lend-lease, the American Forces have been similarly aided by our allies with everything they had that we needed.

On the eastern European front also, arms and other war supplies provided by the United States and the British Commonwealth, will continue to strengthen the Soviet Armies for the new blows that will be timed with our advances.

In the Far East and the Pacific our offensives in New Guinea, in Burma, and against the Japanese fortress islands in the Central Pacific are proof that the battle for Japan is not waiting upon the successful conclusion of the battle against Nazi Germany. China is being helped to the utmost of our ability.

Decisive battles are ahead. Now, more than ever, it is vital to our own American Army and Navy and Air Forces, as well as to the forces of the other United Nations, that we continue to provide our fighting partners with the additional war supplies they need to supplement their own resources. Congress has again recognized this fact by its overwhelming vote to extend the Lend-Lease Act.

Only by uniting our full strength with the full strength of the other free peoples of the world have we moved from the defensive to the offensive, from defeats to victories. By maintaining our unity now we shall certainly achieve final victory.

By continuing our unity after the war we can assure a peace in which mankind can live and work and worship in peace, freedom, and security.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

CIVIL AVIATION ¹

[Released to the press May 25]

The Chinese group, consisting of Mr. Chang Kia-
Ngau, Minister of Transportation; Major General P. T. Mow, Chinese Army Air Forces; and Mr. Liu Chieh, Chinese Minister and Counselor of the Embassy in Washington, has entered upon exploratory talks on civil aviation with an American group consisting of Ambassador Joseph C. Grew; ² Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr.; Mr. L. Welch Pogue, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board; Mr. William A. M. Burden, Assistant Secretary of Commerce; and Mr. Stokeley W. Morgan, Chief of the Aviation Division of the Department of State. The first conference was held on Monday, May 22, 1944, and another conference is expected to take place at an early date.

The Russian group which is to hold exploratory conferences with the same American group is now in Washington and consists of the following: Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko; Lieutenant General L. G. Rudenko; Major General A. A. Avseevich; Major General N. I. Petrov; and Colonel P. F. Berezin. The first conference is expected to take place on Monday, May 29, 1944.

RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

[Released to the press May 23]

The War Prisoners' Aid of the Young Men's Christian Association was recently informed by its Stockholm office that the Japanese authorities in the Philippine Islands had extended permission to the neutral delegate there of the War Prisoners' Aid to purchase locally relief supplies to an amount not exceeding \$25,000 monthly for shipment to civilian internment and prisoner-of-war camps in the Philippine Islands. United States Government funds have been made available for expenditure by the War Prisoners' Aid delegate for this purpose. These funds are in addition to monthly

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 1, 1944, p. 301.

² Mr. Grew is Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

remittances of official funds which are being transmitted regularly through Swiss Government channels to the executive committees of civilian internment camps in the Philippine Islands under authorization obtained from the Japanese authorities in August 1943. Although information has been received that the American Red Cross relief supplies sent on the exchange vessels to Japan and Japanese-occupied territories, including the Philippine Islands, have been distributed by the Japanese authorities, permission has so far not been given by the Japanese Government for the inspection of civilian internment camps or of prisoner-of-war camps in the Philippine Islands by representatives of the Swiss Government, which represents American interests in the Far East, or by representatives of neutral organizations. The United States Government is continuing to press the Japanese Government to grant full reciprocity in this respect.

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: INCLUSION OF SWEDISH FIRMS

[Released to the press May 22]

With reference to a press report that consideration is being given to a complete blacklisting of all Swedish concerns having American connections, the Department of State stated on May 22, 1944 that no firm has been or will be included in the Proclaimed List merely because means of pressure may exist by reason of American connections. Firms are included in the Proclaimed List only because of activities on their part which assist the Axis war effort. None of the firms mentioned in the report is at the present time under consideration for inclusion in the list. The firms mentioned, with their American connections, were:

<i>Swedish company</i>	<i>Affiliate</i>
De Laval Augturbin	De Laval Steam Turbine Co.
Separator A.B.	De Laval Separator Co.
Svenska A.B. Gasaccumulator	Elastic Stop Nut Corp. of America
Svenska A.B. Gasaccumulator	American Gas Accumulator Co.
Electrolux Companies, Sweden	Electrolux Corp.
Kreuger & Toll (Enskelda Bank)	International Match Re-alization Co.
Telefonaktiebolaget, L. M. Ericsson	Teleric, Inc.
Fernstrom & Co., A.B.	Fernstrom Paper Mills, Inc.
Dick Bergman	Hoyland Steel Co., Inc.

Skandia Insurance Co. Hudson Insurance Co.
 Enskilda Bank, A.B. Fudicia Nineteen Corp.
 (owned by A.B. Providentia)

[Released to the press May 22]

The Interdepartmental Proclaimed List Committee took action on May 22, 1944 which will result in the inclusion of 38 additional Swedish firms in the supplement to the Proclaimed List to be issued on June 2. The inclusion of these firms is in line with the regular policy of the Committee of including in the list the names of firms in neutral countries who have assisted the Axis by engaging in trade with enemy territory to an unusual extent or in other ways. The names of other firms are currently under consideration for inclusion.

The names of the Swedish firms which will be included in the June 2 supplement to the Proclaimed List are:

A. R. Applequist Forvaltnings A/B
 A/B Kol and Transport
 A/B Ara
 A/B Ragnar Appelquist
 Bat-Tjanst A/B
 Swedish Yachts A/B
 Filip Anderson & Co., A/B
 Filip Anderson
 Anderson Line Ltd., A/B
 A/B Kinofa
 Forsakringsbolaget Bore Forlags A/B
 J. C. Hempel
 A/B International Shipping Service
 A/B Planeten
 Tessalia A/B
 Hofjvelevare K. Anderson A. B.
 Hallbergs Guldsmedsaktiebolag, C. G.
 Guldvaruhuset A/B
 Ungerska Exportkontoret A/B
 Pallig, Walter Albert
 Trulsson, Frithiof Nils Hans
 A/B Transportbransle
 Lindstrom and Wadell A/B
 A/B Pallasfilm
 Metallkontor A/B
 E. Schlabach
 A/B Eltron
 Superfon P. Richter
 Sydprodukter A/B
 Guernio de Luca
 Rosenthals Specialaffar A/B
 Tyska Skolan A/B
 Avimat A/B
 Nordiskt Filmotek A/B
 B. E. Berg
 Skandinaviska Berkefeld Filter A/B
 Janssen, Lebrecht Teodor
 Dufva, Dag Olaf

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

UNITED NATIONS MONETARY AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE ¹

[Released to the press by the White House May 26]

President Roosevelt has called an international conference for the purpose of discussing proposals to meet post-war international monetary problems.

Invitations have been extended to all the United Nations and the nations associated with them in the war, requesting them to send official representatives to the United States for the Conference, which will begin on July first.

The delegates representing the United States will be headed by the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

A list of governments and authorities invited to participate in the Conference follows:

Australia	India
Belgium	Iran
Brazil	Iraq
Canada	Liberia
Chile	Luxembourg
China	Mexico
Colombia	Netherlands
Costa Rica	New Zealand
Cuba	Nicaragua
Czechoslovakia	Norway
Dominican Republic	Panama
Ecuador	Paraguay
Egypt	Peru
El Salvador	Philippine Commonwealth
Ethiopia	Poland
French Committee of National Liberation	Union of South Africa
Greece	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Guatemala	United Kingdom
Haiti	Uruguay
Honduras	Venezuela
Iceland	Yugoslavia

The Conference is expected to last several weeks.

All agreements worked out by the Conference subsequently will be submitted to the respective governments for approval.

A paraphrase of the circular note sent by the Secretary of State to the Washington missions,

inviting them to attend the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, follows:

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to Their Excellencies and Messieurs, the chiefs of mission or principal representatives of the governments and authorities of the United Nations and the nations associated with them in this war, and refers to the Joint Statement of Technical Experts² recommending the establishment of an international monetary fund and outlining the principles for such a fund.

The Government of the United States feels that the joint statement marks an important step toward international economic cooperation in the post-war world and is confident that others have been equally gratified by this evidence of the desire of the United Nations and the nations associated with them in this war to cooperate in meeting post-war economic problems.

As a further step toward the realization of this objective, the President of the United States now proposes to call a United Nations conference for the purpose of formulating proposals of a definite character for an international monetary fund and possibly a bank for reconstruction and development. Of course, it would be understood that the delegates would not be required to possess plenipotentiary powers and that the proposals formulated at the meeting would be submitted to the several governments and authorities for acceptance or rejection.

Accordingly, telegraphic instructions have been issued to the chiefs of the appropriate diplomatic missions of the United States to extend on behalf of the President a cordial invitation for the respective governments and authorities to send one or more delegates to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference to convene in the

¹ To be held at Bretton Woods, N.H.

² Treasury Department press release of Apr. 21, 1944.

United States on July 1, 1944. The governments and authorities are being informed that the United States Delegation to the Conference will be under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the Treasury and that the names of the other United States delegates, as well as information concerning the site of the Conference and arrangements for the meeting, will be forwarded at a later date.

The Government of the United States, believing that the early formulation of precise proposals for an international monetary fund and a bank for reconstruction and development is of vital concern to all of the United Nations group, hopes that favorable replies to the invitations extended on behalf of the President will be received at the earliest possible moment, together with the names of all of the members of the respective delegations.

Mr. Hull will be glad to communicate from time to time to Their Excellencies and Messieurs, the chiefs of mission or principal representatives, detailed information concerning the arrangements for the forthcoming Conference.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 26, 1944.

FIRST PAN AMERICAN CONGRESS ON CRIMINOLOGY

[Released to the press May 22]

This Government has accepted the invitation of the Chilean Government to participate in the First Pan American Congress on Criminology, which will be held at Santiago, Chile, from May 29 to June 3, 1944. The President has approved the designation of the following officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, as this Government's delegates to the meeting: Mr. Heber M. Clegg, Mr. John N. Speakes, and Mr. William L. Shea.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE PERMANENT AMERICAN AERONAUTICAL COMMISSION

[Released to the press May 27]

Reference is made to the Department's Press Release 464 of September 23, 1941¹ concerning the establishment of the United States National

Commission of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission (Comisión Aeronáutica Permanente Americana), frequently referred to as C.A.P.A. The creation of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission was provided for in a resolution of the Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference which was held at Lima, Peru, in September 1937. The purpose of the Commission is to forward the work incident to the unification and codification of international public and private air law and to develop and coordinate technical activities of mutual concern in the field of aeronautics among the American republics. The resolution of the Lima Conference also provided for the organization in each of the American republics of a national commission for the purpose of preparing projects and proposals for the consideration of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission.

The terms of the original members of the United States National Commission having expired, the President has now approved the designation of the following persons as members of the United States National Commission of the Permanent Aeronautical Commission:

- Mr. Oswald Ryan, Member, Civil Aeronautics Board, Department of Commerce, *chairman*
- The Honorable Alfred L. Bulwinkle, Member of Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives
- The Honorable William A. M. Burden, Assistant Secretary of Commerce
- The Honorable Bennett Champ Clark, Chairman, Committee on Interoceanic Canals, United States Senate
- Lt. Col. Louis A. Johnson, Infantry Reserve, United States Army, former Assistant Secretary of War, Clarksburg, West Virginia
- Mr. Arnold W. Kuauth, Attorney, Admiralty and Shipping Section, Department of Justice
- Mr. Stephen Latchford, Chairman, United States Section, International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts
- Mr. Stokeley W. Morgan, Chief, Aviation Division, Department of State
- Dr. Francis W. Reichelderfer, Chief, Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce, and Vice Chairman, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics
- Mr. Theodore P. Wright, Director of the Aircraft Resources Control Office, Aircraft Production Board, War Department

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 27, 1941, p. 238.

American Republics

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF INAUGURATION OF AIRMAIL SERVICE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AMERICA

[Released to the press May 23]

The following telegrams have been exchanged between President Roosevelt and His Excellency Manuel Prado, President of the Republic of Peru:

MAY 18, 1944.

Fifteen years ago today Pan American-Grace Airways Inc. began international airmail service between Peru and the United States, thus establishing a service which has contributed toward strengthening in the most efficient manner the bonds which unite both countries. On this agreeable occasion I am pleased cordially to address Your Excellency, renewing the decision of my Government to contribute by all possible means within its grasp to the fortifying of the magnificent relations of good neighborliness existing between Peru and your great friendly Nation. Convinced that now it is indispensable to strengthen the union of the Americas in order to triumph in the unwavering undertaking to reestablish freedom in the world, I am confident that the important services which Pan American-Grace Airways Inc. has been rendering will be extended in the future, to the benefit of cultural, commercial, and personal relations between the men who foresee with faith the favorable future which Providence has in store for our peoples.

MANUEL PRADO

MAY 22, 1944.

I wish to thank Your Excellency for your cordial message on the fifteenth anniversary of the inauguration of the international airmail service between Peru and the United States by Pan American-Grace Airways, and I am pleased that you feel the efforts of the Company have contributed materially toward strengthening the bonds which unite both countries. I agree with you that it is necessary to strengthen the union of the Americas in order to carry to a satisfactory conclusion the struggle for freedom in which we are now

engaged and I believe that those enterprises which contribute to this end deserve our good wishes.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

[Released to the press May 23]

The following telegrams have been exchanged between President Roosevelt and His Excellency Carlos Arroyo del Rio, President of the Republic of Ecuador:

MAY 18, 1944.

Upon the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the flight by which there was inaugurated the airmail service between the United States and the countries of the west coast of South America, I am happy to send to Your Excellency, together with my cordial greetings, an expression of the approval with which Ecuador has observed the development of this service, which has contributed to bind together more closely the peoples of America. I express the hope which Ecuador cherishes that this development will be intensified each day as necessity requires and as solidarity of effort and destiny demand. I reiterate to Your Excellency the testimony of my friendship and consideration.

ARROYO DEL RIO
President of Ecuador

MAY 22, 1944.

I appreciate Your Excellency's friendly message on the fifteenth anniversary of the inauguration of the airmail service between the United States and the west coast of South America. The growth of this essential service in the past fifteen years gives ground for confidence that the future development of aviation will continue to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of this hemisphere.

Please accept, Excellency, my warm personal regards and assurances of my highest esteem.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN BOLIVIA ¹

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press May 26]

The Secretary of State made the following reply to inquiries received May 26: "Ambassador Warren² has now handed me his report. I am giving the matter attention and will forward his findings to the Foreign Ministers of the other American republics for their study and recommendations. The report should serve as the basis for an exchange of ideas and consultation among all of us."

VISIT OF RECTOR OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF NICARAGUA

Dr. Modesto Armijo, rector of the National University of Nicaragua at Managua, has arrived in Washington as guest of the Department of State. He plans to spend two months visiting leading educational and cultural centers in Washington and in Eastern, Midwestern, and Southern States.

Dr. Armijo has held a Cabinet post as Minister of Education and has also been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nicaragua. In the international field he has represented his country as Minister to Guatemala and delegate to many international conferences.

Among Dr. Armijo's most notable writings are a study on education in Nicaragua and his well-known work on the political status of women.

Dr. Armijo is head of the Nicaraguan-American Cultural Institute, an organization dedicated to furthering mutual acquaintance and cultural relations between citizens of the United States and Nicaragua. He is also a member of many literary and professional organizations and of the Academies of Geography and History of both Nicaragua and Honduras.

VISIT OF CUBAN HEALTH-UNIT DIRECTOR

Dr. Pedro Nogueira, director of the Marianao Health Unit in Cuba, has arrived in Washington at the invitation of the Department of State. During his six weeks' visit he will study public-health problems in Durham, N. C., Philadelphia, New York, and Albany. In June Dr. Nogueira plans to attend at Chicago the annual congress of the American College of Chest Physicians, of which he is a member.

Dr. Nogueira is also vice director of the rural-housing section of the Cuban Good Neighbor Foundation, which was created soon after Pearl Harbor with funds assigned by the Pro-Allied Aid Commission of Cuba. This group devotes part of its receipts to worthy causes in other Allied nations, and part to health and other public-welfare enterprises in Cuba. One of the most recent projects of the rural-housing section, to which Dr. Nogueira is devoting much attention, is demonstration work on the Murga farm in Marianao. There, at a total cost of \$2,800, 25 dwellings occupied by the families of farm laborers—156 persons—have been supplied with running water, latrines, and cement floors. Stagnant pools have been drained. A communal garden has been planted and is tended by the school children, and the school itself is giving health instruction and vaccinating the children against smallpox and other communicable diseases.

Far East

PAUL B. EATON RETURNS FROM CHINA

Paul B. Eaton, head of the mechanical engineering department at Lafayette College, has just returned from China, where he served for one year under the Department of State as a technical adviser to the Chinese Government. While in China Professor Eaton visited most of the government engineering universities, inspected many of the industries, and made a special trip over the railways in the southern part of west China. He met engineers engaged in education, management, design, and operation and gained an impression of the problems that they have been facing. Professor Eaton states that the Chinese engineers, undaunted by reverses, look eagerly to America and American engineers for aid, not only during the war but also in the post-war years, and that they desire aid in technological development and in the strengthening of management functions.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 25, 1943, p. 449, Jan. 8, 1944, p. 28, and Jan. 29, 1944, p. 132.

² Sent on special mission to Bolivia.

Near East

CONFERENCE OF GREEK POLITICAL LEADERS

[Released to the press May 22]

On May 16, 1944 the President received the following message from Professor Svolos and Messrs. Porphyrogenis and Roussos, three of the delegates attending the current conference of Greek political leaders in the Near East:

We, the representatives of Fighting Greece at the Conference for National Unity, wish to express to you our respectful admiration and gratitude for the friendly interest which you take in our country.

The Greek people, who are fighting in the towns and in the mountains against the most barbarous of tyrannies, will never allow themselves to be withdrawn from the camp of the Allies and of the United Nations who are fighting for freedom and amongst whom your great country occupies, under your illustrious leadership, so glorious a position.

Though the desire for national unity has led to actions as melancholy as the late mutinies in the Middle East forces, actions deplored and condemned by all, we can assure Your Excellency that the Greek people, by their struggle of yesterday, today and tomorrow and by the help of their great Allies, will succeed in rubbing out that dark page.

We rely on your sympathy which you have so often shown towards our country and we assure you that we will do our utmost to achieve that national unity which is an indispensable condition for the liberation, peace and well-being of our country which has endured so much from Italian, German and Bulgarian aggressors.

SVOLOS
PORPHYROGENIS
ROUSSOS

The President sent the following reply under date of May 19:

I have received your welcome and reassuring message. We Americans are firm friends of the Greek people, who have fought so valiantly and suffered so direly during the course of the war, and have therefore been profoundly distressed by the recent disunity in Greek ranks. But we remember that the Greeks have always shown the capacity to submerge their differences and rally together in times of real national crisis. The occasion and the opportunity exist again today and it is our earnest hope and prayer that the Greek leaders assembled in the Near East will make of the current conference a new landmark of purposeful unity in Greek history.

ROOSEVELT

The Department

UNITED STATES SECTION OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

Departmental Order 1274 of May 23, 1944¹

1 Function of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Under the terms of the joint communique issued by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on March 9, 1942, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was created "for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening social and economic cooperation between the United States of America and its possessions and bases in the area known geographically and politically as the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom and the British Colonies in the same area." The Commission was further directed to include in its terms of reference close cooperation in social and economic matters between all regions adjacent to the Caribbean. The Chairman of the United

¹ Effective May 23, 1944.

States Section of the Commission reports directly to the President.

2 *Relationships of the United States Section to the Department.* In fiscal and administrative matters, the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission shall be under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Secretary in charge of the administration of the Department of State. Matters of policy affecting relations with possessions of European countries in the Caribbean area dealt with by the United States Section of the Commission shall be cleared through the appropriate Divisions of the Office of European Affairs. Those policy matters affecting relations with American Republics in the Caribbean area shall be cleared through the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs of the Office of American Republic Affairs. When necessary, the United States Section of the Commission and the geographic Offices shall consult with other interested Offices or Divisions of the Department. The United States Section of the Commission shall keep the Office of European Affairs and the Office of American Republic Affairs currently informed of matters which it is handling within their respective fields; those Offices, and other Divisions and Offices of the Department, particularly the Division of Communications and Records, shall keep the United States Section of the Commission currently informed of matters in which the United States Section is interested.

The United States Section shall be represented on the interdivisional Working Committee on Problems of Dependent Territories of the Division of International Security and Organization.

3 *Office location and routing symbol.* The offices of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission are in the Otis Building, 810 Eighteenth Street, Northwest. The routing symbol of the United States Section of the Commission shall be AACC.

4 *Departmental Order amended.* Departmental Order 1218, January 15, 1941, page 22, is accordingly amended.

CORDELL HULL

MAY 23, 1944

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Designation 9 of May 22, 1944, effective May 1, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Eugene H. Dooman and Mr. Edwin F. Stanton as Special Assistants to the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs.

By Departmental Designation 10 of May 26, 1944, effective May 26, 1944, the Secretary of State has designated the following officers of the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission stationed in Washington: Mr. Charles W. Taussig, Chairman of the United States Section; Mr. Coert duBois, United States Commissioner, supervising field operations; Mr. Sidney de la Rue, Special Assistant to the Chairman; and Mr. John F. Gange, Executive Secretary.

Treaty Information

RENEWAL OF AGREEMENT WITH PANAMA FOR THE DETAIL OF A UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICER TO SERVE AS ADVISER TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PANAMA

There has been effected by an exchange of notes signed in Washington on April 26 and May 18, 1944, between the Ambassador of Panama in Washington and the Under Secretary of State, a renewal, for an additional period of one year, of an agreement providing for the detail of a United States Army officer to serve as adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama signed at

Washington on July 7, 1942 (Executive Agreement Series 258), and extended for a period of one year by an exchange of notes dated July 6 and August 5, 1943 (Executive Agreement Series 336). The renewal is effective from July 7, 1944.

CANADIAN MUTUAL-AID AGREEMENTS

The text of a mutual-aid agreement between the Government of Canada and the French Committee of National Liberation, signed at Ottawa on April 14, 1944, was printed in the *Bulletin* of May 13, 1944, pages 456-457. Similar agreements were concluded by the Government of Canada with the United Kingdom on February 11, 1944, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on February 11, 1944, Australia on March 9, 1944, and China on March 22, 1944. A statement by Prime Minister Mackenzie King regarding Canadian mutual aid appears in the March 16, 1944 issue of the *Canadian House of Commons Debates*, pages 1584-1586.

Legislation

The Jewish National Home in Palestine: Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H. Res. 418 and H. Res. 419, Resolutions Relative to the Jewish National Home in Palestine. February 8, 9, 15, and 16, 1944. With appendix of documents relating to the Jewish National Home in Palestine. ii, 512 pp.

Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill for 1945:

Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 4204. A bill making appropriations for the Department of State, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Commerce, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes. ii, 331 pp.

S. Rept. 887, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4204. [Favorable report.] 5 pp.

Appointment of Two Additional Assistant Secretaries of State. H. Rept. 1422, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4311. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

Foreign Service Buildings and Grounds. H. Rept. 1421, 78th Cong., on H. R. 4282. [Favorable report.] 5 pp.

Providing That Nationals of the United States Shall Not Lose Their Nationality by Reason of Voting Under Legal Compulsion in a Foreign State. H. Rept. 1428, 78th Cong., on H. R. 2448. [Favorable report.] 3 pp.

Declaring the policy of the Congress with Respect to the Independence of the Philippine Islands. H. Rept. 1497, 78th Cong., on S. J. Res. 93. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

Establishing the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission. H. Rept. 1507, 78th Cong., on S. J. Res. 94. [Favorable report.] 3 pp.

Limiting Production of Opium to Amount Required for Medicinal and Scientific Purposes. H. Rept. 1515, 78th Cong., on H. J. Res. 241. [Favorable report.] 4 pp.

National War Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1945. H. Rept. 1511, 78th Cong., on H. R. 4879. 43 pp.

Lend-Lease Aid: Preliminary Report of Committee Investigators to the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, on Lend-Lease Aid and Government Expenditures Abroad. S. Doc. 190, 78th Cong. ii, 34 pp.

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriations for the Department of State: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1944, amounting to \$11,600,000, and a draft of proposed provisions pertaining to appropriations, for the Department of State. H. Doc. 578, 78th Cong. 3 pp.

Draft of Proposed Provision Pertaining to the Department of State: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an appropriation of the Department of State for the fiscal year 1944. H. Doc. 587, 78th Cong. 2 pp.

Fifteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations: Message from the President of the United States transmitting the Fifteenth Report on Lend-Lease Operations for the Period Ending March 31, 1944. H. Doc. 616, 78th Cong. 84 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Boundaries of the Latin American Republics: An Annotated List of Documents, 1493-1943 (Tentative Version). By Alexander Marchant, Office of the Geographer, Department of State. Inter-American Series 24. Publication 2082. v, 386 pp. 50c.

Flight Strips Along Alaska Highway: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa August 26 and Sep-

tember 10, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 381. Publication 2112. 2 pp. 5c.

Status of Countries in Relation to the War April 22, 1944: Compiled by Katharine Elizabeth Crane, Division of Research and Publication, Department of State—Reprinted from the BULLETIN of April 22, 1944. Publication 2118. 10 pp. 5c.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"Cuba in 1943", prepared in American Republics Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, on basis of report from Albert F. Nufer, Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, U. S. Embassy, Habana, Cuba.

"The Foreign Service and American Business", by John G. Erhardt, Director, Office of Foreign Service Administration, Department of State.

"Economic Tug-of-War in Present-Day Spain", an article by Mr. Robert E. Whedbee of the Madrid Embassy in

collaboration with Mr. Arley T. Caudill of the European Unit of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1942 (in Three Volumes), Volume II: Letters from the Berlin Embassy 1871-1874, 1880-1885, Edited by Paul Knaplund, 78th Cong., 1st Sess. II, Dec. 12, 428 pp.

The first article listed under "Other Government Agencies" will be found in the May 13, 1944 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. The second article will be found in the May 20, 1944 issue of that periodical. The third article is to be published in the May 27, 1944 issue.

Copies of *Foreign Commerce Weekly* may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each.

D. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

JUNE 3, 1944

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The War

SOVEREIGN EQUALITY FOR ALL NATIONS

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 1]

At his press and radio news conference on June 1 the Secretary of State made the following reply in answer to a question whether there was anything he could say that might be of reassurance to the small nations. The correspondent who asked the question pointed out that some of the small nations seemed to think that they would not be properly represented in the proposed international organization:

“That is a matter in which the small nations and the large nations as well should be at all times especially interested. It is a mutual affair. The future welfare of each nation depends upon the welfare of all. In view of that common interest and that self-interest in every mutual sense, I doubt whether there would be many nations, large or small, which would have any other purpose than to cooperate in all legitimate and practicable international relationships that would be mutually advantageous and mutually profitable. As far as this Government is concerned, whenever I have said anything on this subject, it has always emphasized the all-inclusive nature of the world situation and our disposition and purpose to see that all nations, especially the small nations, are kept on a position of equality with all others and that, in every practicable way, there will be cooperation.

“Now, it is not possible at this stage for this Government or any government to give anybody a blueprint as to all of the details of how these relationships between all of the different nations will be gradually developed and perfected. There is no occasion to be especially concerned about the attitude of this Government in view of the declarations that the President, and I, and others have made. The truth is that even those declarations are not necessarily called for in the

light of our entire history and our traditions. We have for 150 years preached liberty to all the nations of the earth, to all the peoples of the earth, and we have practiced it. We have encouraged all nations to aspire to liberty, and to enjoy it. Our attitude toward the Philippines is a striking example. Nobody had to put us on the witness stand to know what we were doing for them.

“Even back in our earlier days we preached the same spirit of liberty with which we, ourselves, were inspired in acquiring our own liberty, to all the nations—especially those that were in chains of despotism, as the South American countries were for centuries under Spanish rule. Nobody asked us to do it. That was our philosophy. That was our spirit, both at home and toward all peoples who might aspire to liberty. As soon as our American neighbors threw off the Spanish yoke we proceeded to recognize them, right and left. We had the same spirit toward Greece and other countries desiring liberty as we demonstrated in the Philippines. That has been our consistent record, a record of championship of liberty for everybody, encouraging them at all times and in all places. I see no reason why this country, this great free people who through generations have dedicated themselves to this wonderful human cause and preserved it—I see no reason why they should be catechized every morning before breakfast as to their loyalty to liberty, or their consistent desire of liberty for everybody and freedom for aspiring peoples everywhere.

“I have spoken of this often in speeches and at other times before, during, and after my trip to Europe. Here is an example from my address to the Congress: ‘The principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a future system of general

security will be the foundation stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed.¹ That is our objective. I think I have indicated sufficiently to you the policy of this nation and this Government representing it."

ALBANIA

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 2]

Five years ago today, on June 3, 1939, a Fascist constitution was imposed upon the Albanian people by the Mussolini regime of Italy. The Albanian people never accepted this constitution nor the series of puppet governments set up to administer it.

The United States, of course, never recognized the Fascist annexation of Albania which followed the unprovoked aggression of April 7, 1939 and considers that the right to freedom under institutions of their own choosing resides in the people of Albania.

Albanian patriots have fought, and continue to fight, to drive the Nazis from their country. This is a part of the common struggle, to which these sturdy people can make a precious contribution if they can achieve unity in the effort of their arms. Thus they can hasten the day of their liberation.

LEND-LEASE PLANE EXPORTS

Statement by the President

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

Tabulation of figures on lend-lease plane exports for the month of March has now been completed by the Foreign Economic Administration. On the basis of these figures it can be announced that:

1. In the 91 days from January 1, 1944 to April 1, 1944 a total of 4,400 planes were sent to our Allies from the United States. This means that on the average 338 planes were shipped or flown every week to fighting forces allied with our own against our common enemies on battle-fronts around the world.

2. Between March 11, 1941, when the Lend-Lease Act was passed, and April 1, 1944 more than 33,000 planes have been sent from the United States to the forces of the other United Nations. Our Allies paid cash for 7,000 of the planes. The remaining

26,000 were sent under lend-lease. Many thousands were ferried all the way by air from the factories to the battle-fronts.

3. In the same period the United States produced over 175,000 planes. We thus retained for our own part of the combined United Nations war effort more than four fifths of the planes we produced, while sending very large numbers to our Allies. Through lend-lease we have seen to it that the men who fight beside Americans, in the offensives already under way and in the still greater offensives that are ahead, have the extra striking power they need to deliver the most damaging possible blows against our enemies—the Germans and the Japanese.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS ON ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY ORGANIZATION

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press May 29]

The first phase of the informal conversations with the eight Senators² has been concluded. We had frank and fruitful discussions on the general principles, questions, and plans relating to the establishment of an international peace and security organization in accordance with the principles contained in the Moscow four-nation declaration,³ the Connally resolution, and other similar declarations made in this country. I am definitely encouraged and am ready to proceed, with the approval of the President, with informal discussions on this subject with Great Britain, Russia, and China, and then with governments of other United Nations.

Meanwhile, I shall have further discussions with these and other leaders of both parties in the two Houses of Congress, and with others. The door of non-partisanship will continue to be wide open here at the Department of State, especially when any phase of the planning for a post-war security organization is under consideration.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 20, 1943, p. 343.

² Senators Connally of Texas, *chairman*; George of Georgia; Barkley of Kentucky; Gillette of Iowa; La Follette of Wisconsin; Vandenberg of Michigan; White of Maine; and Austin of Vermont.

³ BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1943, p. 308, and Nov. 20, 1943, p. 342.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC FOREIGN POLICY

Creation and Authority—The Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy was created by letter of April 5, 1941 from the President to the Secretary of State and by similar letters to the heads of the other interested Departments and agencies listed below.

Purpose—It is the function of the Committee to examine problems and developments affecting the economic foreign policy of the United States and to formulate recommendations in regard thereto for the consideration of the Secretary of State and, in appropriate cases, of the President. Major interdepartmental committees concerned with general economic affairs including those established in the Department of State are, in accordance with the letter from the President, expected to be appropriately geared into this Committee.

Organization—The Committee consists of representatives of the Departments of State, the Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, the United States Tariff Commission, and the Foreign Economic Administration. Representatives of other departments and agencies are invited to participate in this Committee or its subcommittees when matters of special interest to them are under consideration. The chairman of the Committee is an officer of the Department of State designated by the Secretary of State.

Activities—The Committee meets weekly, or more often if necessary. The Committee studies and advises on questions of economic foreign policy. It considers also problems of various Departments and agencies of the Government dealing with domestic matters which have an important bearing on such policy.

Members

- Department of State..... Dean Acheson, chairman
- Department of State..... Harry C. Hawkins, vice chairman
- Department of the Treasury..... Harry D. White
- Department of Agriculture..... Leslie A. Wheeler
- Department of Commerce..... Amos E. Taylor
- Department of Labor..... A. F. Hinrichs
- United States Tariff Commission..... Oscar B. Ryder
- Foreign Economic Administration..... Lauchlin Currie

PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT 3 TO REVISION VII

[Released to the press June 3]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Acting Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on June 3 issued Cumulative Supplement 3 to Revision VII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated March 23, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 3 contains 45 additional listings in the other American republics and 55 deletions. Part II contains 214 additional listings outside the American republics and 42 deletions.

With the issuance of this Supplement the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals has been extended to include certain cases in Finland.

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

A list of civilian American and Latin American nationals who will arrive in New York on board the *Gripsholm* on or about June 5 has been issued as Department of State press release 195 of May 29, 1944.

American Republics

DIRECT RADIO CIRCUIT BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND URUGUAY

[Released to the press June 3]

On the occasion of the opening of the first direct radio circuit on June 1, 1944 between the United States and Uruguay, the following congratulatory telegrams were exchanged between the President of Uruguay and President Roosevelt; between the Minister of Foreign Relations and Secretary of State Hull; and between the Director General of Communications in Uruguay and the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission:

I reaffirm to Your Excellency the profound sentiments of traditional friendship of our people united by history, destiny, and juridical and moral obligations in the struggle for liberty and in the defense of the Continent.

JUAN JOSÉ AMÉZAGA
*President of the Oriental
Republic of Uruguay*

I deeply appreciate your message on the auspicious occasion of the inauguration of direct radio telegraphic communications between the United States and Uruguay. At this crucial moment in the struggle against the forces of world aggression, I reiterate to you, Mr. President, the deep sentiment of friendship and collaboration that unites our people in the common defense of those principles of liberty and justice that constitute the historic tradition of America.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

The direct radio telegraphic service between Uruguay and the United States of America now inaugurated will reinforce and stimulate the historical ties of our peoples identified in the guardianship of the principles of law and liberty which constitute the sacred and common tradition of the American countries and joined together in the work of continental cooperation and defense of the hemisphere. In the name of the Uruguayan people and Government I express to Your Excellency the most sincere and effusive wishes for the triumph of the free nations over the enemies of the ethical and juridical order of civilization.

JOSÉ SERRATO

I thank Your Excellency for the cordial and friendly message transmitted on the occasion of the inauguration of direct radio telegraphic communications between the United States and Uruguay. This significant development symbolizes the close ties and the singleness of purpose that unite our two countries in the defense of our common heritage of liberty and justice. I am particularly happy to reaffirm to you, Mr. Minister, the profound sentiment of friendship and mutual collaboration that animates the peoples of our two countries, at a time when the struggle against the

forces of oppression throughout the world has reached the crucial stage.

CORDELL HULL

I take pleasure in sending you, with my friendly greeting and congratulations for the success of preliminary tests, the assurances of my high appreciation for the favorable reception and valuable support which you gave this initiative destined to unite still more closely the countries of Washington and Artigas.

JUAN J. MILLER

It is with great satisfaction that I acknowledge your cordial message and send you my sincere greetings on the inauguration of direct radio telegraphic service between New York and Montevideo. I have no doubt that the establishment of this new means of communication, to which you have so effectively contributed, will serve to bring our two countries ever closer together.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

INTER-AMERICAN COFFEE BOARD

[Released to the press May 30]

The President has now approved the designation of Mr. Edward G. Cale, Assistant Chief of the Commodities Division, Department of State, as the Delegate of the United States to the Inter-American Coffee Board to succeed Mr. Emilio G. Collado.¹ The President has also approved the designation of Mr. Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., Chief of the Division of Brazilian Affairs, Department of State, as Alternate Delegate to the Board. Mr. Cale held the position of Alternate Delegate during the incumbency of Mr. Collado as this Government's Delegate.

AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

West Indian Assistance

[Released to the press May 29]

Sir Henry Grattan Bushe, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of Barbados, British West Indies, accompanied by Mr. Guy Perrin, Labor Commissioner of Barbados, returned to Bridgetown May 27 after

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1943, p. 431.

having spent two weeks in the United States in discussions with the War Food Administration, the War Manpower Commission, and the War Shipping Administration. As a result of these talks an understanding has been reached whereby Barbados will send to the United States during the summer approximately 5,000 laborers. The men will be assigned work principally in agriculture and in food processing. Recruiting of the laborers will commence in the immediate future.

Sir Grattan came to the United States at the suggestion of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, which agency has been instrumental in assisting the successful completion of the arrangements.

The West Indies are furnishing a substantial amount of labor to the United States for agricultural and allied purposes this year. British Honduras will furnish 1,200 laborers, 500 of whom are skilled lumbermen; Jamaica will send at least 16,000, and this number may be increased if transportation permits; the Bahamas are furnishing approximately 5,000; and arrangements are being made for approximately 3,000 Puerto Ricans, most of whom will be skilled or semi-skilled laborers, who will assist in food processing and in other emergency work.

VISIT OF DIRECTOR OF CHILDREN'S ORCHESTRAS IN URUGUAY

[Released to the press June 2]

Rubén Carámbula, of Montevideo, Uruguay, has arrived in Washington as guest of the Department of State. Señor Carámbula directs the Children's School for Initiation Into Music. He has organized and directs children's orchestras throughout Uruguay.

One of the most important phases of Señor Carámbula's work is carrying music to children in remote country districts, especially those too poor to have access to a piano or string instruments. To meet their needs, he has invented a series of instruments which they can construct themselves. He has introduced into Uruguay the tonette, a type of flute, and a recorder. Señor Carámbula has prepared short descriptions in English of the typical folk music of the River Plate region. While in the United States he plans to work with children's rhythm bands and orchestras in performing adaptations of this music.

The Department

APPOINTMENT OF ADVISERS TO DIVISION OF LABOR RELATIONS

[Released to the press May 29]

The Department of State announced on May 29 the appointment of Mr. Robert J. Watt, International Representative of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. J. Raymond Walsh, Director of Research and Education of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; and Professor Sumner Slichter, of Harvard University, as advisers to the Department's Division of Labor Relations. In this capacity they will advise the Department on the labor aspects of economic and political problems in the international field.

The Division of Labor Relations, among other functions, is responsible for initiating and coordinating policy and action in matters pertaining to (a) the effects on the foreign relations of the United States of policies and practices in foreign countries concerning wage and hour standards, working conditions, and similar matters of interest and concern to labor in the United States and abroad; (b) the interest of labor in the United States in matters of broad international policy; and (c) international arrangements for the promotion of full employment, health, and economic and social welfare.

Mr. Otis E. Mulliken has been designated Chief of the Division of Labor Relations.¹

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Designation 13 of June 2, 1944, effective June 2, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. John N. Plakias as Special Assistant in the Office of Transportation and Communications.

By Departmental Designation 15 of June 2, 1944, effective May 31, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. A. Dana Hodgdon temporarily as Acting Liaison Officer with responsibility for assisting the Secretary and the Under Secretary in their liaison with the War and Navy Departments and such other duties as may be assigned to him.

¹ Departmental Designation 11, issued May 29, 1944; effective May 29, 1944.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Message of President Roosevelt

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

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Twenty-Sixth Conference of the International Labor Organization has just been held at Philadelphia. Representatives of the governments, employers and workers of forty-one countries took part in its deliberations.

The Conference, by a two-thirds majority, adopted Recommendations on the following seven subjects:

1. Income Security
2. Social Security for the Armed Forces
3. Medical Care
4. Social Policy in Dependent Territories
5. Employment in the Transition from War to Peace
6. The Organization of Employment Services
7. National Planning of Public Works

Under the Constitution of the International Labor Organization, these recommendations are forwarded to the member governments for submission by them to their respective, competent national authorities. I shall accordingly submit them to the Congress in the regular way when certified copies are received.

Resolution Concerning Social Provisions in the Peace Settlement

Whereas the Conference is called upon to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties;

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations

The Conference made other important decisions of which I think the Congress should be informed.

First, it adopted by unanimous vote a declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labor Organization which has been referred to as the "Declaration of Philadelphia".

Secondly, it unanimously adopted resolutions concerning the social provisions of the peace settlement.

Thirdly, it unanimously adopted resolutions concerning the economic policies, international and national, required for the attainment of the social objectives of the United Nations.

Because of the interest and importance of these three documents, I am transmitting them herewith for the information of the Congress.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
May 29, 1944.

[Here follows the text of the Declaration Concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labor Organization; see BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 482.]

proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security;

1.

The Conference considers that the principles stated in the following draft are appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early ef-

fect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid agreement:

The signatory governments

Having pledged themselves to provide conditions which will ensure an increasing measure of freedom from want to their own peoples and to all peoples; Recognizing, therefore, their common obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to ensure that workers and productive resources shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied;

Realizing that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations, and that hence the attainment of the above-stated objectives requires increasing collaboration among nations;

Have agreed that:

ARTICLE I

The Declaration of the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organization adopted by the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia, 1944, the text of which is annexed, is hereby reaffirmed.

ARTICLE II

Each government recognizes its duty to maintain a high level of employment. Accordingly, all arrangements by and among the signatory and other like-minded governments for international economic cooperation should be framed and administered to serve the objectives set forth in Article I. They should be directed to the expansion of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods and to the liberation of economic activity from unreasonable restrictions. Particular consideration should be given to measures for promoting the reconstruction of economic life in countries whose economic and social life has been disrupted as the result of Axis aggression.

ARTICLE III

The following matters are of international concern and should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy:

(1) Opportunity for useful and regular employment to all persons who want work, at fair wages

or returns and under reasonable conditions, with provision for protection of health and against injury in all occupations;

(2) Raising standards of living to provide adequate nutrition, housing, medical care and education;

(3) Establishment of minimum standards of employment to prevent exploitation of workers, whether employed or self-employed, whose opportunities for high wage employment are limited;

(4) Provision for child welfare;

(5) Provision for a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age or by lack of employment opportunity;

(6) The effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining;

(7) Provision of facilities for training and transfer of labour.

ARTICLE IV

The International Labour Office may, under standards constitutionally determined by the International Labour Conference, as occasion requires, collect from, and interchange with, the signatory governments, uniform statistical and other economic information on the following matters which are among those of direct interest to the International Labour Organisation and are of international concern:

(1) Employment, wages and conditions of work;

(2) Standards of living and the distribution of income, with particular reference to wage and salaried workers;

(3) Technical education and training for employment;

(4) Industrial health, safety and welfare;

(5) Industrial relations;

(6) Social security; and

(7) Administration of labour and social security legislation.

ARTICLE V

With respect to the matters set forth in article III:

(1) The governments, through appropriate international agencies, shall develop standards and statistical measures, and shall maintain uniform statistics and other information.

(2) The governments shall interchange among themselves and make available to the International Labour Organisation such information and reports as may be required to assist them and the Organisation to develop recommendations with respect to such matters.

(3) The governments shall take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the International Labour Organisation and any other international bodies which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being.

(4) The governments shall take appropriate steps to have placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference annually the subjects of the extent to which the social objectives set forth in Article I have been attained and on the measures taken during the year toward the attainment of the objectives.

ARTICLE VI

With respect to draft international conventions and recommendations adopted by the Conference in accordance with Article 19 of the constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the signatory governments undertake to report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body on the status of legislation and administration and, in so far as practicable, of practices under collective agreements between employers and workers.

2.

The Conference recommends that the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation:

(1) call a special conference of the Organisation when in its opinion there is a danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored;

(2) correlate the activities of the I.L.O. toward the end of maintaining full employment with those of any other international agency or agencies which may be designated by the United Nations to

have primary responsibility in related economic fields.

3.

The Conference Recommends that:

(1) The United Nations should undertake—

(a) to apply to any dependent territories in respect of which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability through any international or regional commission or other body the principle that all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories, and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress;

(b) to apply to such territories the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930; the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936; the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939;

(c) to make a periodical report to the International Labour Office in respect of each such territory indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the provisions of the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation, 1944;

(d) to ask the International Labour Office to appoint, in continuation of the collaboration established in the case of the Permanent Mandates Commission, a representative on any Committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability, and further to ensure that any facilities which may be afforded, in the form of inspection or otherwise, for the better implementation of this principle, shall include appropriate measures for examining the application of the above-mentioned Conventions and Recommendation.

(2) When determining the future status of dependent territories which on 1 September 1939 were controlled by Axis Powers, the United Nations should specifically require the application thereto of the arrangements provided for in the preceding paragraph.

(3) In any negotiations regarding the organisation, control and operation of merchant shipping and in particular in making international arrangements for the disposal of merchant shipping tonnage, the United Nations concerned

should consult the competent bodies of the International Labour Organisation, such as the Joint Maritime Commission, in regard to the possibility of including stipulations concerning the standard of accommodation to be provided for crews and of stipulations embodying the provisions of Conventions already adopted by the maritime sessions of the Conference, or of any further such Conventions that may be adopted before the negotiation of such agreements.

(4) In making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterway, the United Nations should have due regard to the repercussions of such arrangements on the working and living conditions of persons employed in transport, and should consult the International Labour Organisation in regard to such repercussions and more particularly in regard to the working and living conditions of persons who, in operating such transport systems, work in or under the jurisdiction of more than one country.

(5) The International Labour Organisation should make available to the United Nations any information or assistance calculated to facilitate the implementation of the proposals contained in the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives and the present resolution and should be prepared to participate in any international conference which may be considering such proposals.

4.

Believing that the exceptional opportunity of the negotiations of the peace settlement should be taken to secure a concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations concerning conditions of labor;

The Conference reaffirming the principle of the association of management and labour in the framing of such standards,

Recommends

(a) That throughout the peace settlement the United Nations should wherever appropriate include provisions for labor standards. In a number of cases such provisions might properly be taken from conventions or recommendations that have been or may be adopted by the International Labour Conference.

(b) That the Governing Body should appoint a consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement. This committee should hold itself in readiness, together with the Director of the International Labour Office, to give advice with reference to such provisions on the request of the United Nations or of particular groups of the United Nations. This committee should have the right to co-opt additional members of special competence with respect to the particular sets of provisions under consideration.

(c) That the United Nations should make full use of this committee in any way in which they consider it appropriate to include labour provisions in the peace settlement.

5.

The Conference recommends to Governments that a Conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and this Conference pledges the full co-operation and the assistance of the I.L.O. in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make.

Resolution Concerning Economic Policies for the Attainment of Social Objectives

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security; and

Whereas these objectives of the United Nations coincide with the basic principles of the International Labour Organisation, and the International Labour Conference, meeting in New York in 1941, pledged the full collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by Item II on the Agenda of the present Session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy concerning more especially the measures required to be taken internationally and nationally to ensure full employment, social security and rising standards of living; and

Whereas the initiative with regard to international policy lies with the United Nations at the present time, and it is desirable in order to attain the objectives referred to that all nations should pursue an appropriate national policy; and

Whereas the attainment of full employment and high productivity by the various nations after the war is essential to the achievement of freedom from want, the attainment of increasing living standards, the realisation of genuine economic security and the continuation of peaceful economic progress; and

Whereas full employment can be achieved and maintained only through the adoption, by governments, industry and labour, of policies and measures which effectively encourage the continuing expansion of production and improvement of distribution; and

Whereas the speedy achievement of full employment requires the prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture after the war, and the subsequent maintenance of employment and production at high levels requires the creation of an economic and social environment conducive to a progressive and expanding economy;

The Conference adopts the following resolution:

1. INTERNATIONAL POLICY

1. Believing that the relief of war-stricken peoples, repatriation of prisoners and exiles and resumption of agricultural and industrial production are matters which will be of the utmost urgency immediately on the liberation of occupied countries and that on the successful handling of these problems the possibility of achieving the long-range objectives of social and economic well-being will largely depend,

The Conference welcomes the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, urges all States concerned to co-operate actively in the achievement of the tasks entrusted

to it and assures the Administration of the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to assist it in every appropriate way.

2. In view of the fact that for varying periods after the end of hostilities many essential commodities and transport facilities will be in short supply, and that international arrangements will be needed to ensure a fair allocation of available supplies and prevent excessive price movements,

The Conference considers that the Governments of the United Nations concerned should arrange to continue in operation, for such periods as any serious shortages may persist, the existing machinery of international co-ordination and control subject to such modification, and in particular to such enlargement of the membership of the authorities concerned, as may contribute to the equitable and efficient operation of such machinery in the transition from war to peace.

3. The Conference endorses the declaration of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held in May 1943, that while the primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for life and health, each nation can fully achieve this goal only if all co-operate in appropriate international action, and urges the setting up of a permanent international organisation, as recommended by the Conference on Food and Agriculture, to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

4. Recognising that a satisfactory international monetary system is essential to the full development of mutually advantageous economic relations between nations, and consequently to the raising of standards of living,

The Conference attaches great importance to the establishment at the earliest possible moment of effective international machinery for settling balances arising out of international trade and other transactions and for maintaining stability in rates of exchange, notes with satisfaction that the Governments of the United Nations are giving careful attention to this matter and urges that they include in any agreement establishing such machinery a provision requiring the authorities responsible for its application to have regard in framing and applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards.

5. Noting that imports of capital will be needed for reconstruction, development and the raising of living standards in many countries, and believing that the provision of such capital will contribute to the maintenance of full employment in the lending countries,

The Conference:

(a) considers that the existing machinery of the international capital market should be supplemented by the establishment of appropriate international machinery for the purpose of promoting the international movement of capital;

(b) considers that the promotion of full employment and higher living standards should be regarded as a primary objective of any such international machinery;

(c) considers that the authorities responsible for the operation of such international machinery should consult the International Labour Organisation as to the appropriateness of including in the terms under which development works financed in whole or in part through such machinery are to be carried out, provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labour employed; and that such provisions should be framed in consultation with the International Labour Organisation;

(d) affirms the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to render every assistance in its power in determining the appropriateness of the inclusion of such provisions and in their framing and application and in the promotion through the operations of such international machinery of the general objectives of full employment and higher living standards.

6. Recognising the great contribution which the international exchange of goods and services can make to higher living standards and to high levels of employment,

The Conference:

(a) believes that the measures proposed in the foregoing paragraphs for the promotion of exchange stabilisation and international lending will contribute to the expansion of international trade, but considers that the United Nations should also examine wartime changes in industrial capacity, and arrange for exchange of information on postwar industrial programmes and should take vigorous action to promote the expansion of international trade by appropriate commercial policies; and considers that all countries, creditor as

well as debtor, should adapt their commercial policy in such a way as to enable them to settle all obligations arising out of international transactions;

(b) considers that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate the co-ordination through appropriate international machinery of the commercial policies of all countries for the purpose of promoting a steady expansion in world trade on a multilateral basis;

(c) considers that in such co-ordination special consideration should be given to the need of countries which are highly dependent on returns from exports to take measures to ensure a high degree of stability in the level of their economic activity and observes that the need for these measures will decrease to the extent that international collaboration proves successful; and

(d) considers that in such co-ordination special account should be taken of the dislocation and the accumulated needs resulting from the devastation caused by war operations and from the prolonged diversion from peacetime production in countries which have been engaged for a long period in a sustained and total war effort.

7. In order to lay the foundation for rising levels of consumption throughout the world and at the same time to ensure more stable and adequate incomes to those primary producers whose services are needed for the production of essential raw materials and foodstuffs,

The Conference considers that the United Nations should initiate concerted action designed to ensure the constant availability to all purchasers of adequate supplies of such commodities at prices which give a reasonable return to the efficient producer and are held sufficiently stable to afford protection against major short-term fluctuations in supply or demand; and that such international arrangements (a) should provide for adequate representation of consumers as well as producers, representing both importing and exporting countries, in all authorities responsible for the determination and application of policy, and (b) should aim to assure to all workers, including the self-employed, engaged in the production of the commodities concerned, fair remuneration, satisfactory working conditions and adequate social security protection, having regard to the general standards in the countries concerned.

8. Believing that migratory movements may play an important part in the development of a dynamic economy, and that disorderly international migration may create economic and social dislocation in the countries concerned and involve serious individual hardship for the migrants themselves, while desirable migratory movements are often hampered by technical and financial difficulties which can be overcome only through international co-operation,

The Conference considers that:

(a) The United Nations should encourage by appropriate measures, with adequate safeguards for all concerned, the orderly migration of labour and settled in accordance with the economic needs and social conditions prevailing in the various countries, and in this connection should note the Conclusions adopted by the Conference of Experts on Technical and Financial Co-operation with regard to Migration for Settlement held at the International Labour Office in 1938;

(b) Arrangements should be made for close co-operation between the International Labour Organisation and any public international agency established to deal with migration;

(c) The Governing Body should take steps to bring before an early session of the Conference a report of a representative commission, with such technical assistance as it may require, on the means necessary to protect the interests of labour, on the one hand, against barriers which prevent migration from areas of limited resources, and on the other hand, against the lowering of the labour standards that might result from immigration at a rate exceeding the capacity of the receiving countries to absorb immigrants.

9. In order that re-employment may be expedited and healthy living standards established within a period of minimum duration in areas liberated from Axis occupation,

The Conference recommends that arrangements be made by those nations whose productive capacities have been maintained during the war, by all other nations which are in a position to make materials available and by the appropriate international organisations, to give the highest priority consistent with the exigencies of war to immediately supplying the territories liberated from Axis occupation with materials and equipment required for industrial installations, agriculture, transport,

public works and utilities of an essential character.

10. Believing that the best possible conditions for a rise in the standard of living and the maintenance of full employment in the world can only be obtained by mutually consistent national economic, financial and social policies and by co-ordination of the activities of the different international institutions in this field,

The Conference considers that appropriate international measures should be taken which guarantee sufficient contact and consultation with regard to such policies between governments as well as between the different international institutions.

2. NATIONAL POLICY

11. In order that full employment at productive peacetime pursuits, freedom from want, rising standards of living and genuine economic security may be achieved with a minimum of delay after the war,

The Conference urges that governments and employers' and workers' organisations formulate comprehensive and co-ordinated programmes, suited to the particular needs of their countries, for prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, and that such programmes be prepared and applied simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs.

12. Recognising that the economic situation will differ markedly among the various countries at the war's end, varying particularly with the degree and type of industrial development, the extent to which the peacetime economy has been disrupted by the war, and whether the country's territory has been occupied by the enemy; and recognizing that national post-war economic programmes must vary accordingly, in order to meet most effectively the needs of the country in which they are to be applied.

The Conference urges that, with due allowance for difference in national economic situations, programmes for economic reconversion, reconstruction and expansion include the development of sound policies and procedures to provide:

(a) Effective arrangements for the orderly and expeditious demobilisation and repatriation, and for the early absorption in productive peacetime employment of members of the armed forces,

civilian workers, prisoners, persons who have resisted deportation, deported persons and refugees, for the prompt termination of contracts and settlement of claims, the prompt determination of policy on the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and the disposition of surplus materials, with a view to the use of these items to satisfy human needs, and liberal provision for the maintenance, educational training and retraining of persons unavoidably out of employment as recommended by the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference in its Recommendation concerning employment organization in the transition from war to peace;

(b) Retention, as long as shortages exist, of such war-created economic controls—for example, price and exchange controls and rationing—as are necessary to prevent inflation, and the relaxation of such controls as rapidly thereafter as is consistent with the public welfare;

(c) Adjustment of tax systems to encourage rapid reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, while maintaining an equitable distribution of tax burdens and avoiding financial measures which tend to increase the dangers of inflation or deflation;

(d) Development of effective mechanisms for adequate financing of the reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture and particularly to assist the establishment of new and efficient enterprises.

13. The Conference urges that all practicable measures be taken to maintain a high and steady level of employment, to minimize fluctuations and business activity, and to assure a steadily expanding volume of production, more particularly by means of:

(a) Fiscal, monetary and other measures, including useful public works, to sustain the volume of demand for goods and services at a high level while avoiding the dangers of an inflationary spiral of prices and wages—in this connection attention should be paid, among other measures, to such methods as an adequate income security system, and to properly timed public works financed by borrowing in periods of depression, in accordance with the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937;

(b) Measures to discourage monopolistic practices and to encourage technological progress,

to maintain a reasonably flexible system of prices and wages, to encourage the transfer of workers and productive resources from declining to expanding industries, and to attain a high degree of mobility of resources and freedom of access to alternative employments;

(c) Measures to provide adequate incentives to engage in and expand constructive economic activity, to encourage private investment and to maintain the rate of investment—among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the adjustment of tax systems, removal of artificial barriers limiting access to resources and markets, the relaxation of unreasonable restrictions imposed by governmental agencies or by business or by labour organisations, and the maintenance of a high and stable demand for goods;

(d) Measures to provide adequate opportunity for workers to engage in productive activity and to obtain advancement—among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the provision of improved and more generally accessible educational and training facilities, provision of higher nutritional and health standards, improvement of public employment services, increased provision against economic insecurity, the maintenance of wages at a high level, and the protection, extension and improvement of collective bargaining procedures.

Treaty Information

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH IRAN

[Released to the press May 29]

On May 29, 1944 the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, and the Honorable Mohammed Shayesteh, Minister of Iran in Washington, effected the exchange of the President's proclamation and the Iranian instrument of ratification of the reciprocal trade agreement and the accompanying exchange of notes between the United States and Iran dated April 8, 1943.

Article XIV of the agreement provides that it shall enter into force on the thirtieth day following the exchange of the proclamation of the President of the United States for the instrument of ratification of Iran.

Following the exchange on May 29, 1944, there was issued a supplementary proclamation by the President proclaiming that the agreement, including two schedules and the exchange of notes, will enter into force on June 28, 1944, the thirtieth day following May 29, 1944.

The English texts of the agreement and accompanying exchange of notes were made public in the Department's press release 133 of April 8, 1943 and an analysis of the agreement in press release 134 of the same date.¹ A statement concerning the President's proclamation of the agreement, including the schedules and exchange of notes, was made in the Department's press release 102 of March 31, 1944.² The English and Persian texts of the agreement and accompanying exchange of notes will be printed in the Executive Agreement Series and the Statutes at Large.

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

Chile

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter of May 15, 1944, that the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944, was signed for Chile on May 13, 1944.

General

ICELAND

[Released to the press June 3]

The President has designated the Honorable Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr., of California, as his Special Representative with the personal rank of Ambassador to attend the ceremonies to be held in Iceland on June 17, 1944 incident to the establishment of the Republic of Iceland.

The Foreign Service

CONSULAR OFFICES

The American Consulate at Grenada, British West Indies, was opened to the public on May 25, 1944.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—Signed at Rio de Janeiro July 17, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 373. Publication 2115. 7 pp. 5¢.
- Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—Signed at Rio de Janeiro February 10, 1943; Executive Agreement Series 374. Publication 2116. 7 pp. 5¢.
- Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—Agreement signed at Rio de Janeiro November 25, 1943, effective January 1, 1944; and Exchange of Notes signed November 9 and 25, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 375. Publication 2119. 17 pp. 10¢.
- Southern Terminus of Alaska Highway: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa May 4 and 9, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 380. Publication 2122. 2 pp. 5¢.
- Haines-Champagne Section of Alaska Highway: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa November 28 and December 7, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 382. Publication 2123. 2 pp. 5¢.
- Foreign Service List (Abridged), April 1, 1944. Publication 2121. iv, 60 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.
- The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 3, June 2, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. Publication 2132. 36 pp. Free.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 10, 1943, p. 299.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 1, 1944, p. 305.

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The War

“IN THIS POIGNANT HOUR . . .”

Prayer by the President ¹

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

MY FELLOW AMERICANS: In this poignant hour, I ask you to join me in prayer:

ALMIGHTY GOD: Our sons, pride of our Nation, this day have set upon a mighty endeavor, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion, and our civilization, and to set free a suffering humanity.

Lead them straight and true; give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness to their faith.

They will need Thy blessings. Their road will be long and hard. The enemy is strong. He may hurl back our forces. Success may not come with rushing speed, but we shall return again and again; and we know that by Thy grace, and by the righteousness of our cause, our sons will triumph.

They will be sore tried, by night and by day, without rest—till the victory is won. The darkness will be rent by noise and flame. Men's souls will be shaken with the violences of war.

These are men lately drawn from the ways of peace. They fight not for the lust of conquest. They fight to end conquest. They fight to liberate. They fight to let justice arise, and tolerance and good-will among all Thy people. They yearn but for the end of battle, for their return to the haven of home.

Some will never return. Embrace these, Father, and receive them, Thy heroic servants, into Thy kingdom.

And for us at home—fathers, mothers, children, wives, sisters, and brothers of brave men overseas—whose thoughts and prayers are ever with them—help us, Almighty God, to rededicate ourselves in

renewed faith in Thee in this hour of great sacrifice.

Many people have urged that I call the Nation into a single day of special prayer. But because the road is long and the desire is great, I ask that our people devote themselves in continuance of prayer. As we rise to each new day, and again when each day is spent, let words of prayer be on our lips, invoking Thy help to our efforts.

Give us strength, too—strength in our daily tasks, to redouble the contributions we make in the physical and material support of our armed forces.

And let our hearts be stout, to wait out the long travail, to bear sorrows that may come, to impart our courage unto our sons wheresoever they may be.

And, O Lord, give us Faith. Give us Faith in Thee; Faith in our sons; Faith in each other; Faith in our united crusade. Let not the keenness of our spirit ever be dulled. Let not the impacts of temporary events, of temporal matters of but fleeting moment—let not these deter us in our unconquerable purpose.

With Thy blessing, we shall prevail over the unholy forces of our enemy. Help us to conquer the apostles of greed and racial arrogancies. Lead us to the saving of our country, and with our sister nations into a world unity that will spell a sure peace—a peace invulnerable to the schemings of unworthy men. And a peace that will let all men live in freedom, reaping the just rewards of their honest toil.

Thy will be done, Almighty God. Amen.

¹ Broadcast on June 6, 1944.

ALLIED MILITARY OPERATIONS IN FRANCE

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 6]

The Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, made the following statement at Hershey, Pa., in response to a request for comment on the invasion in Europe:

"Our brave Allied armies, today waging the most pivotal battle of all time, never more truly represented the cause of liberty and of mankind. The forces of savagery, desperately endeavoring to destroy the human race, are making their last stand. While we fight and pray, and while we know that the fighting will be hard, we confidently look forward to a great historic Allied victory. We must then pledge our all that never again shall the forces of human destruction be let loose on the world."

Statement by the Acting Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 6]

The liberation of Europe has begun. For four long years the people of Europe have suffered tyranny, oppression, and starvation. They have remained strong in hope for this day and the days to come. For them it means that freedom from suffering and oppression is at last on the horizon. For the people of China and the Far East also, this day heralds the beginning of a new era.

Our men and those of our Allies are making the supreme sacrifice in order that we and all men may live in peace and freedom. For us at home this is the time not for rejoicing—that can come later—but for every one of us to put everything he has into his job to speed the day of victory.

LIBERATION OF ROME BY THE ALLIES

Radio Address by the President ¹

[Released to the press by the White House June 5]

Yesterday, June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies—who bore the chief burdens of battle—found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians—all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied generals maneuvered so skilfully that the Nazis could only

¹ Broadcast on June 5, 1944.

have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic, Rome was the Empire, Rome was the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a united Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome became the seat of Fascism—one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For a quarter century the Italian people were enslaved and degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe—and while armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And our gallant Russian allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign—the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports of Foggia from which we have struck telling blows on the Continent.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time—have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education, and lowered public health—all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to re-form on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. At the same time we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future—an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism and ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. They are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people—Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante—and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy, Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overerowed within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past Italians have come by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed,

they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans—Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas—Brazil and the Argentine, for example—and to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and goodwill of all mankind—and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism should help give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great and the transportation requirements of our armies so

heavy that improvement must be gradual. We have already begun to save the lives of the men, women, and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargos, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies—all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred percent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and General Devers, his American Deputy; to General Eaker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

Messages Exchanged Between the President of the United States and Government and Military Officials of the United Nations

[Released to the press by the White House June 7]

The following cablegrams and acknowledgments have been exchanged to date between the President and various government and military officials of the United Nations:

Premier Stalin to the President

The news of the capture of Rome was received in the Soviet Union with great satisfaction. I congratulate you upon this great victory of Allied Anglo-American troops.

Marshal Badoglio to the President

To you, Mr. President, to the great and free North American people, and to your gallant troops, on the day when the victorious troops pursuing the fleeing enemy are restoring Rome to the new

Italy, I send my ardent wishes for the future as well as my gratitude. Today Rome, the first European capital to be liberated from the Germans, once again occupies her place in the world of justice and liberty. There can be no surer guarantee of renewed and lasting friendship between the United States and Italy than the sacrifices of American soldiers for the liberation of Rome.

The President to Marshal Badoglio

I thank you for your message of June 6. The American people found it of good augury to that cause of world freedom and progress for which they are fighting that the first capital of the European continent to emerge from the black shadow of tyranny should be Rome, with all its universal significance. Its liberation was a fitting prelude to that mighty invasion launched from the North.

Just as Rome and the other historic cities of Italy are felt to be the inheritance of all the civilized world, so, I am sure, the Italian people have never been more keenly aware than today that the cause of the civilized world is their cause and demands the complete dedication of their powers of mind and heart.

Prime Minister Curtin of Australia to the President

Joyfully Australia tenders its congratulations on the Allied liberation of Rome and pays deep tribute to the gallant forces of the United Nations whose devotion has evoked this marked advance towards the final victory which will free all the world from despotism and tyranny. My deepest personal regards.

The President to General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson

We are all thrilled by the splendid success in Italy. My very warm congratulations to you.

General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson to the President

I greatly appreciate and want to thank you for your message.

Our success during the last few months is due to the fine fighting qualities of the Allied troops, the constant harassing operations of the Allied Air Forces and the support received from the Allied Navies. The 85th and 88th United States Divisions showed dash and fighting spirit in this their first battle, and I should like to record my admiration of these fine troops.

The President to General Sir Harold Alexander

I am very happy to be able to send to my old friend unstinted praise and congratulations on the fall of Rome. Grand job.

General Sir Harold Alexander to the President

Your kind message of congratulations is greatly appreciated. The United States Fifth Army played a magnificent part in this victory. I am immensely proud of it.

The President to Lieutenant General Mark Clark

You have made the American people very happy. It is a grand job. Well done. Congratulations to you and the men of the Fifth Army.

Lieutenant General Mark Clark to the President

All members of the Fifth Army are inspired by your deeply appreciated message of congratulations, and we reaffirm our pledge to deliver unrelenting blows until the enemy is finally defeated.

The President to Lieutenant General Sir Oliver Leese

My very warm congratulations to you and the men of the Eighth Army.

Lieutenant General Sir Oliver Leese to the President

I thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of all ranks of the Eighth Army, for your most kind congratulations which we value greatly. It has been an inspiration to fight alongside the Fifth Army. With all my respects and grateful thanks to yourself.

The President to Admiral Sir John H. D. Cunningham

My hearty congratulations to you, to the officers and men under your command. The Navies of Britain and the U.S. have lived up to their reputations. Well done.

Admiral Sir John Cunningham to the President

I wish to thank you for your message on behalf of the officers and men of the Allied Navies. All of us appreciate it very much.

The King of Greece to the President

On the victory of Rome, the first great success in Europe, I send you my sincere congratulations with real pleasure and satisfaction. We are filled with confidence that the magnificent American and Allied troops will in a short while complete their task of bringing the world final victory and freedom.

The President of Brazil to the President

I congratulate Your Excellency on the first day of the invasion of Europe, decisive step for the final victory of Allied arms, liberation of oppressed nations, and restoration of tranquility to the world. The Brazilian Government and people follow with emotion and enthusiasm, hour by hour, the march of events, certain that for the heroic American forces of land, sea, and air the decisive days which follow will be ones of glory during which they represent on the fields of battle the peoples of our Continent, yearning for peace and justice. I beg that Your Excellency, leader of the American people, accept my most cordial salutations and transmit to General Eisenhower the most ardent wishes of myself and of Brazil for the complete success of the arms under his supreme command.

The President of Costa Rica to the President

The Costa Rican Congress agreed in today's session to send the Congresses and Chiefs of the Allied Nations engaged in struggle for democracy a message of encouragement and friendship on the occasion of the invasion of the European Continent which was begun today.

The President of Honduras to the President

The news of the Allied offensive against the fortress of Europe has stirred the Honduran people who are fully confident of the triumphs of the United Nations in the struggle against totalitarianism. The Honduran nation expresses the most fervent wishes for the success of the Allied arms in this great battle and associates itself with the feelings of the North American people and other friendly nations. I have the honor to present to Your Excellency the recognition of my Government and that of the Honduran nation for the gigantic efforts which that Government and people are making for victory.

Your warm friend.

The President of Peru to the President

It is very pleasing to me to convey to Your Excellency the congratulations of the Peruvian

people and of myself for the success achieved in the Italian campaign upon the occupation of Rome by the forces under the command of General Clark, saving from destruction a historic city and its cultural and religious monuments. The glorious feat of war which has just been accomplished has brought new laurels for the armed forces of the United States and the Allies and constitutes a decisive step toward the final triumph over the aggressor hordes which have not been nor shall be able to resist the valor of the men who are fighting for the liberty of the world. On this pleasing occasion I renew to Your Excellency the testimony of my highest personal esteem.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to the President

On the historic occasion of the liberation of Rome may I convey to you and the gallant American forces my warmest congratulations. This signal feat of arms demonstrates anew the might of the United Nations, which foreshadows in quick succession the liberation of all countries suffering under Axis occupation.

The King of Egypt to the President

The so brilliant exploits of the valiant Allied forces crowned by their triumphant entry into Rome offer me a happy occasion to renew to Your Excellency the sincere expression of all my admiration and my most sincere felicitations, together with my cordial wishes for an early final victory.

The President of Colombia to the President

When the soldiers of the United Nations under the command of an American general are beginning one of the greatest military enterprises in history, I wish to be the interpreter to Your Excellency of the very keenly felt emotion which grips the people of Colombia, now, as never before, linked to the American Nation in interest in victory and in concern for the sacrifices which must precede it.

The Colombians would, at any time, have observed with astonishment and enthusiasm this extraordinary military campaign and its operations, the application of modern science to the

liberation of the oppressed peoples. On this occasion our people feel, moreover, a legitimate pride that it is American-born officers and soldiers who are fighting such extraordinary battles, carrying to the Old World not only the invincible force of a civilization which they prepared and strengthened for the service of humanity but also their generous spirit which does not permit them to vacillate in the determination to shed their blood for the liberty of the enslaved nations and for the defense and definitive establishment of the great political and social principles which have had their birth and such splendid development in America.

The Colombians, Excellency, the Allies and brothers of the Americans who are fighting in France today against a common enemy, regret that they cannot offer yet greater aid to this great enterprise of free humanity nor a more effective direct contribution to the liberation of the European peoples. All are today sending up their Christian prayers for the success and final victory of the Allied troops and hope, as do your countrymen, that the compensation for the incalculable efforts, unmatched in the history of the world, which the United States is making in behalf of humanity may be a prompt victory which will save the greatest number of American lives and crown with glory the armies of all the nations which are beginning to lay siege, from the west, east, and south, to the fortress of political barbarity. Receive, Excellency, the sentiments of solidarity of the Colombian people and my sentiments of friendship and admiration.

The President of the Republic of Paraguay to the President

On this day so glorious for the arms of the United Nations, on which heavy forces of the Army of your country are taking part in the invasion of the Continent, I repeat to you my wishes that the most complete victory will crown so much daring and so much effort displayed in the cause of the freedom of the peoples of the world.

The President of Haiti to the President

On the occasion of the liberation of Rome by the valiant and glorious American troops, I feel the need, as Chief of an Allied and Catholic State,

of expressing to Your Excellency the congratulations and sentiments of the Haitian people and Government. I desire also to add my wish to those formulated by all the United Nations, that the liberation of Europe, inaugurated by the landing of the Allied troops on the coast of France, may continue rapidly and lead to the final victory. In the name of the Haitian people and Government, which are more than ever united with the great American Republic, I send Your Excellency the assurance of our unfailing attachment.

The President and the Pro-Secretary of the Chilean Senate to the President

On the occasion of the beginning of the liberation of Europe by the Allied armies the Chilean Senate decided unanimously to express to Your Excellency the joy which seizes it and the certainty it has that the most complete success must reward this effort on behalf of liberty and right.

The Prime Minister of Belgium to the President

The Belgian Government begs Your Excellency to accept its most ardent felicitations for the brilliant part played by the valiant American Army in the liberation of Rome. This glorious feat of arms, which constitutes an important step on the road to the liberation of Europe, will be deeply felt by my fellow countrymen, who suffer under the yoke of the enemy.

The President of the Dominican Republic to the President

Receive my most cordial and effusive message of congratulations and sympathy on the occasion of the success obtained by the Allied armies in beginning the offensive with which it is intended to liberate the European peoples from the oppression to which the pitiless Nazi tyranny now holds them subject. I very fervently hope that the final success of this glorious undertaking will crown the aspirations of those of us who have placed all our faith in the triumph of democracy and liberty. All this to the honor and glory of the North American armed forces.

Attitude of the Liberian Government

[Released to the press June 8]

The American Minister to Liberia, the Honorable Lester A. Walton, has informed the Department that the Liberian Government has expressed to this Government its gratification over the occupation of Rome by the Allied Armies of the

United Nations and their invasion of Europe through northern France. The Liberian Government has also requested the American Minister to inform this Government of its reaffirmation of the pledge of the Liberian nation and people whole-heartedly to give their support in the fight for freedom in the world.

WAR REFUGEES

Removal of European Refugees to the United States

[Released to the press by the White House June 9]

The following cablegram was sent by the President to Ambassador Robert Murphy in Algiers:

"Information available to me indicates that there are real possibilities of saving human lives by bringing more refugees through Yugoslavia to southern Italy. I am also informed that the escape of refugees by this route has from time to time been greatly impeded because the facilities in southern Italy for refugees have been overtaxed. I am advised that this is the situation at the present moment and that accordingly possibilities of increasing the flow of refugees to Italy may be lost.

"I understand that many of the refugees in southern Italy have been and are being moved to temporary havens in areas adjacent to the Mediterranean and that efforts are being made to increase existing refugee facilities in these areas. I am most anxious that this effort to take refugees from Italy to areas relatively close by be intensified.

"At the same time I feel that it is important that the United States indicate that it is ready to share the burden of caring for refugees during the war. Accordingly, I have decided that approximately 1,000 refugees should be immediately brought from Italy to this country, to be placed in an Emergency Refugee Shelter to be established at Fort Ontario near Oswego, New York, where under appropriate security restrictions they will remain for the duration of the war. These refugees will be brought into this country outside of the regular immigration procedure just as civilian internees from Latin American countries and prisoners of war have been brought here. The Emergency Refugee Shelter will be well equipped to take good care of these people. It is contemplated that at the end of the war they will be returned to their homelands.

"You may assume that the Emergency Refugee Shelter will be ready to receive these refugees when they arrive. I will appreciate it therefore if you will arrange for the departure to the United States as rapidly as possible, consistent with military requirements, of approximately 1,000 refugees in southern Italy. You may call upon representatives of the War Refugee Board in Algiers to assist you in this matter. The full cooperation of our military and naval authorities should be enlisted in effecting the prompt removal and transportation of the refugees.

"In choosing the refugees to be brought to the United States, please bear in mind that to the extent possible those refugees should be selected for whom other havens of refuge are not immediately available. I should however like the group to include a reasonable proportion of various categories of persecuted peoples who have fled to Italy.

"You should bear in mind that since these refugees are to be placed in a camp in the United States under appropriate security restrictions, the procedure for the selection of the refugees and arrangements for bringing them here should be as simple and expeditious as possible, uncomplicated by any of the usual formalities involved in admitting people to the United States under the immigration laws.

"However, please be sure that the necessary health checks are made to avoid bringing here persons afflicted with any loathsome, dangerous or contagious disease.

"If you encounter any difficulties in arranging for the prompt departure of these refugees please let me know."

A copy of the memorandum sent by the President on June 8 to the Secretaries of War, Navy,

and Interior, the Director of the Budget, and the Executive Director of the War Refugee Board¹ follows:

"There is attached a cable which I have dispatched to Robert Murphy in Algiers, requesting that he make arrangements for the departure to the United States as rapidly as possible of approximately 1,000 refugees now in southern Italy.

"These refugees will be brought into this country outside of the regular immigration procedure and placed in Fort Ontario near Oswego, New York. While the War Refugee Board is charged with the overall responsibility for this project, the Army shall take the necessary security precautions so that these refugees will remain in the camp and the actual administration of the camp is to be in the hands of the War Relocation Authority.

"Accordingly, the following steps should be taken as expeditiously as possible:

"(1) The War Department and the Navy Department shall send whatever instructions are

necessary to the military authorities in Italy and North Africa to expedite the transportation of these refugees to the United States.

"(2) The War Department shall arrange to furnish and properly equip Fort Ontario to receive these refugees; shall arrange for their transportation from the port of arrival to the camp; and shall arrange for the necessary security precautions.

"(3) The War Relocation Authority shall make arrangements to handle the actual administration of the camp, which will be designated as an Emergency Refugee Shelter.

"(4) Until UNRRA is in a position to assume the financial responsibilities involved, the Bureau of the Budget shall make arrangements for financing the project; using to the extent possible any available funds of the War Department, the War Relocation Authority, and the War Refugee Board, and from the Foreign War Relief appropriation, and if necessary drawing upon the President's Emergency Fund."

Refugee Centers in the Middle East

[Released to the press by UNRRA June 10]

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on June 10 made public a description of the refugee camps it operates in the Middle East which were referred to in President Roosevelt's statement on the care of eastern European refugees in his press conference June 9. The summary follows:

Since May 1, 1944, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been administering in the Middle East six refugee centers, now housing approximately 40,500 and expected within a short time to house a total of 54,000 Greek and Yugoslav refugees, mainly women and children. These camps were formerly administered by the Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration (M.E.R.R.A.), whose functions have been absorbed by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The refugees cared for in these camps were driven out of coastal and island areas of Greece and Yugoslavia as a result of military operations. Refugees are presently leaving these areas at the rate of 9,000 a month.

The larger part of the Yugoslav refugees were at first transported by the military authorities from Yugoslavia to Italy and were and are being turned over to the care of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration by the military authorities in order to reduce the drain on supplies and shipping to Italy. Most of the Greek refugees were driven out of the Greek and Dodecanese Islands by the Germans. Thus the care of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is closely related to military necessity. In fact, the British Army is cooperating very closely with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the administration of the camps and is furnishing a substantial number of personnel and other services. Voluntary welfare agencies are also cooperating closely with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and have furnished valuable personnel and certain amounts of supplies.

The estimate of the cost of operation of these camps for the year beginning May 1, 1944 is ap-

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 22, 1944, p. 95.

proximately \$9,600,000, excluding administrative expenses, which cannot be estimated since British military personnel is now assisting in the operation of the camps and may have to be replaced by civilians. An additional \$500,000 will be required for new construction and additional equipment.

These estimates assume a maximum camp population of 54,000. The general rule of the camps is to require work from all physically fit refugees. In addition to duties connected with camp maintenance, refugee women work at sewing and knitting, and men are carpenters, cobblers, painters, etc. Women and girls are being trained as nurses so that they can help in the camps and in the countries to which they will return. Those unable to work receive small allowances of about 50 cents weekly with which they may make purchases at the camp canteen.

The following is a summary description of the camps:

Moses Wells—Located in Egypt. Refugee camp, in operation by Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration since July 1942. Population as of March 16, 1944, was 1,841 Greek refugees, predominantly women and children; the camp was being enlarged and equipped to accommodate some 3,500 in May and June and 5,000 from July to September of this year. Refugees are housed in tents with concrete floors, the capacity of each tent being 16 to 20 persons. The camp has been administered by British Army personnel, with Greeks serving as medical officers, priests, and welfare officers.

El Shatt—Located in Egypt. Refugee camp, set up by Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration early in 1944 to accommodate Yugoslav refugees evacuated from the Dalmatian Coast via Italy to Egypt. By April 11,000 had arrived, predominantly women and children. The camp population is expected to be 20,000 to 25,000 in May and June and 30,000 from July to September. The camp was under construction when the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration took over, and conditions were very primitive. The refugees were and are to be housed in tents. At the end of March, the staff was comprised of British Army personnel and persons from private agencies, including representatives from the Near East Foundation, the

American Friends' Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Friends' Ambulance Unit, the British Red Cross and St. John's War Organization, the American Red Cross, the International Voluntary Service for Peace, the Jewish Relief Unit, and the Save the Children Federation.

El Khatatba—Located in Egypt. A refugee camp, which is expected to harbor 5,000 Yugoslavs. Its staff consisted, in April, of British Army personnel and 25 persons from private agencies.

Tolubat—Located in Egypt. A reception and transit camp, with a population of approximately 40 Greeks and 173 Yugoslavs on March 16, 1944. Its staff at that date consisted of British officers. The camp is expected to harbor 1,000 persons.

Nuscirat—Located in Palestine. Its population on April 6, 1944 consisted of 7,805 refugees from the Greek islands and the Dodecanese, of whom the great majority are women and children. Its population was expected to increase to 10,000 in May and June and 12,000 from July to September. This camp was taken over by the Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration to shelter all Greek refugees brought into Palestine. The refugees are housed in tents or barrack-style huts. As of April 6, 1944 the staff included British and Greek Army personnel, Greek doctors, and workers from voluntary societies (the Near East Foundation, British Red Cross, and Friends' Ambulance Unit).

Aleppo—Located in Syria. A transit camp, housed in barracks and intended for the reception, interrogation, disinfection, medical examination, and routing of all refugees entering through Turkey. The refugees arriving in April were mainly from the Greek and Dodecanese Islands and were coming through at the rate of 1,000 a month. On March 16, 1944 the population of the camp numbered some 248 persons, and the staff on that date consisted of British military personnel. Its population was expected to increase to 1,000 by May and June.

Camp Marshal Lyantey near Casablanca, Morocco, is a joint United States-United Kingdom undertaking to which stateless and other refugees in Spain are being removed so that other refugees may be able to enter Spain from enemy-

occupied areas. With the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration the question arose of transferring the camp to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and it is hoped that the transfer will become effective when funds for the United States contribution to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration have been appropriated. The site of the camp is a former Army base, now evacuated, and the buildings, of semi-permanent barracks type, will accommodate 2,000 persons. With the use of tents, camp capacity can be extended to 8,000. Pending the transfer, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has provided certain necessary administrative personnel and has assisted United States agencies in their administration of the camp.

PORTUGUESE ACTION CONCERNING THE EXPORTATION AND PRODUCTION OF WOLFRAM

Announcement by the Acting Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 6]

The Portuguese Government undertook on June 5 to impose a total prohibition upon the export of wolfram and to bring about an immediate cessation of wolfram production in Portugal.

The action of the Portuguese Government should prove a factor in shortening the war, in as much as it will deprive the enemy in Europe of important quantities of a vital war material.

The United States Government has been active in the negotiations which have led up to this satisfactory conclusion in close consultation with the British and Brazilian Governments.

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press June 6]

The Swedish motor vessel *Gripsholm* docked June 6 at Jersey City, N. J., completing a voyage of 35 days in connection with another repatriation of nationals of the United States, certain of the other American republics, and the British Commonwealth of Nations, on the one hand, and Germany on the other. There were repatriated from Germany 64 seriously sick and wounded American

prisoners of war and 46 civilians of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The vessel also embarked at Barcelona more than 900 seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war of the British Commonwealth of Nations and 21 British civilians from Germany, most of whom were discharged in other ports during the return voyage.

The *Gripsholm* carried to Barcelona 810 seriously sick and wounded German prisoners of war and protected personnel and 90 German civilians.

The exchange was made possible through the kind cooperation of the Swiss Government, which provided channels of communication between the belligerents and safeguarded their respective interests, and the Spanish Government, which made the port facilities at Barcelona available and acted as guarantor of the actual exchange. Mr. Emil Greuter of the Swiss Legation in Washington served aboard the vessel as neutral representative for the belligerents.

The United States Government has expressed its appreciation to the neutral Governments concerned for the parts they played in the exchange.

The *Gripsholm* likewise carried relief supplies and mail for prisoners of war and civilian internees.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Statement by the Acting Secretary of State ¹

[Released to the press June 5]

The success of the UNRRA will be placed in grave jeopardy, and military operations for the liberation of Europe may be unnecessarily prolonged, if the United States fails to provide—and to provide in time—its share of the funds necessary for UNRRA's operations.

UNRRA may be called upon to begin active operations in some liberated areas within the current year. How rapidly its responsibilities will

¹ Made at his press and radio news conference on June 5, 1944.

expand in scope will depend on military developments, which no one can foresee. It is, however, essential that we be ready, and it is already late.

Eight hundred million dollars is the minimum contribution by the United States necessary to provide for the first six months of active operations by UNRRA. The \$450,000,000 voted by the House is required for advance procurement of those supplies that must be bought ahead of time if they are to be on hand when they are needed. But the \$350,000,000 which is in transfer authority which the House did not approve is required for other supplies *equally essential* to the first six months of active relief operations.

This \$350,000,000 is an essential part of the amount needed now for UNRRA. To provide for only one part without the other would seriously prejudice UNRRA's operations.

I am confident that the Congress, on due consideration of what is at stake, will reverse this decision and that the appropriation bill, when it is finally passed, will provide the full amount necessary for UNRRA to undertake the responsibilities which the United States and the other United and Associated Nations have assigned to it.

American Republics

VISIT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF GEOGRAPHY OF BRAZIL

[Released to the press June 6]

Dr. Christovão Leite de Castro, Executive Director of the National Council of Geography of the Government of Brazil, has arrived in Washington at the invitation of the Department of State. For the greater part of his two months' visit, Dr. Leite de Castro will act as Visiting Consultant on Brazilian Geography at the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. Later he will visit geographic centers and manufacturers of geographic material throughout the country, conferring with technical experts and acquiring maps, instruments, and other aids for the use of his Government.

Another purpose of his trip is to discuss with geographers the second consultation of the Com-

mittee on Cartography of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, which will be held at Rio de Janeiro in August. The first meeting took place in Washington last October. Dr. Leite de Castro reports that the Brazilian Government is extending official invitations to all the American republics to send delegates to this meeting.

RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ECUADOR

[Released to the press June 6]

The Acting Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., announced late on the afternoon of June 6 that the Government of the United States had extended full recognition to the Government of Ecuador which is now organized under Dr. José María Velasco Ibarra.

At 5 o'clock p. m. on June 6 the American Ambassador in Quito informed the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador of this action by the Government of the United States. It is understood that many other American republics took simultaneous action in granting recognition, following consultation and exchange of information pursuant to resolution 22 of the Committee for Political Defense at Montevideo.¹

The Far East

RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR ALLIED NATIONALS INTERNED IN THE FAR EAST

[Released to the press June 6]

A communication from the Japanese Government was received by the United States Government on May 10, 1944, through Swiss Government channels, in which the Japanese Government offered to send to a Soviet port at regular intervals a Japanese ship to pick up relief supplies which were shipped to Vladivostok last fall—and additional relief supplies and mail intended for distribution to Allied nationals interned in the Far East which would be sent subsequently via Soviet territory with the cooperation of the Soviet Government—and to transport them to Japan. It was, of course, necessary to consult the Soviet Government

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 1, 1944, p. 20.

in the matter. That Government has kindly expressed its willingness to cooperate and has named a convenient Soviet Pacific port adjacent to Vladivostok where the relief supplies already on Soviet territory may be picked up by a Japanese ship. The Soviet Government has suggested, alternatively, that these supplies might be sent overland and has offered to deliver them to the Japanese authorities at a convenient border railroad station. The Soviet Government has also named an equally accessible port where such mail and relief supplies as may be shipped in the future for distribution to Allied nationals in Japanese custody may be picked up by Japanese ships. The Japanese Government has been informed of the foregoing through the Swiss Government, and it is hoped that in the near future these supplies will be forwarded and distributed.

VISIT OF SCHOLARS FROM CHINA

[Released to the press June 7]

Six Chinese institutions of learning have been asked by the Department of State to appoint members of their staffs to represent them for a year in the United States. They are Nankai University, Peking National University, Nanking University, Lingnan University, National Amoy University, and the Academia Sinica. Five of them have already named representatives who are expected to arrive in this country during July.

The group includes a botanist, a neurophysiologist, a sociologist, a specialist in Chinese literature, and a chemist who is the president of one of China's leading universities. All five have studied in this country, but with one exception they have not been here since 1927.

Dr. S. C. (Hsu-ching) Chen, specialist in sociology and culturology, is the representative selected by Nankai University. He is dean of the College of Law and Commerce of the National Southwest Associated University, of which Nankai is a constituent part. He received his Ph.D. at the University of Illinois in 1927 and also studied social sciences in Germany from 1929 to 1931. Before joining the staff of the Nankai Institute of Economics in 1934, he taught for several years at Lingnan University. He served as research director of the Nankai Institute from 1935 to 1941.

The representative of the National University of Peking is Dr. Chen-sheng Yang, who has been act-

ing dean of the College of Arts and Literature in the absence of Dr. Hu Shih.¹ Dr. Yang studied psychology and education at Columbia, Cornell, and Harvard from 1919 to 1923. He was formerly president of National Tsingtao University. His specialty is the study of Chinese literature, and he is also deeply interested in Chinese painting.

Nanking University is sending its president, Dr. Y. G. (Yu-kuang) Chen, who has, in addition to his professional concern with university administration and education, a long-continued interest in chemistry and general science, the field of his original training. He studied in this country from 1916 to 1922, receiving his Ph.D. degree from Columbia in the latter year. He has been president of his university since 1927. He hopes to travel to various American educational centers to examine American educational developments during the war and post-war plans for educational programs relating to applied sciences.

Lingnan University has appointed Dr. Chi-tung Yung of the College of Agriculture. Dr. Yung is a botanist whose special interests are plant morphology and plant anatomy. After receiving his B.S. at Tsing Hua University in 1929, he taught there until 1935 when he came to this country for further study as a research fellow of the China Foundation. He received his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1937. He has been at Lingnan since 1938. In addition to being a scientist, Dr. Yung is an accomplished musician. He directs the orchestra and choir at his university. During his visit to the United States he hopes to travel and lecture and to have the opportunity of doing further botanic research.

The Academia Sinica will send Dr. Ging-hsi Wang, the director of its Institute of Psychology in Kweilin. Dr. Wang is particularly interested in physiological psychology and neurophysiology. After his graduation from National Peking University in 1919, he came to this country to study and received his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University in 1923. Subsequently he taught psychobiology at the Johns Hopkins Medical School in the years 1923-24 and 1925-27. He has held his present position since 1934. He hopes to spend much of his time in this country in physiological laboratories learning new techniques for experi-

¹ Chinese Ambassador to the United States, 1938-42.

mental research on the physiology of the central nervous system.

National Amoy University has not yet named its representative. This university is still in Fukien province, very remote from Chungking. Communications are necessarily delayed. As soon as information is received, the professor appointed by this university will be announced.

The invitations extended for the year 1944-45 continue a program of the Department under which Professors Y. L. Chin (Tsinghua University), C. Y. Chang (Chekiang University), N. C. Liu (Wuhan University), H. T. Fei (Yunnan University), T. L. Hsiao (Szechuan University), and C. Tsai (National Central University) spent the past year in this country as representatives of their universities.

It is expected that all six of the visiting professors for 1944-45 will wish to travel widely to American educational institutions throughout the country and will be glad to participate in conferences or give lectures. Any inquiries or invitations for the professors should be addressed to the China Section; Science, Education, and Art Division; Department of State; Washington 25, D. C.

WILLIS C. BARRETT RETURNS FROM CHINA

[Released to the press June 9]

Mr. Willis C. Barrett has returned from China where he served under the Department of State as a technical adviser to the National Conservancy Commission of the Chinese Government.

Mr. Barrett had had 10 years of engineering experience in China between 1924 and 1935. During the past year in China he traveled extensively inspecting and advising on irrigation projects, canalization and training of rivers, flood control, and conservation of water for irrigation and power. He inspected more than 25 projects in the provinces of Szechuan, Kansu, Ningsia, Shensi, and Honan, the most important being the control of the flood waters of the Yellow River and a post-war plan to turn the Yellow River back into its old channels. Mr. Barrett was accompanied on his various trips by officials of national engineering agencies as well as by the appropriate provincial officials, which made possi-

ble on-the-spot analyses of the problems involved in each project.

Mr. Barrett is the tenth expert to complete his assignment under the Department of State's cultural-relations program; 12 other experts are either in China or are en route there to serve the Chinese Government.

Europe

RETURN OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO THE VATICAN

[Released to the press June 10]

The Acting Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., announced on June 10 that at the request of the President the Honorable Myron C. Taylor had been asked to return to the Vatican as soon as possible as the President's Personal Representative.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER

[Released to the press June 5]

The following statement has been made by Acting Secretary of State Stettinius:

"On the invitation of this Government, the Polish Prime Minister is arriving in Washington today on a visit of courtesy, his first trip to this country since his assumption of the Premiership. He is expected, during his short stay, to exchange views with the President and other American officials on general European and Polish questions."

[Released to the press June 5]

His Excellency Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Prime Minister of Poland, arrived in Washington June 5 as a guest of this Government and will remain in Washington approximately one week.

During the Prime Minister's stay he will be at Blair House and will be given a dinner by the President at the White House on the evening of June 7. The Prime Minister will also be given dinners by the Acting Secretary of State on the evening of June 8 and by the Polish Ambassador on June 9.

It is also expected that the Prime Minister will make the usual visits to Mount Vernon, Arlington, and the Capitol.

General

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LABOR IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

[Released to the press June 6]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is always a privilege to be a guest at your conventions, and doubly so to be a guest in Boston, where I was born and which was my home for many years. It was my rare good fortune to work with members and officers of this union in many struggles in the public interest—municipal, State, and national. They have been good fights.

But there is every indication that in the next few years your organization and others like it will face the most difficult and challenging period in the history of labor organization. To that subject I want to speak.

Wars do end, and this one will. The years which follow wars are not nice. In the history of the United States, they are apt to be pretty bad. Living and working through them takes all the strength of character men have.

I

On the business side, the pattern is fairly familiar. The first effect of peace is apt to be an economic explosion. Unless controlled, it means runaway prices, heavy speculation, and, at the end of a few months, an economic smash. This comes because, after war, people want to buy things they could not get, do the things they could not do. But since peacetime production is still short, the supply does not equal the demand; speculators run up prices; trouble sets in. You remember sugar at 30 cents a pound in 1919.

A short time later, the short boom breaks and there is depression and unemployment. In the past this has happened because sufficient provision was not made for returning soldiers and for change-over of war workers to peacetime work. Men who are afraid their jobs will not last do not buy; manufacturers who do not think they can sell do not put their plants to work.

These immediate post-war depressions are also apt to be fairly short, though this is not sure. Usually things do get going; accumulated war savings begin to be spent; business looks up; jobs become more plentiful. Fairly good times follow, lasting for several years. Traditionally, it used to be about eight years from the low of the post-war depression to the top of the next crest.

These years do fairly well in terms of employment and business. But they are apt to be accompanied by social changes which are not good. Post-war years have usually seen a low ebb in public and political life: a good deal of corruption and crookedness; a good deal of bad administration—local, State, and national. It was like that after the Civil War; and no one thinks of the years following the first World War with any pride. National and international life gets slack and unpleasant; business brings the smart operator to the fore; the solid, constructive forces are apt to be unheard.

History tells that the latter end of these years is likely to be a crazy, speculative boom—and then, a complete crash, lasting for years.

My suggestion today is that you start work now to avoid this pattern of bad history.

II

Countries which go through the post-war problems are pretty apt to blame the entire mess on their leaders, and to look for new leaders who can bring them out of their troubles. In European countries, the result has been revolution more often than not. In the United States, it has been the signal for a general, agitated house-cleaning on all fronts: business, politics, labor, and the professions. When that time comes, people turn to men

¹ Delivered before the session of the Twenty-fifth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at Boston on June 6, 1944.

and groups they think they can trust, to organizations which have kept faith with the public and with the country. Then, character counts.

Your trade-union and others like it are going to have to live through those post-war years. They are going to have a good, large share of responsibility for carrying on the national life during that period. The trades-unions are now one of the great centers of concentrated power in America. Because of that, they are going to be held, in part, responsible by the public for what happens.

This is important. In the 1929 crash, the responsibility was largely borne by business and financial interests which had struggled for power, got it, and were unable to use it well. In the next period, the growth of labor power is such that their organizations and leaders will also be asked, "What did you do about it? What part have you had in all this? What have you done to help the situation?" This is inescapable. In democratic life, responsibility goes with power.

III

Your organization and other enlightened unions have been well advised to be thinking, now, about your future plans. These will have to fall into two main categories: plans you make for strictly labor purposes; and plans you make in the general public interest. Both subjects have to be considered. Organized labor is now so great a part of American industrial life that it can no longer represent merely a labor interest. In fact, labor interest indeed can only be in a healthy condition when all other interests, public and private, are on a sound basis. Your membership is, actually, a large slice of the public. Perhaps you will excuse a few suggestions from an old friend.

First, do everything you can to clear out and clean up any bad spots in labor organization. A few days ago your president, Mr. Dubinsky, made the just observation that decentralization was no excuse for not cleaning up racketeering conditions, and he clearly included safeguarding democratic union administration. This union, happily, has an excellent record; and it deserves the support of all other labor organizations in its clean-up campaign. Whenever a racketeer gets a strangle-hold on a union local, he commits a crime against every union member in the United States because he discredits and weakens the entire labor movement.

This is a specific labor interest, but you will find that it takes you into the wider field of decent local government. Racketeers cannot exist without local political help. It will need not merely resolutions at conventions but active support of the forces of clean and decent government in the cities and towns in which you have influence. It may be added that you will need the strongest, cleanest, and most efficient local government you can hope to create for other purposes besides that of seeing that both labor and management keep themselves free of underworld groups which from time to time like to masquerade as labor leaders.

This means work and lots of it. Post-war eras have been pretty apt to develop unclean movements. Along with political corruption and disorderly movements, we had financial racketeering of the Goulds and the Fiskes as post-Civil-War products; and these were paralleled by the corporate and financial racketeering and by the gangster troubles of the twenties.

It is a good thing to keep your own organization clean, but it is not enough. There were financial people who said, in 1932, that they were not responsible for the shocking conditions in finance because, though they knew about these conditions, they had kept clear themselves. The public, cruelly but justly, asked whether they had tried to do anything about it. Now, as partners in industrial power the labor movement will be held to the same responsibility—and it can and must avoid making the same mistakes.

Second, I hope you will intensify your work in the field of technical and economic research, not only in the specific field of your trade but in the field of general economic reconstruction. You can command the best talent in the country. You have as powerful a voice as any in formulating the measures which must be taken to prevent unemployment and to mitigate or prevent business upsets of past post-war eras. Obviously, neither the garment trade nor any other trade will prosper if the country is going through a succession of booms and slumps.

This is going to call for new and original thinking. As far as I can see, the United States is almost the last great industrial country in the world to stick to certain classic economic ideas. Practically everywhere else, business and economic life will be organized on quite different

lines. This obviously is true of Soviet Russia and apparently will be true of most of the Continent of Europe. We do not yet know the extent of industrial reorganization in England, but there is every indication that the British economy is going to be organized with the primary intention of maintaining full employment. My own opinion is that no government in the United States will be able to live unless it likewise tackles and solves this problem and is prepared to take all measures necessary for that purpose. But there are all kinds of ways of attacking the problem. Merely to say, "no unemployment", is not enough—for there was no unemployment in Nazi Germany and the system was as evil as it could possibly be. We are committed to preserving private initiative so far as possible, but private initiative will probably have to be supplemented by Government measures. You are just as much interested in a continuing and growing market for your employer's goods as is your employer: he needs it, you need it. Where is it coming from? You know that there are plenty of people who need your product, and you know that you and the enterprises for which you work can fill that need. The problem is to create a situation so that the people who do need your product shall be able to buy it.

Third, you will have to continue and perhaps intensify the splendid efforts you have already made in the cause of world organization and world peace. Obviously, no plan of organization and no economic planning can be successful if the entire world, after the war, travels again the terrible road which it followed between the two wars.

It is, of course, for governments to endeavor to work out the terms of world organization. But this, in a sense, is paper work. No organization or set of international agreements means anything unless it is backed by the solid public opinion of its respective countries. A successful search for peace will be almost as intense as the effort for victory. Aggression anywhere means eventual danger to the United States. Indeed, the detail of world organization is less important, essentially, than the popular force behind it. The institutions created, if they are live, will learn by their mistakes and improve their structure as they

go along. Institutions which have not the breath of popular life in them will simply decay.

IV

These, as it seems to me, are the three essentials of your work: a clean house, sound economic planning, and steady support of the active institutions of peace.

The resources of the United States in time of peace as well as in war are so vast that they are not even known. In the past four years this country has been able to support the economic burden of the greatest war in American history and at the same time to provide a civilian income about equal to normal. Plainly, the country is capable of liberating production sufficient almost to double the pre-war standard of living of everyone in this country, so far as material things go. Plainly, also, it has not yet found the means of doing this. You and your colleagues are one of the groups to which the country must look in charting its eventual course. You will have difficulties and troubles and disillusionments as you go forward. But you will find, year by year, that character in the long run brings with it the public confidence; that sound thinking eventually triumphs; and that, as your work continues, your strength will increase.

PRESENTATION OF LEGION OF MERIT MEDALS

[Released to the press June 9]

In the presence of representatives of the War and Navy Departments, the Acting Secretary of State, on behalf of this Government, presented on June 9 to the Minister of Denmark, the Honorable Henrik de Kauffmann, the Legion of Merit medals and their citations which have been awarded with the approval of the President to Captain Ib Poulsen, Corporal Marius Jensen, and, posthumously, to Patrolman Eli Knudsen for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services as members of the Northwest Greenland Sledge Patrol operating in collaboration with the Greenland Base Command, United States Army.

As has previously been announced, a German base in Greenland was discovered early in 1943 by a Sledge Patrol group. The patrol was attacked

and groups they think they can trust, to organizations which have kept faith with the public and with the country. Then, character counts.

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This is important. In the 1929 crash, the responsibility was largely borne by business and financial interests which had struggled for power, got it, and were unable to use it well. In the next period, the growth of labor power is such that their organizations and leaders will also be asked, "What did you do about it? What part have you had in all this? What have you done to help the situation?" This is inescapable. In democratic life, responsibility goes with power.

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Second, I hope you will intensify your work in the field of technical and economic research, not only in the specific field of your trade but in the field of general economic reconstruction. You can command the best talent in the country. You have as powerful a voice as any in formulating the measures which must be taken to prevent unemployment and to mitigate or prevent business upsets of past post-war eras. Obviously, neither the garment trade nor any other trade will prosper if the country is going through a succession of booms and slumps.

This is going to call for new and original thinking. As far as I can see, the United States is almost the last great industrial country in the world to stick to certain classic economic ideas. Practically everywhere else, business and economic life will be organized on quite different

lines. This obviously is true of Soviet Russia and apparently will be true of most of the Continent of Europe. We do not yet know the extent of industrial reorganization in England, but there is every indication that the British economy is going to be organized with the primary intention of maintaining full employment. My own opinion is that no government in the United States will be able to live unless it likewise tackles and solves this problem and is prepared to take all measures necessary for that purpose. But there are all kinds of ways of attacking the problem. Merely to say, "no unemployment", is not enough—for there was no unemployment in Nazi Germany and the system was as evil as it could possibly be. We are committed to preserving private initiative so far as possible, but private initiative will probably have to be supplemented by Government measures. You are just as much interested in a continuing and growing market for your employer's goods as is your employer: he needs it, you need it. Where is it coming from? You know that there are plenty of people who need your product, and you know that you and the enterprises for which you work can fill that need. The problem is to create a situation so that the people who do need your product shall be able to buy it.

Third, you will have to continue and perhaps intensify the splendid efforts you have already made in the cause of world organization and world peace. Obviously, no plan of organization and no economic planning can be successful if the entire world, after the war, travels again the terrible road which it followed between the two wars.

It is, of course, for governments to endeavor to work out the terms of world organization. But this, in a sense, is paper work. No organization or set of international agreements means anything unless it is backed by the solid public opinion of its respective countries. A successful search for peace will be almost as intense as the effort for victory. Aggression anywhere means eventual danger to the United States. Indeed, the detail of world organization is less important, essentially, than the popular force behind it. The institutions created, if they are live, will learn by their mistakes and improve their structure as they

go along. Institutions which have not the breath of popular life in them will simply decay.

IV

These, as it seems to me, are the three essentials of your work: a clean house, sound economic planning, and steady support of the active institutions of peace.

The resources of the United States in time of peace as well as in war are so vast that they are not even known. In the past four years this country has been able to support the economic burden of the greatest war in American history and at the same time to provide a civilian income about equal to normal. Plainly, the country is capable of liberating production sufficient almost to double the pre-war standard of living of everyone in this country, so far as material things go. Plainly, also, it has not yet found the means of doing this. You and your colleagues are one of the groups to which the country must look in charting its eventual course. You will have difficulties and troubles and disillusionments as you go forward. But you will find, year by year, that character in the long run brings with it the public confidence; that sound thinking eventually triumphs; and that, as your work continues, your strength will increase.

PRESENTATION OF LEGION OF MERIT MEDALS

[Released to the press June 9]

In the presence of representatives of the War and Navy Departments, the Acting Secretary of State, on behalf of this Government, presented on June 9 to the Minister of Denmark, the Honorable Henrik de Kauffmann, the Legion of Merit medals and their citations which have been awarded with the approval of the President to Captain Ib Poulsen, Corporal Marius Jensen, and, posthumously, to Patrolman Eli Knudsen for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services as members of the Northwest Greenland Sledge Patrol operating in collaboration with the Greenland Base Command, United States Army.

As has previously been announced, a German base in Greenland was discovered early in 1943 by a Sledge Patrol group. The patrol was attacked

by the Germans but managed to report its discovery to the American military authorities.

The following remarks were made by the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Acting Secretary of State, to the Honorable Henrik de Kauffmann, Minister of Denmark:

"MR. MINISTER: It gives me great pleasure to present to you on behalf of this Government the Legion of Merit Medals and their citations which have been awarded with the approval of the President to aptain Ib Poulsen, Corporal Marius Jensen, and, posthumously, to Patrolman Eli Knudsen for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service as members of the Northwest Greenland Sledge Patrol operating in collaboration with the Greenland Base Command, United States Army. Not only did these men fight valiantly in defense of this colony of Denmark but also one made the supreme sacrifice for his country. Their example is an inspiration to their fellow countrymen who suffer under the heel of the German oppressor."

The reply of the Minister of Denmark follows:

"I want to thank you, Mr. Secretary, for the words you have just addressed to me and for the three decorations that you have handed to me to be transmitted to two of my countrymen and to the family of a Dane who died doing his duty. I shall turn these over, at the same time informing my countrymen of what you said.

"You know how all Danes feel. Every Dane, whether he is at home or abroad, and whatever his position in life is—whether he is in the armed forces, on the seas, at home in Denmark working one way or the other—has one aim: to do his utmost to help win the war and defeat our common enemy.

"That is why the three decorations you have just handed me will not only bring happiness to the people directly concerned but also to every Dane. I want to thank you on behalf of Denmark."

AMERICAN MEXICAN CLAIMS COMMISSION

[Released to the press June 6]

John Maktos was appointed recently General Counsel of the American Mexican Claims Commission.¹

Mr. Maktos, a member of the bars of the District of Columbia and of Michigan, received three degrees from Harvard University: Bachelor of Arts in 1923, Bachelor of Law in 1926, and Doctor of Juridical Science in 1929. From 1926 to 1928 he pursued post-graduate law studies at Oxford University. He has been awarded the Carnegie Fellowship in International Law and the Hyman Fellowship in International Law.

From the time of his graduation until his appointment as General Counsel, Mr. Maktos was in the service of the Department of State. He was Assistant Legal Adviser until 1941, when he was appointed chairman of Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee C. The Committee's function was to pass on the admissibility of aliens into the United States. Upon the completion of the Committee's work in 1943 he was appointed principal divisional assistant in the Division of International Security and Organization, a position which he held until the assumption of his present office. While Assistant Legal Adviser he acted as assistant counsel for the Government in the arbitration of the claim of the United States on behalf of P. W. Shufeldt against Guatemala and as Legal Assistant to the American Commissioner in the settlement of the claims of the United States against Turkey.

Mr. Maktos succeeds Edwin D. Dickinson, formerly Dean of the School of Jurisprudence at the University of California, as General Counsel.

The American Mexican Claims Commission consists of Edgar E. Witt of Texas, chairman, Samuel M. Gold of New York, and Charles F. McLaughlin of Nebraska. It was established under the act of Congress known as the "Settlement of Mexican Claims Act of 1942." The Commission's functions are to determine the merits of claims of the United States against Mexico entitled to participate in the distribution of a lump sum of \$40,000,000 which the Government of Mexico agreed to pay to the United States in settlement of certain claims. The cases grow out of expropriation of lands and mines, confiscation or destruction of personal property, personal injuries, and alleged denial of justice.

¹BULLETIN of May 8, 1943, p. 420, and May 22, 1943, p. 457.

Treaty Information

DOUBLE-TAXATION CONVENTION WITH CANADA

[Released to the press June 9]

A convention between the United States and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of estate taxes and succession duties was signed on June 8 by the Honorable Ray Atherton, American Ambassador in Ottawa, for the United States, and by the Right Honorable William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and the Honorable Colin William George Gibson, K.C., M.C., V.D., Minister of National Revenue, for Canada.

The convention has for its principal purpose the elimination, in so far as practicable, of double taxation which otherwise would result from the application to the same estate or succession of both Federal estate taxes and Dominion succession duties. The convention also contains provisions relating to mutual administrative assistance through the exchange of information, with a view to discouraging tax evasion. The application of the convention extends only to estate taxes imposed by the Federal Government and succession duties imposed by the Dominion Government, and does not extend to the imposition and collection of taxes by political subdivisions—that is, by States of the United States or Provinces of Canada.

The principal provisions of the convention, in their application to double taxation affecting estates or successions, parallel in certain respects the principal provisions of the convention and protocol now in force between the United States and Canada providing for the avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of income taxes, signed in Washington on March 4, 1942, which by its terms became effective as of January 1, 1941.¹

It is provided in article XIV of the convention signed in Ottawa that the convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be

exchanged. In the event of such an exchange of instruments of ratification, the convention shall be deemed to have come into effect on June 14, 1941, which date coincides with the date on which the Dominion Succession Duty Act went into effect, and shall continue in effect for a period of five years from that date and indefinitely after that period, but may be terminated by either Government at the end of the five-year period or at any time thereafter provided that at least six months prior notice of termination has been given.

INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONVENTION

Afghanistan

The American Embassy near the Netherlands Government at London reported to the Department of State, by a despatch of May 17, 1944, that the Netherlands Government had stated in a note dated May 9, 1944, that it had received on May 5, 1944, notification from the Government of Afghanistan of the adherence of Afghanistan to the International Opium Convention which was signed at The Hague January 23, 1912 (Treaty Series 612), effective as from May 5, 1944.

The Department

TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS OF THE SECRETARY'S LIAISON OFFICE TO THE DIVISION OF FOREIGN ACTIVITY CORRELATION

Departmental Order 1277 of June 7, 1944²

Purpose. In order to centralize further the Department's liaison activities with the War and Navy Departments, the functions now performed by the Secretary's Liaison Office are hereby transferred to the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation. The Secretary's Liaison Office is hereby abolished.

1 *Transfer of personnel.* Personnel presently assigned to the Secretary's Liaison Office are hereby transferred to the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation.

¹ Treaty Series (S3; 56 Stat. 1399.

² Effective June 7, 1944.

2 *Routing symbol.* The symbol of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation will remain FC. Correspondence pertaining specifically to War-Navy Liaison matters should be marked FC/L.

3 *Previous orders amended or superseded.* This order amends Departmental Order 825, and the appended Departmental Memorandum, dated November 3, 1939, describing the functions of the Liaison Office (then attached to the Office of the Under Secretary); and page 3 (Section 5, relating to the Office of the Secretary) and page 9 (Section 4, relating to the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation) of Department Order 1218, dated January 15, 1944. This order supersedes Departmental Order 1255, dated April 10, 1944; the pertinent portion of the Administrative Instruction dated March 6, 1944; and Departmental Designation 15, dated May 31, 1944.

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.,
Acting Secretary of State.

JUNE 7, 1944.

RUBBER ADVISORY PANEL

[Released to the press June 6]

The following members will be on the Rubber Advisory Panel which was established to serve in a consultative capacity to the Department on matters relating to rubber and rubber substitutes and to advise on technical matters:

- F. B. Davis, Jr., chairman, United States Rubber Co.
- Stuart Hotchkiss, chairman, Cambridge Rubber Co.
- L. R. Jackson, executive vice president, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.
- P. Litchfield, chairman, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
- Harry E. Smith, general manager, Manhattan Rubber Manufacturing Division, Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc.
- A. L. Viles, president, Rubber Manufacturers Assn., Inc.
- John L. Collyer, president, B. F. Goodrich Co.
- J. W. Bicknell, executive vice president, Rubber Development Corp.
- William L. Batt, vice chairman, War Production Board.
- H. J. Klossner, president, Rubber Reserve Co.
- L. D. Tompkins, deputy rubber director, War Production Board.
- R. D. Young, president, Rubber Trade Assn.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Designation 16, issued June 3, 1944, effective June 3, 1944, the Acting Secretary of State, pursuant to the provisions of Departmental Order 1275 establishing the position of Assistant Security Officer, designated Comdr. Lee W. Parke, U.S.N., as Assistant Security Officer in the Office of the Assistant Secretary and Security Officer, Mr. Shaw. By the same Departmental Designation, the Acting Secretary of State designated Mr. David A. Salmon as Consultant on Cryptography in the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw.

By Departmental Designation 19, issued June 8, 1944, effective June 8, 1944, the Acting Secretary of State designated Mr. E. Wilder Spaulding as Chief of the Division of Research and Publication.

Legislation

Twenty-sixth Conference of the International Labor Organization: Message from the President of the United States transmitting Recommendations of the Twenty-sixth Conference of the International Labor Organization. H. Doc. 621, 78th Cong. 14 pp.

Certain Officers and Employees of the Foreign Service of the United States: Message from the President of the United States transmitting Report from the Secretary of State with Reference to the Enactment of Legislation for the Sum of \$90,130.91 for the Relief of Certain Officers and Employees of the Foreign Service of the United States. H. Doc. 622, 78th Cong. 22 pp.

Digest of Legislation Enacted by the Seventy-eighth Congress, First Session, Together With a Preliminary Statement Relative Thereto. S. Doc. 195, 78th Cong. 12 pp.

National War Agencies Appropriation Bill for 1945: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on the National War Agencies Appropriation Bill for 1945. Part I, 1080 pp. [Department of State activities in connection with the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, p. 1002]. Part II, 732 pp. [Department of State activities in connection with the Office of War Information, p. 333, and in connection with the Office of Strategic Services, p. 351]

Foreign Economic Administration Appropriation Bill for 1945: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on the Foreign Economic Administration Appropriation Bill for 1945. 475 pp. [Department of State, pp. 244, 281, 402.]

Foreign Economic Administration Appropriation Bill, 1945—Including Defense Aid (Lend-Lease) and Participation by the United States in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. H. Rept. 1591, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4937. [Favorable report.] 28 pp.

Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1945: Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on

the Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1945. 326 pp.

Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill, 1945. H. Rept. 1599, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4204. 3 pp.

Alaskan International Highway Commission. H. Rept. 1603, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4625. [Favorable report.] 1 p.

Implementing the Jurisdiction of Service Courts of Friendly Foreign Forces. S. Rept. 956, 78th Cong., on H.R. 3241. [Favorable report.] 7 pp.

Requesting the President To Limit Production of Opium to Amounts Required for Medical Purposes. S. Rept. 957, 78th Cong., on H. J. Res. 241. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Cultural-Cooperation Program of the Department of State: Address by G. Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State, at the Loyola University Forum, New Orleans, La., May 8, 1944. Publication 2130. 14 pp. 5¢.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington March 14, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 372. Publication 2063. 3 pp. 5¢.

Importation Privileges for Government Officials and Employees: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effected by exchanges of notes signed at Ottawa July 21, October 29, and November 9, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 333. Publication 2124. 3 pp. 5¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"Guatemala's Market for Organic Chemicals", by Kathleen Molesworth, Assistant Commercial Attaché at Guatemala City.

"India's Sugar Industry Today", by Charles E. Brookhart, Consul at Calcutta, in collaboration with Alice J. Mullen of the Industrial Projects Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

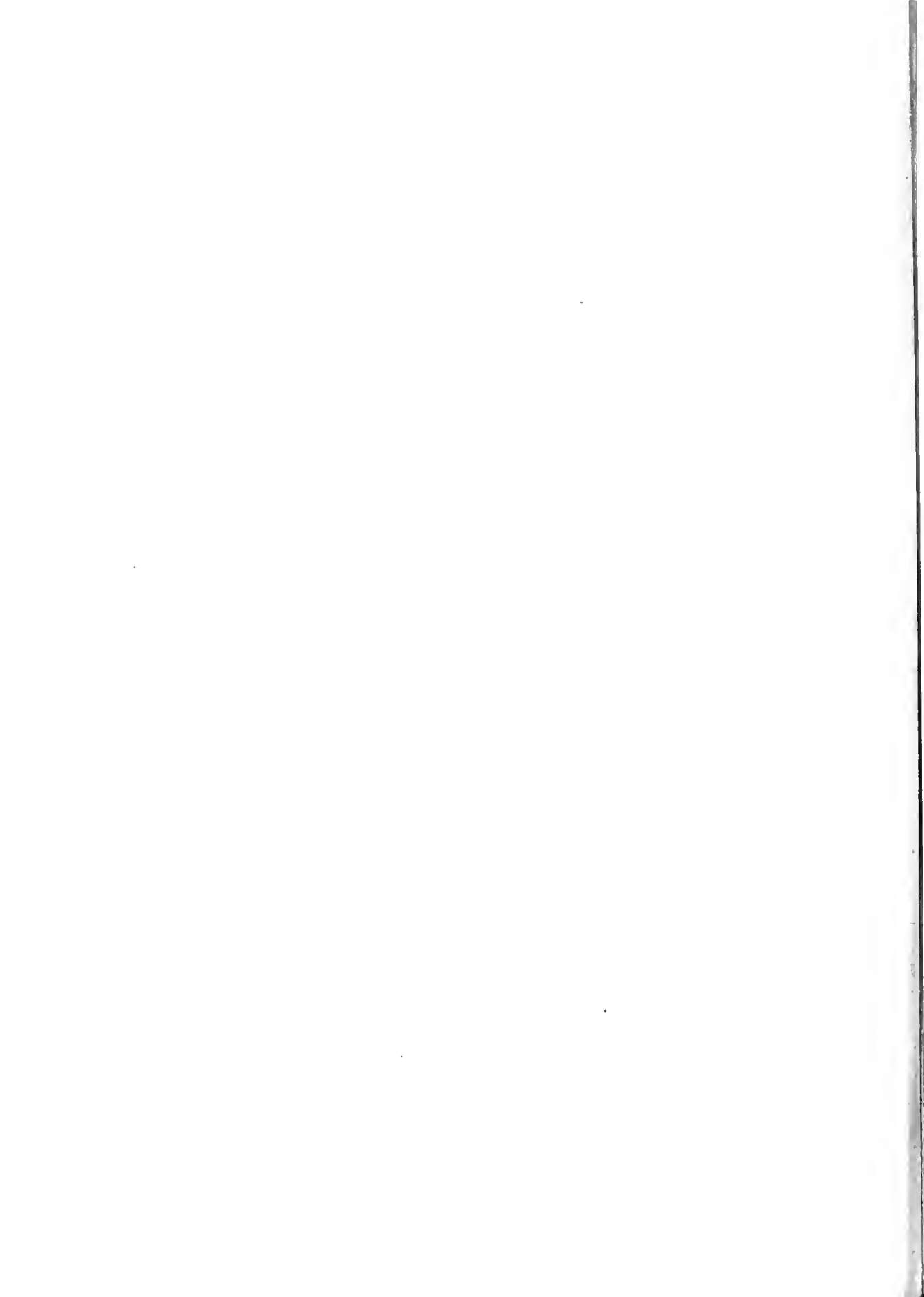
These articles will be found in the June 10, 1944 issue of *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. Copies of this periodical, which is issued by the Department of Commerce, may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each.

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The War

ALLIED MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EUROPE

Report by General Eisenhower to the President

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

On June 6th we initiated the first vital step leading to the decisive battle of Europe. The first great obstacle has been surmounted—that is the breaching of the beach defenses that the enemy by lavish employment of enslaved labor had installed in forest-like density along the entire lateral of northwest Europe. Gallantry, fortitude and skill were called for, and these, in abundant measure, the entire allied force has displayed since the opening day of the battle. A particularly satisfying feature of the fighting has been the fine performance of troops—American, British, and Canadian—committed to battle for the first time. Just as they did and are still doing in the Mediterranean, these untried allied units have conducted themselves in a manner worthy of their more experienced comrades who conquered the German in Africa, Sicily and Italy.

What is more important, complete unity between the air, ground and naval services has prevailed.

Satisfactory as is the progress of this battle to date, in magnitude it is but a mere beginning to

the tremendous struggles that must follow before final victory is achieved. Although the cross-channel landing operation was attended by hazards and difficulties greater, I believe, than have ever before faced an invading army, this initial success has given us only a foothold upon northwestern France. Through the opening thus made, and through others yet to come, the flood of our fighting strength must be poured. Our operations, vast and important as they are, are only part of the far larger pattern of a combined assault against the fortress of Germany by the great Russian armies from the East and our forces from the Mediterranean.

The Nazis will be forced to fight throughout the perimeter of their stronghold, daily expending their dwindling resources until overwhelmed by the hopelessness of their position. To this end we need every man, every weapon, and all the courage and fortitude of our respective peoples. The allied soldier will do his duty.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Acknowledgments by President Roosevelt of Messages From Various Officials of the United Nations

[Released to the press by the White House June 14]

On June 7 the press was given texts of cablegrams and acknowledgments exchanged between the President of the United States and various government and military officials of the United Nations.¹ The texts of the President's acknowledgments follow:

To the King of Greece

I am grateful for your message of congratulations on the fall of Rome. Our successful Allied armies in Italy and in the East have now been

joined in the all-out struggle for the liberation of the continent by the forces who have landed in France. I know that their progress will be attended by the prayerful hopes of the entire Greek people.

To the President of Brazil

I am deeply moved by the sentiments expressed by Your Excellency on behalf of yourself and of the people of Brazil on the occasion of the first day of the landing of Allied troops in France to effect

¹ BULLETIN of June 10, 1944, p. 528.

the liberation of the captive populations of Europe and to restore peace to the world.

I shall take pleasure in transmitting to General Eisenhower the inspiring message of the Chief of the Government of our great Ally, Brazil, who is also sending her valiant sons to fight the foes of liberty on distant battlefields.

To the President of the Costa Rican Congress

Please convey to the Costa Rican Congress my thanks for its message of encouragement and support sent in connection with the initiation of military operations for the liberation of Europe. Though the campaign may be difficult I have faith in the victory of the United Nations.

To the President of Honduras

I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram expressing the fervent hopes and prayers of the Honduran nation that victory will crown the attack of the United Nations upon the fortress of Europe. The battle will unquestionably be hard but I am wholly confident that the outcome will be a triumph for the forces of liberation.

To the President of the Republic of Peru

I have received with the greatest of pleasure Your Excellency's cordial message of June 5, sent on the occasion of the liberation of the city of Rome by the armies of the United Nations. I agree with Your Excellency that this event constitutes a decisive step toward the inevitable final triumph over the forces of our enemies. The liberation of Rome by the combined United Nations armies proves the great strength of the present union of free peoples the world over against the tyranny of the Axis powers. The people of the United States of America are also particularly pleased that this was effected without the destruction of the historic monuments of the Eternal City. I take great pleasure in cordially reciprocating Your Excellency's kind expression of personal esteem.

To the President of the National Government of the Republic of China

On behalf of the forces of the United States I thank you for your heartening message on the liberation of Rome. This achievement was made possible by the inspiration, unity and swiftly

mounting strength of our democratic cause, and I am supremely confident that these factors will soon bring us greater victories which will ensure the destruction of Axis tyranny not only in Europe but also in Asia.

To the King of Egypt

I have received with deep appreciation Your Majesty's message of felicitation on the occasion of the liberation of Rome. It is my hope also that the armies of freedom soon shall triumph over the forces of the Axis aggressors.

To the President of the Republic of Colombia

I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's inspiring message in which you have expressed in this momentous hour the deep and fervent spirit of the Colombian people who are united with us in the determination to achieve the liberation of those peoples cruelly enslaved by our common enemy. We may look forward with full confidence, that, through the sacrifice and devotion to the just cause to which our nations have dedicated themselves, ultimate victory will bring justice and freedom to the world.

To the President of the Republic of Paraguay

I take great pleasure in expressing my appreciation for Your Excellency's message of June 6 on the occasion of the landing of United States forces in France.

The decisive phase of the battle of liberation has begun with realistic appreciation of the long road that lies ahead and with complete confidence in ultimate victory.

To the President of Haiti

I wish to express my appreciation for your telegram conveying the congratulations of the Haitian people and Government upon the occasion of the occupation of Rome and the initiation of the campaign for the liberation of Europe. Though the road may be hard, I am certain of the ultimate victory of the United Nations.

To the President of the Senate of Chile

Thank you for the message which you and Don Fernando Altamirano Z. were kind enough to send on behalf of the Senate of Chile on the occasion of the landings made by the Allied armies

in northern France. It gives me deep satisfaction to know that the good wishes and support of the Chilean Senate are with us during this supremely critical phase of the war.

To the Prime Minister of Belgium

I deeply appreciate your kind message of June 6. The victory of the Allies in Italy is an auspicious beginning of the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe. You may be sure that our unsparing efforts will not cease until the enemy has been crushed and freedom has been restored to your brave fellow countrymen.

To the President of the Dominican Republic

I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of congratulations on the initial success obtained by the Allied Armies in the campaign for the liberation of Europe. Though the campaign may be difficult, I have faith in the victory of the United Nations.

To the Prime Minister of Australia

Thank you for your message of congratulation upon the liberation of Rome and your tribute to the gallant forces of the United Nations. We may be justly proud of this splendid accomplishment by our combined forces. This example of complete cooperation and coordination of effort gives us high hopes for the success of the still greater task to which our combined armies have now set themselves on the Continent of Europe.

The following wires from various foreign governments were received too late for inclusion in the June 7, 1944 release. Texts of the messages and of the President's replies are as follows:

The President of Guatemala to the President

I am happy to felicitate Your Excellency upon the occupation of Rome by the victorious North American troops and I express my desire that the invincible army of the United Nations may continue its triumphant march forward.

The President to the President of Guatemala

Please accept my thanks for your telegram of felicitations upon the taking of Rome. I rejoice

that this was possible without destruction of its many monuments of religion, of history and of culture.

The President of Ecuador to the President

I greet Your Excellency and assure you of my pleasure at the transcendental victories in France, the nation of freedom, of the North American armies which have demonstrated to the world the inevitable arrival of the hour of the people and of justice.

The President to the President of Ecuador

I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's friendly message at this time when the Armies of the United Nations are engaging in tremendous and sacrificial struggle which we know must precede the liberation of Europe. I am wholly confident of the ultimate victory which will assure throughout the world the reign of the principles of justice and freedom to which our nations are dedicated.

The Emperor of Ethiopia to the President

The entire Ethiopian people are following the opening of the invasion with their prayers to the God of victories for the triumphant outcome of the historic campaign to which the whole American nation is committed. May the fall of Rome be speedily followed by the rapid fall of the remaining strongholds of Axis resistance.

The President to the Emperor of Ethiopia

I thank Your Majesty most warmly for your message.

In this titanic struggle the American people are supported in their will to triumph by the knowledge that staunch and unfailing allies stand by their side and by the prayers and good wishes of honorable men everywhere. Victory will come. Your Majesty's message cheers us on the way.

The President of the United States of Venezuela to the President

Yesterday, when the glorious Allied forces began the most important stage of this war in which the sons of Your Excellency's noble country are struggling with intrepid valor, will pass into

history as one of the symbolic dates of the struggle for the principles of liberty and justice which the democratic countries support. The Government and the people of Venezuela who share the same ideals have received with keen emotion the first news and express their sincere wishes for the success of the present campaign. To these, I add my personal wishes.

The President to the President of the United States of Venezuela

I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's friendly and inspiring message conveying your wishes and those of the Government and people of Venezuela for the successful outcome of the momentous struggle which has just been initiated in France. This military action will lead to the fulfillment of the fervent desires of free people the world over that freedom, liberty and justice shall be guaranteed to all.

Messages Exchanged Between the Prime Minister of Greece and the Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 15]

The Secretary of State has received the following message of congratulation from the Prime Minister of Greece under date of June 8, 1944:

Please accept and transmit to the American Government and people and to the gallant armed forces of the United States the congratulations of the Hellenic Government and myself for the historical victory of the capture of Rome and our heartfelt wishes for the success of the mighty endeavour which began yesterday on the shores of France. The Greek people who were the first to defeat the Italians in their untried pride and aggressiveness have hailed the fate of the second capital of the Axis as the infallible omen of greater and final victories which may God grant to your forces now engaged on their heroic crusade.

GEORGE PAPANDREOU

The following reply was sent to M. Papandreou on June 14:

I greatly appreciate Your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the fall of Rome and the successful launching of the invasion from the West. The day of liberation of occupied Europe is surely dawning. It is the earnest hope of all Americans that this long-awaited prospect will give to the Greek people renewed strength and unity for the reconstruction of their free national life.

CORDELL HULL

POST-WAR SECURITY ORGANIZATION PROGRAM

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House June 15]

The conference today with officials of the Department of State on the post-war security organization program is a continuation of conferences which have been held from time to time during the past 18 months. These conferences have enabled me to give personal attention to the development and progress of the post-war work the Department of State is doing.

All plans and suggestions from groups, organizations, and individuals have been carefully discussed and considered. I wish to emphasize the entirely non-partisan nature of these consultations. All aspects of the post-war program have been debated in a cooperative spirit. This is a tribute to the political leaders who realize that

the national interest demands a national program now. Such teamwork has met the overwhelming approval of the American people.

The maintenance of peace and security must be the joint task of all peace-loving nations. We have, therefore, sought to develop plans for an international organization comprising all such nations. The purpose of the organization would be to maintain peace and security and to assist the creation, through international cooperation, of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

Accordingly, it is our thought that the organization would be a fully representative body with broad responsibilities for promoting and facilitating international cooperation, through such

agencies as may be found necessary, to consider and deal with the problems of world relations. It is our further thought that the organization would provide for a council, elected annually by the fully representative body of all nations, which would include the four major nations and a suitable number of other nations. The council would concern itself with peaceful settlement of international disputes and with the prevention of threats to the peace or breaches of the peace.

There would also be an international court of justice to deal primarily with justiciable disputes.

We are not thinking of a superstate with its own police forces and other paraphernalia of coercive power. We are seeking effective agreement and arrangements through which the na-

tions would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible deliberate preparation for war and to have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

All this, of course, will become possible once our present enemies are defeated and effective arrangements are made to prevent them from making war again.

Beyond that, the hope of a peaceful and advancing world will rest upon the willingness and ability of the peace-loving nations, large and small, bearing responsibility commensurate with their individual capacities, to work together for the maintenance of peace and security.

REMOVAL OF EUROPEAN REFUGEES TO THE UNITED STATES

Message of the President to the Congress

[Released to the press by the White House June 12]

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: Congress has repeatedly manifested its deep concern with the pitiful plight of the persecuted minorities in Europe whose lives are each day being offered in sacrifice on the altar of Nazi tyranny.

This Nation is appalled by the systematic persecution of helpless minority groups by the Nazis. To us the unprovoked murder of innocent people simply because of race, religion or political creed is the blackest of all possible crimes. Since the Nazis began this campaign many of our citizens in all walks of life and of all political and religious persuasions have expressed our feeling of repulsion and our anger. It is a matter with respect to which there is and can be no division of opinion amongst us.

As the hour of the final defeat of the Hitlerite forces draws closer, the fury of their insane desire to wipe out the Jewish race in Europe continues undiminished. This is but one example: Many christian groups also are being murdered. Knowing that they have lost the war, the Nazis are determined to complete their program of mass extermination. This program is but one manifestation of Hitler's aim to salvage from military defeat victory for Nazi principles—the very principles which this war must destroy unless we shall have fought in vain.

This Government has not only made clear its abhorrence of this inhuman and barbarous activity of the Nazis, but, in cooperation with other governments has endeavored to alleviate the condition of the persecuted peoples. In January of this year I determined that this Government should intensify its efforts to combat the Nazi terror. Accordingly, I established the War Refugee Board, composed of the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War. This Board was charged with the responsibility of taking all action consistent with the successful prosecution of the war to rescue the victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of death and to afford such victims all other possible relief and assistance. It was entrusted with the solemn duty of translating this Government's humanitarian policy into prompt action, thus manifesting once again in a concrete way that our kind of world and not Hitler's will prevail. Its purpose is directly and closely related to our whole war effort.

Since its establishment, the War Refugee Board, acting through a full time administrative staff, has made a direct and forceful attack on the problem. Operating quietly, as is appropriate, the Board, through its representatives in various parts of the world, has actually succeeded in saving the lives of innocent people. Not only have refugees been evacuated from enemy territory,

but many measures have been taken to protect the lives of those who have not been able to escape.

Above all, the efforts of the Board have brought new hope to the oppressed peoples of Europe. This statement is not idle speculation. From various sources, I have received word that thousands of people, wearied by their years of resistance to Hitler and by their sufferings to the point of giving up the struggle, have been given the will and desire to continue by the concrete manifestation of this Government's desire to do all possible to aid and rescue the oppressed.

To the Hitlerites, their subordinates and functionaries and satellites, to the German people and to all other peoples under the Nazi yoke, we have made clear our determination to punish all participants in these acts of savagery. In the name of humanity we have called upon them to spare the lives of these innocent people.

Notwithstanding this Government's unremitting efforts, which are continuing, the numbers actually rescued from the jaws of death have been small compared with the numbers still facing extinction in German territory. This is due principally to the fact that our enemies, despite all our appeals and our willingness to find havens of refuge for the oppressed peoples, persist in their fiendish extermination campaign and actively prevent the intended victims from escaping to safety.

In the face of this attitude of our enemies we must not fail to take full advantage of any opportunity, however limited, for the rescue of Hitler's victims. We are confronted with a most urgent situation.

Therefore, I wish to report to you today concerning a step which I have just taken in an effort to save additional lives and which I am certain will meet with your approval. You will, I am sure, appreciate that this measure is not only consistent with the successful prosecution of the war, but that it was essential to take action without delay.

Even before the Allied landing in Italy there had been a substantial movement of persecuted peoples of various races and nationalities into that country. This movement was undoubtedly prompted by the fact that, despite all attempts by the Fascists to stir up intolerance, the warm-hearted Italian people could not forsake their centuries-old tradition of tolerance and humanitarianism. The Allied landings swelled this stream of fleeing and hunted peoples seeking sanc-

tuary behind the guns of the United Nations. However, in view of the military situation in Italy, the number of refugees who can be accommodated there is relatively limited. The Allied military forces, in view of their primary responsibility, have not been able generally speaking to encourage the escape of refugees from enemy territory. This unfortunate situation has prevented the escape of the largest possible number of refugees. Furthermore, as the number of refugees living in southern Italy increases, their care constitutes an additional and substantial burden for the military authorities.

Recently the facilities for the care of refugees in southern Italy have become so overtaxed that unless many refugees who have already escaped to that area and are arriving daily, particularly from the Balkan countries, can be promptly removed to havens of refuge elsewhere, the escape of refugees to that area from German-occupied territory will be seriously impeded. It was apparent that prompt action was necessary to meet this situation. Many of the refugees in southern Italy have been and are being moved to temporary refuges in the territory of other United and friendly nations. However, in view of the number of refugees still in southern Italy, the problem could not be solved unless temporary havens of refuge were found for some of them in still other areas. In view of this most urgent situation it seemed indispensable that the United States in keeping with our heritage and our ideals of liberty and justice take immediate steps to share the responsibility for meeting the problem.

Accordingly, arrangements have been made to bring immediately to this country approximately 1,000 refugees who have fled from their homelands to southern Italy. Upon the termination of the war they will be sent back to their homelands. These refugees are predominantly women and children. They will be placed on their arrival in a vacated Army camp on the Atlantic Coast where they will remain under appropriate security restrictions.

The Army will take the necessary security precautions and the camp will be administered by the War Relocation Authority. The War Refugee Board is charged with over-all responsibility for this project.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 12, 1944.

General

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Address by Assistant Secretary Shaw¹

[Released to the press June 14]

At the outset I am going to make an assumption which I know is a safe one, namely that you are not concerned with the conception, which happily is ever more narrowly held, that women as such constitute something in the nature of a national minority for which representation should be secured on all Governmental projects. It may once have been tactically expedient to promote that somewhat restricted view in the process of obtaining general recognition of the simple fact that the women of this country are likewise members of the body politic. But that fact is certainly now beyond dispute.

Today we in the Government who are engaged in the selection of individuals for the performance of the multitude of tasks which confront us both here and abroad are concerned only with the competence of the potential Government servant or representative. Nevertheless to those of you who recall that June day 25 years ago when what became the 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States received the approval of the Congress, there must indeed be a source of satisfaction in the knowledge that today the women of the nation are playing an active, a vital, and an indispensable role in every line of American endeavor from assembly line to the President's Cabinet. And those women are there, not because they are women but because they have what it takes.

This afternoon I would like to speak briefly about the role of women in the conduct of our international relations, which as you know is the province of the State Department. In so doing I risk being charged with trying to divide into meaningless categories the people who serve their country in the international field. It might perhaps fairly be said that it would be almost as meaningful for me to devote a discussion to the work in this field of all persons who bear the name of Smith. Yet because of the history of the emancipation of women, perhaps such a segregation is not totally lacking in significance to this gathering.

As you know, our foreign relations are conducted through the complementary channels of a home office—the Department of State—and a field staff—the Foreign Service of the United States. I am going to speak first about the home office—the Department of State.

Of the persons engaged in *administrative* and *professional* work in the Department, more than 300, or over one third, are women. This figure does not, of course, include the many highly valued women who are employed in the essentially important field of secretarial and stenographic work. In the administrative and professional classifications, to which I just referred, women are receiving base salaries of from \$2000 to \$8000 per year. While war conditions are in part responsible for the increased ratio of participation by women in Government affairs, those war conditions are *not* responsible for the professional and technical competency which is being outstandingly demonstrated by the women who have recently joined the State Department. I think some of you who have participated in the past in Government activities can take at least partial credit for the high quality of the work now being performed by women in the various activities of the Department. For, with the example before them of your own successful contributions to the operations of the Government, young women in their college days have in recent years prepared themselves with more assurance that suitable outlets for their talents will be found.

I think these women who are working with us are happy in the knowledge that they are more than carrying their share of the burden and that they are regarded by their fellow workers not as stopgap or makeshift employees—necessary evils “for the duration”—but as full-fledged and expert technicians capable of doing the best possible job. It was interesting to me to hear the comments of a competent research worker—a woman

¹Delivered at the Conference On How Women May Share in Post-War Policy-Making, Washington, June 14.

known to many of you here—who recently joined the staff of the Department. Said she, “I have been impressed by the attitude *or rather lack of attitude* toward women in the Department.” I thought that that was a very apt way of saying that the presence of women as officers of the Department has now become commonplace.

So far as concerns the Foreign Service of the United States—I am speaking now of the regular Foreign Service or the “career service” as it is sometimes called—I will state quite frankly that the situation at least in the past has been different. These people serve abroad in many lands and under extremely varied circumstances. It is no reflection on our friendly neighbors in other parts of the world, but rather a manifestation of pride in our own standards, to say that the position which women hold in the United States is not always understood by the peoples of some of the other countries of this world. Moreover, the living conditions—not merely the physical surroundings but the sociological settings—differ in many foreign posts to a very large degree from those found in our own country. I personally believe that time will bring a change in this situation and that in the future there will be more opportunity for women in our Foreign Service. However, in spite of these factors and in spite of the fact that Foreign Service officers must be selected on the basis of their being able to serve anywhere in the world at any time, there are now included in our regular Foreign Service seven women as Foreign Service officers. Five others have at one time or another been members of the regular Service but have either resigned or retired. In addition, as you know, two women have served as Chiefs of Missions: Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde as Minister to Denmark and Mrs. Florence Jaffray Harriman as Minister to Norway.

During the war the regular Foreign Service has been supplemented by an Auxiliary Foreign Service made up of people sent abroad to serve in special capacities connected with this emergency period. Twelve women are officers in this auxiliary service. It may be expected that the complexity which characterizes our present-day foreign relations will, even at the conclusion of the present emergency, require us more and more to attach to our embassies and legations abroad spe-

cialists on temporary assignments in fields in which women have shown themselves outstandingly qualified, such as labor relations, welfare work, cultural relations, economic relations, and so on.

So much for the Department of State and the Foreign Service of the United States. There is, of course, another area of international activity in which women have taken and will continue to take an active part, namely those international conversations, conferences, and commissions in which this Government participates through American delegations. The speakers this morning dwelt at some length upon the role which women have played in these special assignments. By way of summary, the following constitute a list of recent international gatherings at which women have been members of the American delegations:

The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May and June 1943

The first Council Meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City in November 1943

The Meeting of the International Labor Organization at Philadelphia in April 1944

The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education at London in April and May 1944

As the war approaches the final decision we can, of course, expect that numerous other occasions will arise for consultations between representatives of the United Nations on international problems of mutual concern. Many of these problems will be of a highly technical character. It is inevitable that those selected to represent this Government in such consultations or deliberations will, as in the past, continue to be chosen on the basis of their technical qualifications. The record of participation by women in the conferences and meetings which I have just listed clearly demonstrates, if there ever was a doubt, that the desired technical qualifications are to be found among women as well as men. From this it may be concluded that women will continue to find themselves taking part in future meetings of this character. And, of course, the same must be true of those international consultations and conferences which will follow the termination of hostilities.

In the selection of those persons who will make

up the American representation in these *ad hoc* international consultations, it is obviously desirable that full information be available as to potential selectees, particularly with respect to their professional or technical qualifications. This information is not always at hand in the files of the State Department or of other Government departments. In this connection I may say that we in the State Department are aware of the fact that groups of private citizens are capable of rendering valued assistance by assembling data as to technically

qualified persons—and I emphasize the element of qualification—who might constitute something in the nature of an informal panel from which appropriate selections can be made at opportune times.

In summary, whether it be to serve in the State Department, in our Foreign Service, or on special commissions, we are looking for the best in the land. I can assure you that those who possess preeminently the requisite qualifications will be chosen, whether they be men or women.

Iceland

INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ICELAND

Messages of President Roosevelt to the President of Iceland and of the Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

[Released to the press June 17]

The following messages were sent by President Roosevelt to His Excellency Sveinn Bjornsson, President of the Republic of Iceland, and by Secretary of State Cordell Hull to His Excellency Vilhjalmur Thor, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iceland:

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the

Republic of Iceland and my best wishes and those of the people of the United States for the continued prosperity of the Icelandic nation.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

On this historic occasion in Icelandic history please accept my sincere felicitations on the establishment of the Republic of Iceland.

CORDELL HULL

Address by the Honorable Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr.¹

[Released to the press June 17]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I consider it both a great pleasure and a signal honor to address you, Mr. President, as the Special Representative of the President of the United States on this unique and world-important occasion—the inauguration of the first President of the Republic of Iceland, to whom I am happy to bring the very cordial personal greetings and the congratulations of President Roosevelt. I also have the honor to welcome the Republic of Iceland as the newest republic in the family of free nations. The pleasure which I feel is derived from the warmth of friendship existing here, and the honor I sense results from the high standards and ideals of patriotism, democracy, and goodwill for which the Icelandic nation stands.

It is indeed at a great moment that I bring you this message. In that strange mutation of events shaping the heroic history of Iceland it is again a terrible world war that has given impetus to the intense desire of the people of Iceland for independence. The countries from which most of your ancestors came and with which you have been so closely associated in the past are at present under the heel of the oppressor, who confesses and openly preaches the unchristian doctrines which you, in common with the other peoples in the North, have combated these 900

¹Delivered at the inauguration of the President of Iceland on June 17, 1944. Mr. Dreyfus is Special Representative of the President with the personal rank of Ambassador.

years. But it is not the physical severance of the cultural and political ties with the peoples of Denmark and Norway which has prompted you to reaffirm, once and for all, your national independence. It is rather the culmination of a centuries-old desire for complete sovereignty. Your country was established by an adventurous people who moved westward to seek a maximum freedom and independence. Today their goals have finally been achieved. It is not strange that hundreds of years later the movement of other peoples cherishing the same desires also was toward the West.

More than a thousand years ago a government was established at Thingvellir, this very spot where we meet today, which provided for a parliament with legislative and judicial functions. The Althing, the world's oldest parliament, is universally recognized as Iceland's greatest contribution to the development of representative political institutions. The flame kindled here has spread to all lands where free men assemble. Mankind will never forget this debt it owes to Iceland.

Here the history of Iceland unfolds itself. In my mind's eye I see heroic figures marching across the scene of passing centuries from Njal of Bjergthorshval, Thorvald Kodransson the Far Traveler, who espoused Christianity and preached it at the Althing in 984, to Jon Sigurdsson, to whom we have this morning paid worthy tribute. Jon Sigurdsson saw clearly how the desire for national independence ran like a golden thread through Iceland's history. When the Danish Government proposed to apply Denmark's constitution of June 5, 1849 to Iceland, thereby including it as an integral part of the kingdom, he voiced the protest of his countrymen in asserting that Iceland would not accept provincial autonomy but demanded a constitution of its own as a sovereign state in a confederate union with Denmark. He lived to see the constitution of 1874 which, despite its defects, represented a step in the direction of the aspirations of the Icelandic people and which led to the emergence of Iceland as a sovereign state with its own flag in 1918.

Today the United States and Iceland are associated to preserve that freedom so dear to both of

us which insures to every man the inalienable rights with which we were endowed by God. In this instance, the cooperation is the direct result of the responsibility assumed on July 7, 1941 by the Government of the United States at the request of the Icelandic Government. To my mind this step of paramount significance may be considered to be the cornerstone of a close relationship between our two free independent nations. It has brought our countries together and has enabled citizens of the United States—who are essentially democratic and believers in individual liberty, effective electoral suffrage, and administrative honesty—to work side by side in a cordial collaboration with their Icelandic brothers, who cherish the same ideals and beliefs.

It is my earnest hope that after the termination of the war there will be a further development of the cultural and commercial relations now existing between our two countries. This will be one of my principal interests, as I am fully persuaded that an intimate association of this nature will redound to the benefit of both our nations and will further the establishment and maintenance of a just and lasting peace throughout the world. Those sons of Iceland who migrated to the United States have contributed no little to its development and, in turn, because of a similarity of ideals and customs, fitted themselves with a minimum of effort into the cultural system of their adopted country. The ties of friendship established by Americans in Iceland and the number of Icelandic students who have gone to my country in pursuit of learning will contribute further to strengthen the cordial relationships which have always existed between our peoples and which, I am convinced, will continue to exist in the future.

You, Mr. President, and you, the people of Iceland, stand on the threshold of a new era that will bring you new problems. May there be granted to you the same determination, the same courage, and the same virtues as were shown by the first Scandinavians who made landfall on your shores, who sailed a turbulent sea in open boats without compass, and who depended on the stars in heaven and their own stout hearts to reach their goal. With the same courage and devotion as they displayed, you will be facing a high destiny.

THE ICELANDIC INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

By *William C. Trimble*¹

The Icelandic independence movement is considered to have started in the nineteenth century. It was partially recognized by Denmark in the revival of the Althing² in 1843 and in the grant of substantial home rule in 1903. The Danish law of November 30, 1918, effective December 1, 1918, providing for the union of Denmark and Iceland, was itself a further concession by Denmark to the growing demands for national independence. The pertinent sections of this agreement, which is usually referred to as the "Act of Union", are quoted below:³

Part I, article 1

"Denmark and Iceland shall be free and Sovereign States united under a common King, and by the agreement contained in this Law of Union; the names of both States shall be indicated in the King's title."

Part III, article 7

"Denmark shall attend on Iceland's behalf to its foreign affairs . . ."

Part III, article 8

"Denmark will, until such time as Iceland may decide to take over at its own expense either wholly or in part the inspection of fishing in Icelandic waters, undertake to carry out such under the Danish flag."

Part VI, article 18

"On the expiration of the year 1940, both the Rigsdag and the Althing may at any time demand the commencement of negotiations for a revision of the Law.

"If on the expiration of three years after the handing in of a petition for the commencement of negotiations, these do not lead to a renewed agreement, both the Danish Rigsdag and the Icelandic Althing may resolve that the agreements contained in this Law shall be annulled.

"In order that this decision shall be binding, at least two-thirds of the members of each House of the Rigsdag and of the United Assembly [Althing] must have voted in its favor, and it must subsequently be confirmed by voting on the part of electors, who possess the franchise at the usual general elections.

"If it is shown by such voting that at least three-fourths of the electors participated at the election, and that at least three-fourths of the voters are for abolition of the Law, the agreement shall cease to exist."

Part VII, article 20

"This Law of Union comes into force on the 1st December, 1918. To which all must conform.

"Given at Amalienborg, November 30, 1918 under the Royal Hand and Seal.

(LS) CHRISTIAN R"

At the time of its passage, the Act of Union was apparently considered by many Icelanders to be merely a temporary arrangement pending the achievement of complete independence, and this opinion has continued to be held, being reiterated in an Althing resolution of April 15, 1937, which stated, in translation, that:⁴

"The Althing resolves to instruct the Government to prepare immediately, in cooperation with the Foreign Affairs Committee, the procedure for handling foreign affairs, at home and abroad, which will prove most suitable when the Icelanders take advantage of the abrogation clause of the Act of Union, and take the whole handling of their own affairs into their own hands . . ."

The occupation of Denmark by Germany on April 9, 1940 prevented the King from executing his constitutional powers,⁵ and made it impossible for Denmark to handle Iceland's foreign relations and to protect its fisheries. Accordingly, on April

¹ The author of this article is an officer in the Division of Northern European Affairs, Department of State.

² Icelandic Parliament.

³ Translation as in *British and Foreign State Papers, 1917-1918*, vol. CXI (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921).

⁴ Text of resolution transmitted to the American Legation at Reykjavik by the Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

⁵ Constitution of the Kingdom of Iceland dated May 18, 1920.

10, 1940, the Icelandic Cabinet introduced into the Icelandic Althing the following two resolutions, both of which were passed by unanimous vote:¹

"1. Having regard to the fact that the situation which has been created makes it impossible for His Majesty the King of Iceland to execute the Royal Power given to him under the Constitutional Act, the Icelandic Parliament declares that the Cabinet of Iceland is, for the time being, intrusted with the conduct of the said power.

"2. Having regard to the situation now created, Denmark is not in a position to execute the authority to take charge of the Foreign Affairs of Iceland, granted to it under the provisions of Article 7 of the Danish Icelandic Act of Union, nor can it carry out the fishery inspection within Icelandic territorial waters in accordance with Article 8 of the same Act. Therefore, the Icelandic Althing declares that Iceland will, for the time being, take entire charge of the said affairs."

A press release summarizing the above resolutions was issued by the Danish Legation in Washington on April 10, 1940.

Iceland's ability to "take charge of" its foreign affairs has been recognized by the United States and other governments, as is indicated by the accrediting of Ministers thereto and the negotiation of agreements such as the Defense of Iceland Agreement of July 1, 1941² and the Reciprocal Trade Agreement of August 27, 1943.³ Furthermore, Iceland already possessed some experience in handling foreign affairs, an Icelandic Legation having been maintained at Copenhagen for a number of years and, more recently, Icelandic attachés having been attached to Danish legations in certain foreign countries.

On May 17, 1941 both Houses of the Althing made the following announcement with respect to Iceland's independence:⁴

"As a result of the German occupation of Den-

mark the Icelandic Parliament on April 10, 1940 passed two resolutions concerning: first, the execution of the Supreme Power; and, second, the conduct of foreign affairs, as well as the execution of fishery inspection within the territorial waters of Iceland.

"In these resolutions it was stated that, in view of the situation which had been created, it was impossible for His Majesty the King of Iceland to execute the Royal Power given to him under the Constitutional Act, and that therefore the Icelandic Parliament had entrusted the Icelandic cabinet, for the time being with the conduct of the said power.

"As a consequence of the second resolution, which affirmed that Denmark was not in a position to execute the authority to take charge of the foreign affairs of Iceland, nor to carry out the fishery inspection within the territorial waters of Iceland in conformity with the provisions of the Act of Union of 1918, the Althing declared that Iceland, for the time being, would take complete charge of the said affairs.

"Since more than a year has elapsed with the situation unchanged as concerns the incapacity of His Majesty the King to execute the Royal Power, and of Denmark to perform the functions entrusted to it by Iceland, the situation required that a more precise attitude should be taken in respect of relations with Denmark, so that, on the 17th of this month, the Althing passed unanimous resolutions on the subject of the Act of Union with Denmark as well as the constitutional aims of the Althing as the representatives of the Icelandic people. These resolutions were as follows:

"1. The Althing resolves to declare that Iceland has acquired the right to abolish entirely the Act of Union with Denmark, since Iceland has had to take into its own hands the conduct of all of its affairs, and since Denmark is not in a position to attend to the matters on behalf of

¹ *Utannrikismalataðuncytilid*, Reykjavik. Translation prepared by the American Consulate at Reykjavik.

² Executive Agreement Series 232.

³ Executive Agreement Series 342.

⁴ Translation prepared by the American Consulate at Reykjavik.

Iceland which were agreed to under the Danish-Icelandic Act of Union of 1918. On the part of Iceland there shall be no question of renewing the Act of Union with Denmark, although it is not thought expedient in the present circumstances to effect the formal abolition of the union, nor to establish the final constitution of the state, but these will not be postponed beyond the end of the war.

"2. The Althing has resolved to appoint a regent, for a period of one year,¹ to wield Supreme Power in matters of state which were placed in the hands of the cabinet on April 10, 1940.

"3. The Althing decides to announce its will that a republic be established in Iceland as soon as the union with Denmark has been formally dissolved."

The first and third resolutions were passed by unanimous vote and the second by a vote of 38 to 3. Accordingly, they may be considered to have represented the practical unanimity of feeling of Icelanders on the subject of relations with Denmark.

Immediately following the passage of the resolutions, the Icelandic Government instructed its Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen to bring them to the notice of the King and the Danish Government. This was done in a formal note dated May 20, 1941. In this connection it will be recalled that in accordance with the provisions of part VI, article 18, of the Act of Union Iceland now possessed the right to demand a revision of this agreement. In reply the Danish Prime Minister on May 31, 1941 wrote the following note to the Icelandic Chargé d'Affaires:²

SIR:

I hereby have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the message which you submitted to me on May 20, 1941, in accordance with the instructions of your Government, relative to two resolutions adopted by the Icelandic Althing concerning the dissolution of the Personal Union existing between

¹ Term of office subsequently extended.

² Translation of item in Copenhagen *Politiken*, June 6, 1941.

Denmark and Iceland and to request you kindly to communicate the following facts to the Government of Iceland:

The Danish Government fully appreciates the difficulties called for by the existing circumstances which may have led to the adoption of these Resolutions, but finds it regrettable that the Althing has found itself called upon to indicate at this moment its views with respect to the interstate relations existing between the two countries.

The Danish Government, which has observed with satisfaction the statement to the effect that Iceland does not regard it as opportune at present to take steps to dissolve the Union, has taken cognizance of this fact and regards it as an indication that the Icelandic Government intends at the conclusion of this war to institute negotiations to this end. In this connection the Danish Government declares that as soon as conditions permit, it will be prepared on its part to enter into negotiations upon the basis of the provisions of the Treaty of Union, and to give due consideration to the wishes of the Icelandic people.

TH. STAUNING

A further step toward independence was taken on September 7, 1942, when the following addition to the 75th article of the Constitution of May 18, 1920 was passed by the Althing:³

"1. When the Parliament shall adopt the change in the Icelandic constitutional organization which is outlined in its resolution of May 17, 1941, this amendment as passed by the Parliament shall have the effect as fundamental law when the majority of all eligible voters in the country shall have approved it by secret popular vote.

"2. This law is effective at once."

A committee of the Althing was appointed on May 22, 1942 to draft the aforementioned new constitution of Iceland. Its draft was submitted to the Althing in the form of a bill in April 1943. The proposed constitution differed from that of May 18, 1920 only in that it provided for the estab-

³ Translation of item in Reykjavik *Althydubladid*, Sept. 8, 1942.

lishment of a republic instead of a kingdom, for the election of a President to replace the King, and for the changes necessary as a consequence of the severance of the union with Denmark.

Since the three-year period following the delivery of the notice of intention by Iceland to terminate the Act of Union would not expire before May 20, 1944, the third anniversary of the date on which the Icelandic Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen delivered his note on this subject to the Danish Government, the Icelandic Government decided that immediate action on the proposed constitution and the final abrogation of the Act of Union was not necessary. The delay in acting on the proposed constitution did not mean that sentiment respecting the independence of Iceland had undergone any change. This is indicated in the following excerpts from a statement made by the Prime Minister of Iceland before a joint session of the Althing on November 1, 1943:¹

"It is to be expected that final decisions about the establishment of a Republic in Iceland and about the constitution of the Supreme Power of the country will soon be taken in the Althing."

"The present government will, therefore, carry out the decisions of the Althing about the establishment of a Republic in Iceland, whenever such decisions may be made and to the best of their ability when called upon to do so."

Further indication of the views of the Icelandic people with respect to the severance of the ties with Denmark was given in an announcement made on November 30, 1943 by spokesmen of the Conservative, Progressive, and Communist Parties, which control 45 of the 52 votes in the Althing, to the effect that the three parties had united in demanding a breach of ties with Denmark "early in 1944" and the establishment of a republic before June 17, 1944.²

In accordance with constitutional procedure, the proposed constitution was reintroduced on January 12, 1944 to the session of the Althing which had opened on January 10, 1944. Together

with it there was presented a brief resolution providing for the abrogation of the 1918 Act of Union with Denmark and the retention by Danish subjects resident in Iceland of equal rights with Icelanders.

The Constitution Bill was passed by unanimous vote of the Althing on March 8, 1944, in substantially the same form as introduced, the principal modification being that the first President of the republic should be elected by the Althing for a term which would expire on July 31, 1945 and that each subsequent President should be elected by direct vote of the people for a four-year term.

The proposed resolution on the abrogation of the Act of Union was referred to the Joint Committee of the Althing on the Constitution and Abrogation which, after making certain changes, reported it out in the following form:³

"The Althing resolves to proclaim that the Act of Union between Iceland and Denmark is abrogated.

"This resolution shall be placed before the electorate of the country for acceptance or rejection by secret ballot. If the resolution is approved, it shall become effective when it has again been passed by the Althing following the plebiscite."

The resolution was passed in this form by unanimous vote of the Althing on February 25, 1944.

As may be noted, that section of the draft resolution of January 10, 1944 regarding the retention by Danish subjects residing in Iceland of equal rights with Icelanders was omitted from the text of the measure as passed by the Althing. Instead, a bill was introduced which became law on March 2, 1944, providing that such rights should be enjoyed by Danish residents until six months after the initiation of negotiations on this subject between Iceland and Denmark.

In accordance with the terms of article 18 of the Act of Union, a plebiscite was held on May 20-23, 1944 to vote on the resolution of February 25 on the abrogation of the Act of Union and the Constitution Bill of March 8. Slightly less than 98 percent of all registered voters took part. Ninety-seven percent of the votes cast were in favor of terminating the union with Denmark, while 95 percent approved the Constitution providing for

¹ Statement in translation prepared by the Icelandic Minister for Foreign Affairs, transmitted to the American Legation at Reykjavik.

² Summary of statement transmitted to the Department of State by the American Legation at Reykjavik.

³ Translation prepared by the American Legation at Reykjavik.

the establishment of a republic. The Althing ratified the action of the people on these two proposals by unanimous vote on June 16, 1944.

The Republic of Iceland formally came into being on June 17, 1944, the 133d anniversary of the birth of Jon Sigurdsson, the Icelandic national hero. On the same day the first President of the Republic was elected by the Althing. President Roosevelt designated the American Minister to Iceland as his Special Representative with the personal rank of Ambassador for the inaugural ceremonies. Moreover, the Congress, in a concurrent resolution passed by unanimous vote of the House of Representatives on June 10, 1944 and by the Senate on June 15, 1944, conveyed its congratulations to the Althing on the establishment of the Republic in the following terms:

“WHEREAS the people of Iceland in a free plebiscite on May 20 to 23, 1944, overwhelmingly approved the constitutional bill passed by the Althing providing for the establishment of a republican form of government; and

“WHEREAS the Republic of Iceland will be formally established on June 17, 1944: Now, therefore, be it

“RESOLVED: That the Congress hereby expresses to the Icelandic Althing, the oldest parliamentary body in the world, its congratulations on the establishment of the Republic of Iceland and its welcome to the Republic of Iceland as the newest republic in the family of free nations.”

A message sent by the King of Denmark on the occasion of the June 17 ceremonies is referred to in the following press release issued by the Icelandic Foreign Office on that day: “At 17:15 o'clock, the Prime Minister went unexpectedly to the Speaker's table and said he has been informed that the Icelandic Government had received a message from King Christian X of Denmark expressing his best wishes for the Icelandic people and hoping the ties of friendship which exist between Iceland and other Scandinavian countries might grow still stronger. The people received this news with great applause.”¹

Although the ties with the Danish Crown have been severed and the form of the Government of Iceland changed, these acts do not imply that only

¹ Translation prepared by the American Legation at Reykjavik.

now has Iceland become a sovereign state. It has, in fact, enjoyed this status since December 1, 1918.² Evidence of recognition of this fact by the United States is found in the Treaty of Arbitration with Iceland signed May 15, 1930.³ Further evidence is found in paragraph 2 of the Defense of Iceland Agreement which provides:⁴

“United States further promise to recognize the absolute independence and sovereignty of Iceland and to exercise their best efforts with those powers which will negotiate the peace treaty at the conclusion of the present war in order that such treaty shall likewise recognize the absolute independence and sovereignty of Iceland.”

PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE BY THE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO ICELAND

[Released to the press June 15]

The remarks of the newly appointed Minister of the United States to Iceland, the Honorable Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr., on the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence to the Regent of Iceland on June 14, 1944, follow:

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to place in Your Excellency's hands the letters of recall of my predecessor, Mr. Leland Morris, and the letters which accredit me to you as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

It is a great distinction for me to have been designated by the President of the United States to fulfil this high mission on the eve of the establishment of the Republic of Iceland, an event which opens a new chapter in the history of Iceland.

Stimulated by the joint interests and the common benefits which it has created, a historic process of mutual *rapprochement* was initiated by the agreement effected July 1, 1941 between Iceland and the United States. This has served to place the relations between our countries on a footing of the greatest cordiality and confidence, drawing closer and closer the bonds of cooperation and friendship between them. The deep interest in this pact shown by the President of the United States serves

² See pt. I, art. 1, of the Act of Union, *supra*.

³ Treaty Series 828; *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements Between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1923-37*, vol. IV, p. 4074.

⁴ Executive Agreement Series 232.

as a great incentive for me to devote myself to the best of my ability to the task of contributing to the further development of the friendly and intimate relations which so happily exist between our countries. I hope that I may in my endeavor count upon the assistance and the cooperation of Your Excellency and the Icelandic Government.

President Roosevelt, with whom I conferred before my departure from the United States, charged me particularly to convey to Your Excellency his best wishes and those of the American people for the prosperity of Iceland and for your personal happiness, to which wishes I desire to add my own.

The reply of the Regent of Iceland follows:

MR. MINISTER: It is with great pleasure that I accept from your hands the letters by which His Excellency the President of the United States of America has accredited you as Envoy Extraordinary Plenipotentiary near the Government of Iceland. I am happy to receive you in that capacity. You may be assured of my willingness and that of the officials of the Government to cooperate with you in the execution of your important mission. In accepting at the same time the letters of recall of your predecessor, I want to express how much I, myself, and the Government appreciated his devoted work for strengthening the good understanding and the friendly relations between the Governments and peoples of our two countries. Mr. Morris has left many good friends in Iceland, and I am glad to tell you that I am one of them. It gives me an especially great pleasure that you have also arrived here as a special representative with rank of Ambassador of His Excellency the President of the United States of America for the purpose of representing him at the inauguration of the reestablishment of the Republic in Iceland. This extraordinary token of friendship which His Excellency the President has thus shown our country at this important event in our history has touched the heart of every Icelander and at the same time been invaluable to Iceland. Since July 7, 1941 the friendly intercourse and cordial relations between Icelanders and Americans have grown to a great extent. It is a special favor to me to be able to express to you the pleasure of our people with this expansion of mutual knowledge. We have learned

to appreciate the great American nation's understanding for our nation. This understanding has been expressed both by the authorities of the United States of America and their representatives in this country and by the United States armed forces which have been in this country according to an agreement for almost three years. I think I am not saying too much when I call this a great example, a fact which may be traced to the sincere American love for freedom which we Icelanders are proud to share with our great Western friends. I am deeply grateful for the special greetings you brought me from the President of the United States and the wishes expressed therein towards Iceland and myself. I beg you to express to His Excellency the President my heart-felt appreciation of his greetings and of all the various friendship he has shown the people of Iceland and myself both now and earlier. I should be most grateful if you would convey to His Excellency the President my cordial wishes for his health and happiness and for the good fortune and well-being of the people of the United States of America.

Far East

VISIT OF PRESIDENT OF AMOY UNIVERSITY TO THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press June 13]

President P. T. (Pen-tung) Sah has been appointed by the National University of Amoy as its representative in the United States for a year's visit at the invitation of the Department of State, according to information just received from China. President Sah is not only the administrative head of one of China's leading universities but is also a distinguished professor of physics, with a long record of teaching. Like the five other Chinese educators coming to this country under the same program, whose names were announced by the Department on June 7,¹ President Sah will visit American colleges and universities and will be glad to lecture or take part in conferences.

¹ BULLETIN of June 10, 1944, p. 537.

Europe

MINISTER OF FINLAND REQUESTED TO LEAVE THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press June 16]

The Minister of Finland, Mr. Hjalmar J. Procopé, and three counselors of the Finnish Legation, Mr. T. O. Vahervuori, Mr. Urho Toivola, and Mr. Risto Solanko, were handed their passports on June 16 and requested to leave the country at the earliest moment because of activities on their part inimical to the interests of the United States.

This action does not constitute a rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Finland.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE POLISH PRIME MINISTER

[Released to the press June 17]

Just before the departure of the Polish Prime Minister the President of the United States addressed the following letter to him:

MY DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I wish to take this opportunity, just before your departure, to wish you a safe return after your most welcome visit to Washington.

I particularly desire to express to you the pleasure I had in seeing you again, which enabled me to have most frank, sincere, and friendly exchanges of views with you on the many questions which are of mutual interest to us.

I need hardly tell you how much the American people admire the courage and fortitude of the Polish people, who for almost five years have borne with brave and stout hearts the cruel hardships of war and oppression. Their steadfast determination to be free again and the indomitable spirit of their fighting men constitute the best pledge that Poland shall reassume her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

The forces of liberation are on the march to certain victory and the establishment of a peace based upon the principles of freedom, democracy, mutual understanding, and security for all liberty-loving people.

Permit me to express again how much I appreciated the opportunity of renewing our acquaintance. I feel that such personal exchanges of views cannot but contribute to mutual understanding.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

The Prime Minister of Poland, prior to his departure, sent the following letter to the President:

MR. PRESIDENT,

I am deeply touched and most sincerely grateful for the great kindness and hospitality which I have received from you during my visit. May I thank you from the bottom of my heart for all the proofs of your kindness and for giving me so many opportunities of seeing you and of having frank talks with you on the vital subjects and problems which affect Poland and Europe now and after this war.

I should like to thank you not only for your most friendly and kind reception but especially for your deep and so broad approach to the problems of the future.

The ideals and principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the Four Freedoms of which you are the initiator are for us Poles in our hard fight for the speedy liberation of our country that encouragement and inspiration which we most need on our way of struggle, suffering and work.

The loss of individual freedom and of all that man possessed has strengthened in the Polish people their love, respect and yearning for that Freedom. The fate of the people shared by all social classes irrespective of their origin and religion has brought man closer to man in my country so strongly that it has cemented the foundations of Democracy and created the conditions necessary to mutual understanding and collaboration. This love of freedom increases the striving to make it secure when, after the final Victory, it will be necessary to build new foundations for nations and peace-loving peoples.

I leave greatly impressed by the conversations which I was privileged to have with you, by your views and your wide knowledge of human and national problems.

I would be very happy if the few modest suggestions which you gave me the opportunity of

contributing in our talks could even in the slightest way serve the common cause and be of some use to you, Mr. President, who are leading your nation in this great fight for the common cause together with your Allies, giving so much of yourself and carrying so great a responsibility as regards the fulfillment of the ideals with which you have inspired the hearts of the soldiers and fighters for freedom.

S. MIKOLAJCZYK

American Republics

PROPOSAL FOR RESCUE OF REFUGEES FROM GERMAN TERRITORY

[Released to the press June 17]

The Secretary of State sent the following telegram on June 17 to Dr. Alberto Guani, Chairman of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense in Montevideo, with respect to the endeavors being made to rescue refugees from German territory:

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Excellency's communication of May 31, transmitting to me a copy of the resolution adopted by the Committee on that date.

I note that this resolution proposes that the American Republics concert and intensify their efforts to rescue from German hands some thousands of oppressed minorities holding non-European documentation; that this be done by joint proposals to exchange German nationals from the American Republics for these persecuted groups; and that such exchanges can be achieved consistently with security considerations surrounding exchanges previously formulated by your Committee in the interests of hemispheric defense.

My Government will be most happy to participate actively in such an inter-American program. In company with some of its sister republics and other governments it has been giving intensive consideration to this problem. The direction and stimulus the Committee's resolution

provides for the development of a joint program of larger proportions is most welcome, and is in line with those great humanitarian concepts for which the American Republics stand.

I extend to you and your distinguished colleagues the assurances of my highest consideration.

CORDELL HULL

PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE BY THE AMBASSADOR OF COSTA RICA

[Released to the press June 15]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Costa Rica, Señor Don Francisco de Paula Gutiérrez upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, June 15, 1941, follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: The President of Costa Rica has been good enough to honor me with the representation of my country before your Government, and in accepting so arduous a task I have counted upon Your Excellency's benevolent friendship in order to be able to carry it out—a friendship which Your Excellency has ever manifested by lending us your efficacious help and valued cooperation for the purpose of settling the various problems which the difficult and abnormal world situation necessarily brings in its train.

I consider it one of the privileges of my life that I am permitted to represent my small country before the great and powerful brother of the north, in the most important epoch of history, when the destinies of humanity are being forged, in great part, by the orientation given them by the illustrious statesman who—to the good fortune of all—governs the United States of America.

The traditional friendship of our two countries and of their Governments, which has known no eclipse through their independent life, has been even more strengthened now that the two Nations battle together to preserve to man the right to live in accordance with the rules of justice, under theegis of law, and within the framework of democratic institutions.

Our contribution, Mr. President, is indeed modest, just as our resources are modest and our

population is small, but we have offered all we have and we give it with an inflexible determination to serve until the final victory be won. While I occupy the high position which has been entrusted to me I shall have no other aspiration than to follow that line of conduct, which is the one which Costa Rica has set for herself as one of the United Nations. When peace comes we shall maintain that same spirit of cooperation and solidarity in order to carry out to the end the plans the study of which has already begun and which have for their purpose the consolidation of the victory and the rendering impossible, in so far as that can be done, the scourge of a new world war.

I have the honor to present to Your Excellency the letters of recall of my distinguished predecessor, Señor Don Carlos Manuel Escalante, together with the credentials which accredit me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary before Your Excellency's enlightened Government.

In the name of the President of Costa Rica, of the Government and the people of Costa Rica, and in my own name, I express my very sincere good wishes for the prosperity and increasing greatness of the United States and for the happiness of the illustrious statesman who today directs its destinies.

The President's reply to the remarks of Señor Don Francisco de Paula Gutiérrez follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR: It is with great pleasure that I receive the letters accrediting Your Excellency as Ambassador of Costa Rica to the United States. You are welcome not only as the representative of an Ally in this great struggle—not alone for the distinguished career which you already have achieved—but also as one who has always striven to promote friendship between our respective countries. I am happy to assure you that you can count on the closest collaboration from the officials of this Government in carrying out the responsibilities of your office.

The United States well remembers when, immediately it had been stricken by the treacherous blow of an aggressor, Costa Rica was in the forefront of those nations which gallantly ranged

themselves on our side. Today the aggressor nations are reeling beneath our counterstrokes; although costly sacrifices must yet be made, we know the victory will be ours. Costa Rica has shown itself great in that which makes a nation great—a willingness to fight for fundamental principles. For this reason Costa Rica is one of the United Nations in this great battle for human dignity and freedom.

I shall be grateful if you will convey to President Picado, whose recent visit we remember so pleasantly, my cordial good wishes for his personal well-being and for the progress and prosperity of the Costa Rican people.

Treaty Information

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

El Salvador

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State by a letter of June 7, 1944 that the instrument of ratification by the Government of El Salvador of the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944, was deposited with the Pan American Union on May 31, 1944. The instrument of ratification is dated May 16, 1944.

REGULATION OF INTER-AMERICAN AUTOMOTIVE TRAFFIC

Brazil

The American Embassy at Rio de Janeiro transmitted to the Department, with a despatch of May 20, 1944, a copy of Decree Law 6481 of May 9, 1944 approving the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was deposited with the Pan American Union and opened for signature on December 15, 1943. The Decree Law is printed in the Brazilian *Diario Oficial* of May 11, 1944.

PROVISIONAL FUR-SEAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

The Canadian Ambassador at Washington transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note of June 12, 1944, copies of Order-in-Council P.C. 4112 of May 30, 1944 issued under authority of the Canadian War Measures Act applying and giving force of law, in so far as Canada is concerned, to the provisions of the Provisional Fur-Seal Agreement between the United States of America and Canada which was effected by exchange of notes signed in Washington on December 8 and 19, 1942. The Agreement entered into force on May 30, 1944, the date of issuance of the Canadian Order-in-Council, and is effective as from June 1, 1942, under the provisions of article X of the Agreement.

PROTOCOL ON PELAGIC WHALING

On June 16, 1944 the Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification of a protocol relating to pelagic whaling operations which was signed at London on February 7, 1944 by the accredited representatives of the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway.

The Department

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Designation 20, issued June 10, 1944, effective June 5, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Carl B. Spaeth as Chief of the Division of River Plate Affairs.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- Treaties in Force: A List of Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States in Force on December 31, 1941. Publication 2103. viii, 275 pp. 40¢.
- The Personnel Program of the Department of State: Principles and Policies. Publication 2129. 8 pp. 5¢.
- Diplomatic List, June 1944. Publication 2138. ii, 121 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

- "Sweden in 1943", by Grant Olson, Attaché, American Legation, Stockholm.
- "Electronics in Peru", based on a report by Frederick W. Hinke, American Embassy, Lima.

These two articles will be found in the June 17, 1944 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each.

Legislation

- Caring for Refugees in the United States: Message from the President of the United States notifying the Congress that arrangements have been made to care for approximately 1,000 refugees in the United States. H. Doc. 656, 78th Cong. 3 pp.
- Second Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1944: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d Sess., on the Second Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1944. [Department of State, pp. 174-190.] 445 pp.
- Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1944. H. Rept. 1660, 78th Cong., on H. R. 5040. [Department of State, pp. 11, 12, 15, 26.] 28 pp.
- Reconstruction Fund in Joint Account With Foreign Governments for Rehabilitation, Stabilization of Currencies,

and Reconstruction: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d Sess., on H.J. Res. 226, a joint resolution to provide for a central reconstruction fund to be used in joint account with foreign governments for rehabilitation, stabilization of currencies, and reconstruction, and for other purposes. 188 pp.

Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill, 1945: H. Rept. 1623, 78th Cong., on H. R. 4204. 1 p.

Certain Former Employees of the United States Court for China. H. Rept. 1670, 78th Cong., on H. R. 4080. 4 pp.

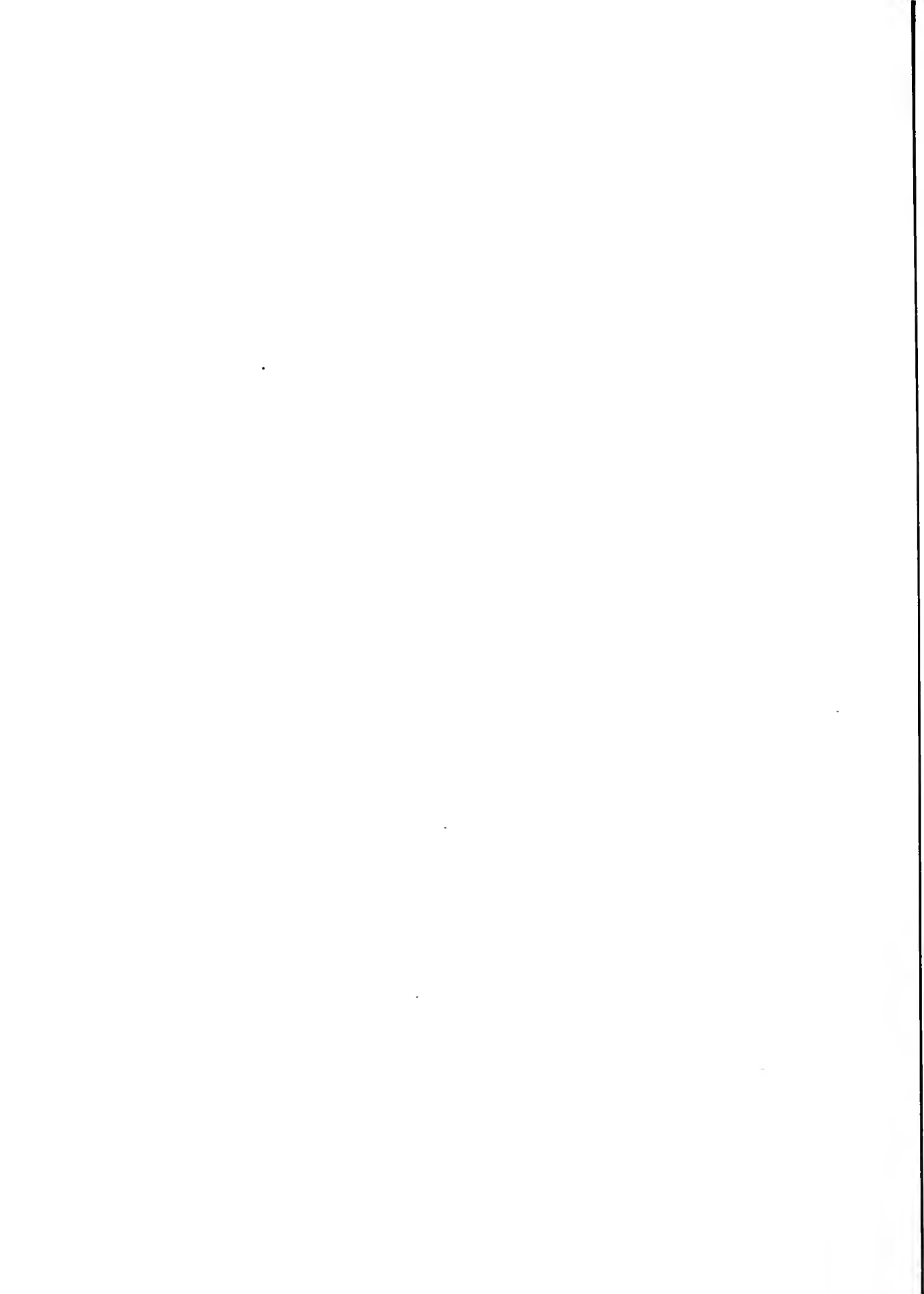
Removing Restrictions on Transfers of Small Craft to Other American Republics in Furtherance of the War Effort. H. Rept. 1675, 78th Cong., on H. R. 499. 4 pp.

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The War

ERROR OF STATEMENT BY BRITISH MINISTER OF PRODUCTION

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press June 20]

Unfortunately, the statement of the British Minister of Production is entirely in error as to the facts and fails to state the true attitude of the United States both during the earlier stages of military preparation for world conquest by Germany and Japan and during the later aggressions by those two countries.

This Government from the beginning to the end was actuated by the single policy of self-defense against the rapidly increasing danger to this Na-

tion. The aid given to Great Britain and other countries who were resisting conquest was, in the words of the Lend-Lease Act, "vital to the defense of the United States."

Japan for years had notoriously pursued a program of the widest conquest. In 1931 she seized Manchuria; in 1937 she invaded China; in 1940 she entered Indochina; and finally in 1941 she launched the unprovoked attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor.

APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL O'DWYER TO THE ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION FOR ITALY

[Released to the press June 23]

The President has appointed Col. William O'Dwyer to be the ranking American official of the Economic Section of the Allied Control Commission for Italy with the title of Vice President. He will have the personal rank of Minister. In this capacity Colonel O'Dwyer will represent the Department of State and the Foreign Economic Administration. Colonel O'Dwyer will succeed Mr. Henry F. Grady.

Colonel O'Dwyer was commissioned June 1, 1942 as a major and since August 1942 has served with the Army Air Forces in Washington and at Wright Field, Ohio.

The Allied Control Commission for Italy is a combined Allied body, staffed by both military and civilian personnel, operating under the presidency of the Allied theater commander, Gen. Sir Henry M. Wilson. Its Deputy President is Lieutenant General Mason-Macfarlane of the British Army. The Allied Control Commission for Italy was established to supervise the execution of the terms of the armistice and acts in an advisory capacity with the Italian Government on matters of military, economic, and civilian administration.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAZI ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION

[Released to the press June 22]

At his press and radio news conference on June 22 the Secretary of State said:

"Again we mark the anniversary of the brutal Nazi assault upon the Soviet Union. The tremendous accomplishments achieved by the Soviet armies during a series of brilliant offensive cam-

paigns during the past year have forced the Nazis to disgorge the bulk of their momentary conquests in the Soviet Union. No one can doubt that the Soviet forces will continue their brilliant offensive record in the forthcoming decisive battles for the liberation of Europe."

General

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

[Released to the press June 21]

GENTLEMEN: Any meeting of the Foreign Press Association is an event of importance. This is particularly true when it meets to welcome as distinguished a guest of honor as Sir Keith Murdoch, who is famous not only in Australia but throughout the entire Western Pacific area. This is a part of the world about which we are learning in two ways: the hard way, as we fight over great parts of it, island by island; and the friendly way, as we grow in acquaintance with our Allies, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Netherlands.

On the hard side, our comradeship has become blood brotherhood as Australians, New Zealanders, Netherlanders, and Americans work together, fight together, die together, and win together against a bitter foe of everything we hold dear. But with this has come the happiness of friendly competition as intercourse grows and as friendly visits ripen into lasting neighborship.

In the unending process of international life, the foreign press and the foreign correspondents have come to play a decisive part. They have a direct function in the regular day's work of foreign affairs, and an even greater significance in the growth of world institutions. The exchange of foreign news, foreign correspondence, is now the raw material of world opinion. On that opinion the relations between countries must finally rest.

Four great countries, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, committed themselves at Moscow to work out as soon as practicable a world organization for the purpose of assuring continued peace when the present battles are done. It is not too much to say that freedom of information is a major necessity if world organization is to succeed. With freedom of information there is possibility of understanding between peoples. Without it the way is always open to build up misunderstanding, suspicion, fear, and finally, hatred. Often a knowledge of

the facts ends the suspicion; a square look at the situation allays fear; and, except in rare cases, few people hate where they are fully informed.

Propaganda which is misrepresentation, and plain lies, of course, may start under a system of free information; but they are not apt to last very long. Where there is free access to the news and freedom to transmit it the truth does eventually emerge. In many cases the public wants to know the facts, and keeps on wanting to know the facts; and for that reason it ultimately does get the facts. Over the long pull it generally reaches judgments that are sound and just. But this cannot be done if there is not the widest access to the news, and the widest facility for assuring that the news can be transmitted.

In wartime there are, of course, obvious exceptions which are known and recognized by all reasonable people. But in peacetime the greatest safeguard in foreign relations is the gathering and publishing of news and views, and the interchange of these among peoples.

It is not amiss to pay tribute here to the men who make a profession of foreign correspondence. They are the advance guard in international relations. Their profession, their work, takes courage and high professional training. Among their ranks are heroes: the men who have moved out in the big pushes; who have lived and have died in the front lines; who have kept the world informed from foxholes, under shell fire, in the captured cities among the land mines and booby traps; who have told the stories of air raids from the bays of the Flying Fortresses; and who have given us the laughter and the grief of the field forces. These men we honor; probably even now we do not realize how deeply we are in their debt.

But let us also pay tribute to a different kind of courage and devotion, less often recognized but

¹Delivered before the Foreign Press Association, New York, N.Y., June 21, 1944.

no less important in the great scheme of democratic life. These are the men and the organizations behind them who steadfastly insist on writing and reporting the truth as they see it from day to day, even when the truth they have to utter is not pleasant to their readers. It is true that public opinion wants the facts and at long last generally gets them; but it also is true that people like to be told what they want to hear. If the facts are not pleasant, if the truth does not go along with the current desire, there is great temptation, and sometimes danger, in hewing to the line and telling the unslanted story. All of us have known foreign correspondents who have had chances to lead an easier life by tipping the scales in favor of a popular passion. Sometimes, by putting a slight twist on their stories they could please powerful groups in the country in which they were working. Sometimes, by not looking too closely at the origin of a story, they could score a temporary success. Sometimes, by omitting important facts, they could secure the political gratitude of important people. There are men known to most of you who have met these situations, sometimes at the greatest of risk to themselves—the heroes of the struggle for information on which world relationships and world safety finally rest.

A group of such men stayed in Berlin and Tokyo until war finally blacked out those Axis capitals. In the face of pressure and threats and bribery and influence of all kinds, they tried to the end to tell the world the real nature of the Nazi plans, to warn their countries of the coming attack. Such foreknowledge as world opinion had of the criminal intentions of the Nazi and Japanese rulers came principally from these men. This is but one of many instances which could be given.

At present, foreign correspondence and the exchange of views between nations is the first line of defense of any country against hostile propaganda. Without it public opinion would be in danger of being led like sheep by alien propaganda machines. Our enemies know this and paid tribute to the strength and influence of foreign correspondence by the efforts they made to control and corrupt it. They appreciated that an earnest and able reporter is a powerful figure; and the history of propaganda in this war is filled with efforts by

enemy services to secure a foothold in our countries by way of foreign news. Happily, the record shows that few men in this great profession were victims of these attempts.

The growing power of the profession of transmitting foreign news carries with it corresponding responsibility. Where institutions come to be trusted as they have in the United States, they must also accept the duties that arise from that trust.

In some quarters the doctrine has grown up that it is legitimate for the fact-gathering reporter also to represent a point of view, and to direct his fact-gathering and his comment according to that point of view. Clearly, any informed man has a right to a point of view and, indeed, will almost inevitably have one. But the facts are neither liberal nor conservative, neither radical nor reactionary. They are what they are. It used to be one of the standing complaints against certain sections of the European press before this war that one could never read the news, but only a disguised editorial about the news. Today I think most correspondents and news services recognize the obligation to separate clearly their account of the facts from their views about them, so that the reader or radio listener will always know what happened, rather than the opinion of the reporter or newspaper or press association about what happened.

Even greater is the obligation never to surrender mind and judgment to any outside influence—no matter how worthy it may appear. The final guarantee of the institution of free information by press and radio rests on the honor of the reporter: on the fact that he is true to himself and serves no master except his best judgment as to the truth, and his professional care and skill in presenting it.

These are commonplaces, and they would hardly be worth repeating if it were not for the fact that great events are influenced in large measure by precisely this instrument of free information. There is double danger in controlling information: the danger that the public is deceived, and the even greater danger that the group attempting to control information will deceive itself. We have seen governments which got control over the press and radio of their own countries and sent out false or colored information to other countries. And

we have seen the results: that the repetition of the propaganda they sent out came back to them, and they were unable to distinguish the facts from the fiction they themselves had spread. Hitler worked up a German-controlled propaganda to attempt to divide opinion in the United States; and I think he came pretty close to convincing himself that American opinion was actually so divided that the United States would not or could not defend itself. Frequently—perhaps usually—a government which tries to spread false propaganda abroad ends up by believing the picture it tries to create, for the men who are willing to be controlled in putting out information are pretty apt to be untrustworthy reporters when they send information back. That would be reason enough—though there are many more—why the United States has never believed in a press controlled either by the Government or by any outside interest. It has never had a controlled press and, I hope, never will.

This country has been glad to welcome as honored guests and colleagues the editors and correspondents from other countries. It has attempted to maintain freedom of information. It has appreciated the courtesies extended to its editors and reporters overseas. Its hearty and sincere goodwill is based on deeper feeling than courtesy. In the firm conviction that all of us are colleagues in the endless task and high adventure of knitting together a civilization which is once more promising peace and decency and hope, let me salute you. It is not an accident that your profession has been known and honored, in its various forms, from the modern days of radio to the earliest days of prehistoric Greece. Homer and Euripides paid homage to the bearers of tidings, the messengers who play so large a part in the great classic dramas. A Cabinet Minister and a workman's family, seeking to know the fate of their country and friends in the struggles of today, honor the bearers of tidings no less.

CONTROL OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN ARMS

By *James M. Ludlow*¹

Born in Neutrality and brought up in War.

That is the biography of the Department of State's administration of the control of the international traffic in arms, ammunition, and implements of war. In the past this control, now nearing the end of its first decade, attracted considerable attention. Today, when the Nation is producing staggering quantities of all types of weapons and implements of war, the part which the Department plays in the administrative control over the ceaseless outflow of war *matériel* to all parts of the world seems buried, perhaps, beneath military requirements, production figures, and lend-lease shipments. One must, however, understand two facts that are backed up by law: first, that any shipment of arms, ammunition, and implements of war which are so designated by presidential proclamation, not consigned to our armed forces or consigned as lend-lease aid, requires an export license issued by the Department; and, second, that everyone who manufactures, imports, or exports any arms, ammunition, and implements of war must register with the Department. Thus, the administrative system which was established in

1935 in an effort to keep this Nation out of war is now assisting the war effort, and under virtually the same laws and regulations.

The year 1935 may now seem remarkably remote, but in considering the origin of the control of the international traffic in arms one must recall briefly the prevailing ideas of that time. A Senate committee under the chairmanship of Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota had just completed a searching investigation of the Nation's munitions industry; books like *Merchants of Death* by Engelbrecht and Hanighen and *Iron, Blood, and Profits* by Seldes were receiving wide circulation; the theses that this country had been dragged into the last war by munitions-makers, international bankers, and "freedom of the seas" were generally acceptable ones; and there were under consideration a dozen House and Senate resolutions which sought to control, curtail, or prohibit the exportation of munitions in time of war. One of these

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proposed measures (H.R. 8788, 74th Cong., 1st sess.) called for the establishment of a National Munitions Control Board, the administrative functions of which would be under the direction of the Secretary of State. This resolution made no provision for embargoes; it merely intended to provide for an agency which would register, license, and publicize the international traffic in arms. This proposed law was never reported out of committee, but its ideas were incorporated in the joint resolution drafted by Senator Pittman of Nevada which was enacted as the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935.¹ This law outlined an inflexible position whereby, if the President recognized a state of war to exist anywhere, shipments of arms, ammunition, and implements of war were prohibited to all designated belligerents.

The Neutrality Acts of 1935, May 1, 1937,² and November 4, 1939³ and the Spanish Embargo Act of January 8, 1937⁴ left no discretion to the President or to the Secretary of State in the matter of issuing or rejecting export-license applications. If no embargo prevailed, all applications had to be granted. If an embargo prevailed, no applications could be granted. An appreciation of this fact will help one to understand the policy that the President and the Department pursued in refusing to issue export licenses for shipments of arms to both factions in the Spanish Civil War and in refusing to declare an embargo against shipments to China and Japan. Such an embargo would have been far more damaging to China's defenses than to Japan's offensives. Authority to reject license applications in individual cases has existed only since the enactment of the Export Control Act of July 2, 1940.⁵ Today that authority is vested in the Office of Foreign Economic Administration, not in the Department of State.

The law under the authority of which the Department administers the control of the international arms traffic was enacted on November 4, 1939 as the result of a special session of Congress called by the President after the outbreak of the war. While eliminating the embargo provisions, it maintained the National Munitions Control Board and reassigned the administrative functions of the Board to the Secretary of State. These functions may be designated as the registration of manufacturers, importers, and exporters of arms,

ammunition, and implements of war; the licensing of exportations or importations of this war *matériel*; the supervision over and the preparation of reports on the international arms traffic; and the regulation and clearance of military secrets for use by foreign governments, corporations, or nationals. At present the Munitions Control Unit, headed by Frederick Exton, performs these functions in the Department for the Secretary of State. The Munitions Control Unit is a part of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, of which Charles P. Taft is Director.

REGISTRATION

Registration as a manufacturer, importer, or exporter of any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war cited in the President's proclamation is a relatively simple procedure. Any person who wishes to engage or who is already engaged in the munitions business must apply to the Department for registration. He receives an application blank which requests certain necessary information by which the Department can determine whether the applicant is subject to registration and by which it can understand his relationship to the entire munitions industry and to the international traffic in arms. In general, this required information includes names and locations of all places of business; the names of the officers or business associates of the applicant; the names of the major stockholders, subsidiaries, and parent companies, and foreign agents and affiliates, if any; the usual nature of business engaged in, if not regularly in the munitions business; and a statement of the articles listed in the President's proclamation which the applicant proposes to or does manufacture, import, and export. The applicant attests to the truth of the statements made in the application by so swearing before a notary public.

If the application is found to be in order and is accompanied by the registration fee of \$100, the applicant receives a certificate of registration, which is valid for five years from the date of issuance.

If at any time during the five years the applicant wishes to have the certificate amended by

¹ 49 Stat. 1081.

² 50 Stat. 121.

³ 54 Stat. 4.

⁴ 50 Stat. 3.

⁵ 54 Stat. 714.

changing his name, his business location, or the description of his activities, or by adding or deleting any of the articles listed in the President's proclamation, he merely has to submit an application for an amended certificate of registration. If his application is found to be in order, he will receive an amended certificate, which will be valid for the unexpired portion of the original certificate. The amendment or replacement of a certificate does not require the payment of another fee.

From time to time in the past considerable confusion has existed in the minds of some of the registrants as to the exact nature and purpose of the certificate of registration. There have been several instances which have come to the attention of the Department where the registrants have interpreted the possession of a certificate as approval by the Department of their efforts to promote the sale of and the traffic in munitions. Such an impression, however acquired, is incorrect. The certificate is merely evidence of the fact that the possessor has complied with the law and with the regulations which required him to register.

Another matter which has caused many inquiries, and in a few cases much heat, has been that of requiring registration, now that we are at war, under the provisions of the Neutrality Act. This misunderstanding is natural, for the title of the act is certainly incongruous today—especially since nearly all the law has been repealed. The confusion is lessened, however, if one bears in mind that the purpose of controlling the international traffic in arms through registration and licenses has been to supervise the traffic: the purpose of neutrality was, basically, to stop the traffic. Today the Department finds that by referring to the act as the joint resolution approved November 4, 1939, no occasion for confusion arises. It is well to point out, however, that under section 12(g) of this act the Government is barred from contracting for the purchase of any arms, ammunition, or implements of war with any person who has not registered with the Department. Hence the name of the act should not and generally does not mislead those who contract for the manufacture of arms for the Government.

Today there are nearly 1,500 registrants, of whom well over 900 are registered solely as manu-

facturers. It is not startling to learn that, although the laws requiring registration have been in effect since August 1935, about 1,100 persons and concerns have registered only since the outbreak of the war. Nearly 400 persons are registered to manufacture, import, and export; about 70 registrants are engaged solely in the import-export trade, of whom a number are foreign purchasing commissions; and about 30 persons are registered only to export. Formerly one was registered solely to import. Many of the older registrants, especially the aviation companies who manufacture munitions, have also registered to import and export their own commodities.

In tribute to American industrial ingenuity, it is worth noting that the major portion of the 1,100 are normally engaged only in peacetime manufacturing activities, and many have had to do a remarkable conversion job in order to produce war *matériel*. Thus, a maker of refrigerators is making aircraft engines; a casket-maker is turning out cartridges and shells; a baby's crib manufacturer is making bomb-release mechanisms; a producer of dustpans and mailboxes is making fragmentation bombs; and a maker of church pews is manufacturing anti-tank mines. One can reasonably suppose, in view of this fact, that should the war be over by the time their certificates expire, many of the manufacturers will not re-register.

LICENSING

The licensing procedure is, naturally, a much more complicated process than that of registration. This fact has become particularly true since the outbreak of the war. From the formal advent of the licensing system in 1935 to November 4, 1939 the chief concern of the Department upon receiving an export application was to ascertain to its satisfaction that the arms or munitions to be exported were not ultimately destined for a government or for an area to which the shipment was embargoed by a presidential proclamation.

The act of November 4, 1939, by putting the traffic on a so-called cash-and-carry basis, changed the legal restrictions on the shipments of arms to belligerents. This act reduced somewhat the importance of the matter of the ultimate destination of the munitions, although it did not alter the fact

that it was illegal to cloak the true destination of the shipment. The Export Control Act of July 2, 1940, which empowered the President to prevent any shipment which he might deem contrary to the interests of the national defense, was applied to the shipment of arms and munitions, with the result that certain destinations were again proscribed.

Today, when an export application is received by the Department it must usually go through considerable processing before it is ready for issuance. The War Department must give its approval or disapproval, generally on the grounds of supply and availability of the particular commodity, for all articles to be exported as arms, ammunition, explosives, or gases. The Navy Department, of course, must pass on the applications for articles listed as naval supplies. When necessary the appropriate agency of the Government is consulted by the Department concerning priority ratings and clearances for articles that are new or are in the process of manufacture.

If the items on the application are aircraft or aircraft parts, they too must be checked for clearance. The Munitions Assignment Committee, Air, must formally allocate a new airplane for export before the Department will act on the application. The Joint Aircraft Committee must clear aircraft parts that are involved or that are new. Normally, if an airplane or the aircraft parts are used, no processing is necessary. Instead, in the case of the airplane, its identity is checked in the records of the Civil Aeronautics Authority.

Simultaneous with clearing an export application with the other interested agencies of the Government, the Department investigates the desirability of the consignee by noting whether or not the consignee is on the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals. It must consider also the political implications of such an exportation in terms of its benefit to the war effort. Furthermore, if the proposed shipment is destined for certain countries, including all the neutral countries of Europe, the Department must consult with the Office of Foreign Economic Administration and in some cases must secure a blockade-control clearance for the exportation.

If all these barriers can be successfully hurdled, the Department issues the application. Actually,

regardless of all the apparently complex steps involved, the processing time of an application may be only three or four days. Many applications have been granted within a few hours after receipt. The length of the processing time is dependent entirely upon the nature of the proposed shipment, its destination, and the amount of clear and accurate information which the applicant furnishes the Department with his application. It has been the Department's experience that some applicants, having familiarized themselves with what is necessary in the way of a properly executed application and of supplementary information, may always be relied upon to supply all the data necessary on clearances, priorities, the end use of the *matériel* involved, and such other details. Other applicants, unfortunately, invariably misunderstand the entire process of licensing, which, of course, results in delays and requests for further information, which are, frankly, just as unpleasant for the Department as for the applicant.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that one difficulty experienced by many people in making export applications is deciding whether the commodity they wish to export takes a Department of State license or an FEA license. This dilemma can be resolved if it is borne in mind that only those persons who have registered with the Department may apply for a license, and only those items listed in the President's proclamation may be put on a Department of State license application.

The proclamation at present in effect, promulgated by the President on April 9, 1942,¹ lists the arms, ammunition, and implements of war in seven categories, which may be briefly described as follows: major weapons of war such as guns, machine-guns, cannons, their ammunition, bombs, torpedoes, mines, tanks, and armored vehicles; vessels of war; military aircraft; side-arms and their ammunition; all other aircraft and major component parts such as engines, propellers, fuselages, and wings; flame-throwers and war gases; and certain explosives.

Anyone may apply for an FEA license, and everything else which may require an export license goes on an FEA license. Ordinarily, any

¹ 7 *Federal Register* 2769 (56 Stat. 1948).

collector of customs can inform a person what goes on which license, but inquiries may always be made directly to the Department or to the Office of Foreign Economic Administration.

At the outbreak of the war, the Department of State import or export license covered all shipments of arms, ammunition, and implements of war; but within a short time it was evident that some special systems would have to be set up to handle and expedite such exportations as lend-lease goods and cash-purchase items to be used by the Allied governments. Therefore, in September 1941 the Office of Lend-Lease Administration undertook to authorize shipments for its own account. On April 6, 1942, at the request of the British authorities and the British Ministry of Supply Mission, the Department issued an "unlimited license" called UAB, which it granted to the Supply Mission to cover war *matériel* shipped in transit through this country from Canada destined for any country in the British Empire, for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or for the British Armed Forces anywhere in the world, or destined for Canada from the British Armed Forces. The Supply Mission arranges for the exportation of each shipment through the preparation of a release certificate, the original of which is sent to the collector of customs at the intended port of exit. The duplicate is sent to the Department. In this way the Department has been able to meet the requirements of the law which stipulate that before an exportation is made the name of the purchaser and the terms of sale must be made known to the Secretary of State.

A short time thereafter another unlimited license, known as UMB, was issued to the Supply Mission to cover the transfer of defensive armament from one British armed merchant ship to another while the ships were in an American port.

A special type of import licensing arrangement has been effected with the Supply Mission to take care of repair work being done at the various American shipyards on British warships. Under this arrangement the British Admiralty Delegation may import, on a monthly basis, into this country a certain value of unspecified naval armament for repair purposes.

By now the best-known special license which the Department has issued since the country's entry

into the war is Unlimited License UAC, which was issued on January 15, 1943 to all registered importers and exporters to cover all arms, ammunition, and implements of war passing to and from this country through Canadian-American customs. This license differs from the UAB or UMB in that the original as well as the duplicate of the release certificate is sent to the Department. The former notifies the Department of the purchaser and the terms of sale, and the latter informs it of the date of exportation and the quantity and value of the goods actually exported.

Two other licensing functions should receive mention, although the war has drastically curtailed them: the regulation of the exportation of tin-plate scrap, pursuant to the act of February 15, 1936¹ and Executive Order 7297, issued by the President on February 16, 1936; and the licensing of the exportation of helium gas in accordance with the provisions of the Act of September 1, 1937.²

Since December 1940, no exportation of tin-plate scrap has been permitted. The purpose underlying the act of Congress setting up the controls was to make available to the domestic detinning companies a sufficient annual quantity of tin-plate scrap for them to be able to operate their plants satisfactorily. In offering far higher prices than those of the American detinning companies, the Japanese for a number of years successfully drained the supply of tin-plate scrap from this country. Under the licensing procedure set up to prevent any further such drain of tin-plate scrap, dealers in this country were required to submit estimates at the beginning of each year on how much they anticipated having for exportation for the following year. At the same time, the detinning companies submitted estimates on the amount of tin-plate scrap they could use in their plants. After these estimates had been received, quotas were established for each tin-plate-scrap exporter. Licenses normally were issued which permitted the exportation of these allotments. Even with the licensing system, however, all authorized exportations went to Japan.

Any person desiring to make an exportation of helium gas may apply to the Department for a

¹ 49 Stat. 1140.

² 50 Stat. 886.

license application, upon which he must state the end use of the helium—that is, whether it is to be used for military, medical, scientific, or commercial purposes. He must attest also to the fact that reasonable safeguards have been adopted by which there is no unnecessary waste of helium gas. These licenses are valid only for the calendar year in which issued.

SUPERVISION

Possibly the most interesting, but not always the most pleasing function of the Department in the control of the international traffic in arms is that of acquiring and maintaining information concerning who gets what and how much in the way of munitions, and that of attempting to prevent violations of the law and the regulations governing the traffic. There have been but few violations of the law and regulations, for the Department knows whom it may trust and whom it must watch carefully. The overwhelming majority of those engaged in the munitions industry want it to remain what it should be—a legitimate business. Unfortunately, however, a few persons and concerns have shown that they cannot be trusted, and the Department accordingly is forced to be ever-vigilant in watching their activities.

The most famous conviction resulting from a violation of the law has been that against the Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation, for it was an appeal of this case to the Supreme Court which produced the well-known decision given by Justice Sutherland on the powers of the President in the conduct of foreign policy (*United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation*¹). In this case the Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation attempted, through a dummy consignee, to circumvent the embargo against the shipment of munitions to either of the belligerents in the Chaco War. At the same time another concern, the American Armament Corporation, was convicted for the same offense. Its president, A. J. Miranda, Jr., and vice president, I. J. Miranda, were sentenced to jail.

Not all munitions transactions which cause concern to the Department are possible export violations. Over the years the Department has

acquired an extensive knowledge of the quality of the arms produced in this country, and for reasons of diplomacy and of commercial policy it has no desire to permit occasions to arise where foreign purchasers may actually be, or even feel, defrauded by their acquisition of inferior arms. Such sales can produce only acrimony, claims, and possible representations, and can always lessen the chances of future purchases of the normally superior American munitions. There have been several instances, especially since this country's entry into the war, where the Department has had to take an active interest in the efforts of various individuals to sell faulty or nonexistent munitions in order to prevent occasions conducive to international ill-will.

In one of these instances a number of enterprising persons attempted to recondition a large number of machine-guns, dating from World War I, which had been declared obsolete, had been mutilated, and then had been sold for scrap metal. These guns, numbering over 3,000, together with their mountings, had been purchased by a scrap dealer for about \$1,500. Some few of these guns were sold to American Legion Posts, schools, museums, parks, and cemeteries for \$7.75 apiece as trophies of the war. When the Chaco War broke out, however, several individuals decided that the guns could be reconditioned and sold to the belligerents. The dealer started selling the guns at \$50 apiece. Those who undertook to recondition the guns asked and in some cases received prices ranging from \$265 to over \$900 a gun. In one instance a friendly government made a down-payment of \$71,500 for some guns, which were represented to it as being a satisfactory substitute for the .50 caliber Browning aircraft machine-gun. One gun was finally turned over to the purchasing government and that gun was unable to fire satisfactorily.

Another person organized a company which bought some of the old guns at \$50 apiece. He had them reworked and sold them at \$700 apiece to the Netherlands Purchasing Commission for use in the Dutch East Indies. Since most of the guns arrived in time to fall into the hands of the Japanese, there is no adequate report of how satisfactorily they worked.

¹ 299 U.S. 304.

The Department, then, was confronted with these and other instances of sales and attempted sales of the old machine-guns to a number of the United Nations. It realized that these transactions could result, in most cases, in nothing but complaints and possible ill-will from the purchasing governments involved. Accordingly, it requested certain interested Government agencies to consider what could be done to prevent further injury, through the sale of these guns, to the combined war efforts of the United Nations. The armed forces pointed out that they had no use for the guns since they had long ago declared them obsolete and that new Browning machine-guns were being manufactured for them at only a fraction of what was being asked for the old machine-guns. It was decided that the guns would make better scrap metal than anything else. Therefore, on November 16, 1942, representatives of the Metals Reserve Corporation visited approximately 20 places in and about New York City and Philadelphia. They offered \$80 for every operable machine-gun and the highest scrap prices for everything else. In most instances the possessors of the guns refused to sell, and the guns accordingly were requisitioned under the authority of the Second War Powers Act. In all, some 3,000 machine-guns and 13,000 machine-gun barrels were taken, together with 1,000 obsolete aerial bombs, 3,000 obsolete hand grenades, and innumerable boxes of spare parts. In accordance with previously made plans, the articles requisitioned were shortly thereafter melted down. Nothing remains today except claims amounting to nearly three quarters of a million dollars which have been filed against the Government for the guns which 10 years before had netted it \$1,500 when they were sold as scrap.

Another problem which has confronted the Department in recent years has been the persistent efforts on the part of a legion of promoters to sell one million Lee-Enfield rifles, complete with bayonet, scabbard, and sling, and 1,000 rounds of cartridges for each rifle. The sheer fantasy of the entire scheme and the efforts to stamp out the promotional activities have not entirely deterred those who see in any possible sale of such a quan-

tity of arms the lifelong opportunity for a financial "killing". Nearly all the persons involved, when questioned, have shown little concern over the damage that such activities can cause to our international relations. They have seldom been impressed by the fact that many times when it has been necessary to refuse requests for arms from other members of the United Nations, on the grounds that this country did not have them for allocation, extremely difficult situations have arisen when an offer was made by private persons of such a quantity of munitions.

The germ of the scheme to sell these munitions, which not one of the persons involved has seen or has been able to produce, is a memorandum from the War Department which was written some time after the outbreak of the war. It stated that a quantity of rifles was owned by this Government and that they could be sold to a friendly government, but not to a private individual, for approximately \$12.50 a gun. One of the persons who saw the letter apparently decided that by finding a purchaser for the Government he could earn some easy money. He promised commissions to individuals who would help him; these persons, in turn, appointed their own agents. Thus, the sales efforts mushroomed, and, needless to say, the sales price sky-rocketed from \$17.50 to the present prevailing quotation of \$70.50. Of course, in fairness to the latter price, it must be pointed out that somewhere along the line the one billion cartridges were added, apparently to make the transaction more attractive. One has to overlook the mere fact that this quantity of cartridges represents roughly 10 percent of all the .30-caliber ball cartridges produced in this country during the past three years.

Although nearly all the known quantity of Lee-Enfield rifles in this country were shipped to Great Britain and to Canada in 1940, after the fall of Dunkerque, these promoters have approached nearly every foreign mission and purchasing commission in this country with offers which rashly include inspection of the munitions before full payment, delivery within 48 hours, and the securing of the necessary export licenses. When asked why they persist in such a scheme, these persons

invariably reply, "Well, why don't you let the deal go through, and let's see what happens?"

Despite the fact that in accordance with an act of Congress of January 26, 1942¹ no reports on the international traffic in arms need be made available for the duration of the state of war, an annual report to Congress has been regularly prepared; it has not, however, been circulated. Weekly and monthly informational reports are prepared, and these are confidentially distributed to certain offices in the War Department and in the Office of Foreign Economic Administration.

MILITARY SECRETS

The clearance for foreign use of articles and data involving military secrets and rights to negotiate for the manufacture abroad of articles containing these military secrets is likewise a function that the Department performs under the provisions of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917,² since certain matters of foreign policy are involved. This function has proved especially during the war to be an important activity.

Basically, this responsibility has two administrative aspects: the handling of requests for releases of items involving military secrets; and the processing of inventions sent from citizens of this country and from persons abroad to the President, any of the agencies of the Government, and the various American missions.

In the first procedure, the request for a military-secrets release may come either from the person, concern, or agency in this country having developed the article, or the request may come from a foreign source. In either event, the aim of such an inquiry is the eventual use abroad of the article or data containing the military secret. When the Department receives the request, it transmits it to the proper authorities in the War and Navy Departments for their statement of consent or objection. After a coordinated opinion has been received from the interested departments, the person making the request is notified of the decision. If the request has come from a foreign source, the manufacturer or owner of the item involving military secrecy is notified of the decision as well.

The handling of inventions submitted to this Government, and matters pertaining thereto, is never a dull process. Every suggestion, invention, plan, and idea which is submitted from whatever source receives the same careful consideration. It is noteworthy that many of these have come through our American missions abroad from European scientists and inventors who have desired to hasten the downfall of the Axis. The majority of these inventions come to the Department, often by reference from the White House, through correspondence, but frequently drawings, models, elaborately detailed booklets, and printed pamphlets are sent for consideration. These inventions may range from an astonishingly simple device, or a brilliant and highly complicated machine, to such things as flying submarines, invisible airplanes made of blue cellophane, and post-war social orders. Many of these ideas are offered for the war effort without thought of remuneration, but occasionally someone requests money for further experimentation or for traveling expenses to come from abroad or to Washington to see the President.

The Department forwards the suggestions to the National Inventors' Council, which carefully investigates every proposal and evaluates it in terms of its use in the war effort. After the Council has reached a decision, the Department informs the person submitting the invention or idea of the nature of the decision.

Biographies are no longer biographies when they attempt to discourse on the future of their subjects; they are mere prophesies. This, then, is not the place to discuss the possible future of the Department's administration of the control of the arms traffic. Relative to the general subject of the international traffic in munitions it can be observed now, especially since the problem is already arising, that when the war has been won there are going to be enormous quantities of surplus munitions and aircraft upon the disposition of which may hang peace or war. How these surpluses are handled may be another chapter in the biography.

¹56 Stat. 19.

²40 Stat. 217.

American Republics

RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA

[Released to the press June 23]

The United States Embassy in La Paz on June 23, under instructions, presented a note to the Foreign Minister of Bolivia renewing relations between the United States and Bolivia.

Between January 24 and January 28, 1944, 19 American republics, after full exchange of information and consultation with one another, declared their intention to withhold recognition from the Bolivian Junta, which came into power on December 20, 1943. They concluded that recognition of the new Bolivian regime would not be in the interest of the security of the hemisphere and the success of the Allied cause. This was the criterion, and the only criterion, which they considered in passing upon the status of the Bolivian regime.

Since last January the Provisional Government of Bolivia has carried out a number of decisive and affirmative acts in support of hemisphere security and the cause of the United Nations. Accordingly, the American governments have reviewed the situation again by exchanging information and consulting with one another. The consensus of this consultation is that there is no longer reason for withholding recognition.

The exchange of information and consultation which led to the decision by the sovereign states concerned that the Bolivian Government should be recognized took place pursuant to resolutions 22 and 23¹ of the Inter-American Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, located at Montevideo, which has now been apprised of the decision of this Government.

FELLOWSHIPS FOR CITIZENS FROM THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The following regulations, pursuant to statutory authority and official recommendations and subject to appropriations available, have been issued with respect to fellowships for qualified applicants from the other American republics: the Director of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey will award fellowships for training in geodetic surveying, map and chart production, and hydrographic surveying; the Director of the Bureau of the Census will award fellowships in public health and demographic statistics; and the Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce will award fellowships for the study of foreign-trade statistics. All of the fellowships will be awarded with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of State. The fellowships will be of the intern-training and training-in-research type and may include advance instruction at colleges and universities and practical training and observation in Government departments and agen-

cies. Each application shall be transmitted to the Secretary of State by the government of the American republic of which the applicant is a citizen through the American diplomatic mission accredited to that government.

Each applicant awarded a fellowship may be granted, upon the recommendation of the Director of the appropriate bureau, monthly allowances for quarters and subsistence during the entire period spent in the United States or its territories or possessions, certain transportation expenses, a per diem in lieu of subsistence while in travel status (except that no per diem will be allowed concurrently with monthly allowances), and other expenses. Each applicant shall submit written reports of progress in studies and research at such intervals as the various Directors may specify.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1942, p. 999, Jan. 1, 1944, p. 20, and Jan. 8, 1944, p. 28.

Fellowships in geodetic surveying, map and chart production, and hydrographic surveying may be awarded for periods varying in accordance with the field of studies in which application for fellowship is made. Fellowships in public health and demographic statistics may be awarded for periods not exceeding 12 months of actual training and research and may be extended for not exceeding the same periods; and those in foreign-trade statistics may be awarded for periods not exceeding 6 months of actual study and may be extended for not exceeding the same period. Fellowships may be canceled for cause by the Director, with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of State.

The full texts of the regulations appear in the *Federal Register* of June 24, 1944, page 6984.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION WITH THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press June 22]

Dr. Raymund L. Zwemer has been appointed Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics. The Committee of the whole met on June 22 in the Department of State to discuss the present cooperative program and to outline plans for the coming year.

Dr. Zwemer's international reputation as a scientist is especially strong in Latin American countries, where he has both lectured before their learned societies and carried on cooperative research in their laboratories. Several of his discoveries have been published in Spanish or Portuguese in the scientific journals of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

Dr. Zwemer was born in the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, March 30, 1902, of American parents; he attended schools in the United States, and English and German schools in Cairo, Egypt, from 1912-18. He received an A.B. from Hope College, Holland, Mich., in 1923 and a Doctor of Philosophy in Zoology and Anatomy from Yale University in 1926; he then spent two years at

Harvard University before going to Columbia University, where he has been on the staff of the Medical Center for 16 years.

VISIT OF HONDURAN ARCHITECT

[Released to the press June 19]

The distinguished Central American architect, Hector Bustillo Oliva, of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, is visiting the United States as a guest of the Department of State. Señor Bustillo Oliva is spending several days in Washington before beginning a more extended tour of the United States during which he will observe low-cost housing developments.

In San Pedro Sula, Señor Bustillo has built a number of low-cost houses in which the functionally distinctive features are small open inner patios—modeled on the traditional patio of large colonial houses—and living- and dining-rooms that are in reality roomy porches with sufficient overhang to offer protection against sun and rain.

Europe

ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEPARTURE OF FORMER MINISTER OF FINLAND

[Released to the press June 21]

The Department of State has completed arrangements for the departure from the United States of Mr. Hjalmar J. Procopé, lately Minister of Finland, and of Messrs. Vahervuori and Solanko, lately Counselors of the Finnish Legation, with the families of the latter two officers.

The Department has been informed by Mr. Procopé that it is his desire to proceed unaccompanied by his family, and he has not acted on the suggestion made by the Department that, if he so desired, he could remain in the United States with Madame Procopé and their children pending the restoration of her health.

The Department has received a request from Mr. Urho Toivola, lately a Counselor of the Finnish

Legation, who had been expected to depart from the United States with Mr. Procopé and Messrs. Vahervuori and Solanko, that he be permitted to remain in this country owing to the serious illness of Madame Toivola. This request has been granted.

The Far East

FLOYD TAYLOR RETURNS FROM CHINA

[Released to the press June 19]

Mr. Floyd Taylor, former assistant city editor of the *New York World-Telegram*, has returned from China. Since last October he has served, under the cultural-relations program of the Department of State, as a specialist to the Chinese Ministry of Information and as chief editor under the International Department of the Chinese Ministry of Information.

The Department of State sent Mr. Taylor to China in response to a request from the Chinese Government for aid in the preparation of war news and in the training of Chinese news editors.

Before he left Chungking, early this month, Mr. Taylor was received by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who thanked him for his services to China. At the request of the Generalissimo, he submitted a report on what the Chinese Government could do to improve its handling of news.

Mr. Taylor is the eleventh specialist to complete his assignment in China under the Department of State.

GIFTS FROM UNITED STATES TO CHINESE INSTITUTIONS

[Released to the press June 20]

Vice President Wallace took with him on his trip to China numerous packages of scientific instruments, books, educational films, and agricultural seed as gifts to China.

The materials were assembled in Washington by the Department of State, as part of a program of cultural relations with China, at the request of over

40 Chinese universities and technical centers which had been unable to obtain American equipment since 1941.

A number of packages contained machine-shop tools for the National Central University of Chengtu, which is manufacturing scientific instruments for other Chinese universities.

The United States Department of Agriculture sent to the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture a collection of 43 samples of grass seed and 19 kinds of animal-forage seed. These seeds were collected in the western part of the United States where climatic conditions are similar to China's northwest provinces.

Three packages contained sample equipment to be used in experimental demonstrations for soil and water conservation, assembled by the Department of Agriculture and supplied by the State Department as a measure of collaboration with the Chinese Government.

A large package addressed to the Chinese Ministry of Education contained the college catalogs of the leading animal-husbandry schools in the United States. The Ministry had requested these catalogs for use in studying their curricula.

For the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives there was a package containing technical data on how to make scrap iron into steel, how to make sulphuric acid, how to build a community refrigerator, and information pertaining to more than 30 other problems of small-scale industry.

The numerous packages of books included a selection of political reference volumes for the National Library of Peiping, new titles on library science for the Boone Library School at Chengtu, and books on economic planning for the National Central Library, Chungking.

Other packages of books went to National Southwest Associated University, National Chekiang, Fukien Christian, Nanking, West China Union, and other universities.

A special selection of books on American architecture was sent to the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture at Liehuang, Szechwan. Another package containing recent American drama was addressed to the Cultural Work Com-

mittee of the Military Affairs Commission, Chungking.

The governors of Ninghsia, Sikong, and Ching-hai each received reports on animal-husbandry problems in their respective provinces, as observed by Prof. Ray G. Johnson, an American who visited China last year.

A strange story in book migrations lay behind a shipment of English texts to Yenching University. When the university moved from Peiping to Chengtu it was found that no copies were available of some of the English texts which were formerly published in Peiping. The United States Government obtained copies of these books in the United States from former Yenching teachers and sent them back with Mr. Wallace.

The American Radio Relay League, a private society in the United States, sent to the China Amateur Radio League in Chungking an exhibit of wartime manuals and publications on radio operations in the United States.

The American College of Surgeons sent 14 reels of educational films which represent the beginning of a film library for the Chinese National Institute of Health. These films show the latest investigations in the treatment of fractures, of

cataraacts, and of venereal disease. One film on the care of nursery children was donated by the famous orphanage, The Cradle, at Evanston, Ill. The American College of Surgeons expects to ship in the future more than 50 medical films to China.

Another shipment of 14 educational films, dealing principally with American agriculture and engineering, was sent to Nanking University at the request of that school's department of educational cinematography. These films all contained Chinese sound tracks which had been prepared in New York under the auspices of the Department of State.

The China Philharmonic Orchestra at Chungking, which had requested American musical scores, received sheet music for six symphonic pieces, including MacDowell's *Second Indian Suite* and Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*.

All told, Mr. Wallace carried nearly a hundred packages addressed to Chinese institutions. Each package contained the notation, "The contents of this package are sent to you under the program of cultural relations of the Department of State of the United States as a small evidence of the continuance of the longtime cultural exchanges between our two countries."

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

UNITED NATIONS MONETARY AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

[Released to the press by the White House June 23]

The President on June 23 announced the names of the American delegates to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, which will open at Mount Washington Hotel, Bretton Woods, N. H., on July 1, 1944.¹ The names of the delegates follow:

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, *chairman*

Fred M. Vinson, Director, Office of Economic Stabilization, *vice chairman*

Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State

Edward E. Brown, President, First National Bank of Chicago

Leo T. Crowley, Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration

Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

Miss Mabel Newcomer, Professor of Economics, Vassar College

Brent Spence, House of Representatives, Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency

Charles W. Tobey, United States Senate, Member, Committee on Banking and Currency

Robert F. Wagner, United States Senate, Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency

Harry D. White, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury

Jesse P. Wolcott, House of Representatives, Member, Committee on Banking and Currency

¹ BULLETIN of May 27, 1944, p. 498.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION OF THE PERMANENT AMERICAN AERONAUTICAL COMMISSION

Statement by Oswald Ryan¹

The newly appointed United States Commission of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission, popularly called "C.A.P.A.", held its first meeting June 21 and took steps to prepare for United States participation in the initial meeting of C.A.P.A.²

The Permanent American Aeronautical Commission was established pursuant to a resolution adopted at the inter-American conference held at Lima, Peru, in September 1937.³ It was contemplated that those governments which would approve the establishment of the new organization would set up national commissions to be affiliated with and to cooperate with C.A.P.A. Thirteen republics have already approved and set up their national commissions thus far.

The Lima resolution provided the following objectives for C.A.P.A.: The unification of international public and private air law and regulation; the coordination and development of mutual interests in technical subjects relating to aircraft, pilots, airways, and facilities for air navigation; and the organization and the marking of inter-American air routes and the coordination of national with international air services.

As soon as the proposals of the United States Commission are drawn up, they will be transmitted to the member Governments for the consideration of their own national commissions and with a view to the eventual drawing up of an agenda for C.A.P.A.

The Lima resolution provided that the first meeting of C.A.P.A. would take place as soon as possible after a sufficient number of the interested governments had approved the new organization.

¹ Member of the Civil Aeronautics Board and Chairman of the United States Commission of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission.

² For members of the new Commission see BULLETIN of May 27, 1944, p. 499.

³ Not printed.

The members of the United States Commission feel that the first meeting of C.A.P.A. should be held as soon as it may be possible for the necessary arrangements to be made through diplomatic channels.

It is the intention of the United States Commission to do everything possible to make C.A.P.A. a going concern.

BRITISH COLONIES SUPPLY MISSION

[Released to the press June 19]

The United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission announced on June 19 that the British Colonies Supply Mission has made arrangements to hold a meeting in New York, June 20-24, to discuss supply and shipping problems affecting the British colonies in the Caribbean and Bermuda.

Supply officers from Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, British Honduras, the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands, Barbados, the Bahamas, and Bermuda will attend, as well as representatives of the Colonial Office at London, the Government of Canada, the British Food Mission, the British Merchant Shipping Mission, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.

The Supply Mission will study requirements of the colonies in relation to the existing stock position in the Caribbean and the supply position in the United States and Canada. It will consider also shipping problems, including an examination of the operation of the successful West Indies Schooner Pool⁴ organized with the encouragement and assistance of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.

The object of the meeting is to afford an opportunity for discussion of common problems with a view to insuring that the essential needs of the colonies concerned continue to be met with the least possible drain on the resources of the United Nations in regard to supplies and shipping.

⁴ BULLETIN of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 263.

The Foreign Service

THE JOINT SURVEY GROUP

The Foreign Service Prepares To Meet Its Expanding Responsibilities

By *Alan N. Steyne*¹

During the transitional months following the war and in the post-war period the demands that will be made upon the Foreign Service of the United States will be heavy. These demands will not only be far wider in scope than those of the pre-war era but also they will be different, in many ways, from those carried on in the recent years of intense activity. The global conflict has broadened the interests of the American Government in all quarters of the world to such an extent that almost any political, economic, financial, agricultural, industrial, labor, or social development which occurs abroad is of immediate interest to one or more branches of the Federal Government and to many sectors of the American public. Despite the fact that air travel will bring about frequent personal meetings between high American and foreign Government officials, the formulation of the foreign policy of the United States in all its many aspects will continue to depend largely upon the constant flow of full and timely intelligence from abroad.

Reporting, a primary function of the Foreign Service, will thus continue to play an indispensable role in the conduct of foreign relations. In order to discharge fully this function, the Department of State and the other Federal agencies will require a reporting service from abroad wider in scope than heretofore. Foreign Service reporting officers will, in turn, be compelled to bear in mind more than ever the necessity for a critical appraisal of source material, a careful evaluation of significant data, and timely presentation accompanied by interpretative comments that will indicate the trend implicit in developments abroad.

The Department clearly recognizes also that if this post-war work of the Foreign Service is to be executed effectively, the diplomatic and consular offices in each country must operate as a team

and that the fullest possible utilization must be made of each individual's talents. On the home front, the Department must take steps to furnish improved direction to the Foreign Service, not only in its instructions to the field and in the assignment of competent and qualified personnel but also in the distribution and use of the intelligence flowing from the field.

What steps have been taken by the Department of State to prepare the Foreign Service to carry this burden of expanded responsibilities? In this connection it should be recalled, first of all, that the President recommended and the Congress approved the principle of a single Foreign Service to perform the work abroad, including reporting for all the departments and agencies of the Government.² Thus the Foreign Service functions as the eyes and ears of the American people in other countries and is assisted during the war by a large number of specialists and technicians from many of the war agencies.

The entry of the United States into the conflict found the Foreign Service faced with the urgent need for a rapid increase in personnel. To meet this emergency, the Department of State created a wartime Auxiliary Foreign Service to augment the permanent corps of officers. These men and a few women were carefully selected. They constitute a capable group that has been of outstanding assistance to the Foreign Service in handling its many new wartime tasks. There still remain, however, certain highly specialized technical and operational functions to be performed abroad, connected with the war effort, which are outside the appropriate sphere of the Department of State

¹The author of this article is a Foreign Service Officer detailed to the planning staff of the Office of the Foreign Service.

²5 U.S.C. § 133.

and the Foreign Service. These wartime functions relate to lend-lease transactions, procurement of strategic commodities, erection of emergency war plants in other countries, establishment of news facilities abroad, and similar matters. The President, therefore, on May 20, 1942, in a clarifying statement which related to the responsibilities of certain wartime agencies, declared that all functions that were being or that could be performed through the regular or Auxiliary Foreign Service should be so performed. The persons and missions that might be sent to the field by these wartime agencies would accordingly be limited to those needed for the aforementioned specialized technical and operational tasks.¹

On the home-front the constantly increasing load of new wartime responsibilities brought about a reorganization of the Department of State which became effective last January. Among the many other changes, the administration of the Foreign Service was improved by the establishment of an Office of the Foreign Service with Mr. John G. Erhardt, a Foreign Service officer, as its first Director.² Mr. Erhardt promptly formed a Planning Staff, under the direction of the Deputy Director, Mr. Monnet B. Davis, within the Office to study and anticipate the needs of the Foreign Service; to review and evaluate projects, programs, and surveys to be undertaken by the Foreign Service; to prepare an integrated program of reforms; and to make recommendations for continual adjustment and improvement both in the over-all administration of the Foreign Service and in the assistance it is to give to American agricultural, commercial, shipping, industrial, and other interests.

This Planning Staff has recently initiated, as one of its first projects, the organization of a unique cooperative enterprise, the Joint Survey Group, to study and recommend measures to bring the reporting of the Foreign Service to a maximum efficiency. This organization comprises officials who make use of the reports from the field and who prepare the instructions that request information from the missions and consulates abroad. It will make recommendations to assure that, in the immediate future and after the cessation of hostilities, the reporting of the Foreign Service meets the needs of the Department of State

and of all the many other interested Federal agencies dependent upon the Foreign Service for their reporting from abroad. It will suggest also any appropriate informational measures that may be necessary to aid American business interests in foreign countries.

The composition of the Joint Survey Group is, in some respects, new in the Federal civil service. The actual personnel of the Group consists of 26 officers, of whom 12 are Foreign Service officers, designated from the various offices and divisions in the Department. Associated with them are 45 other officers from both the Department of State and the other Governmental establishments that daily utilize the material emanating from the field. An official from the Division of Administrative Management of the Bureau of the Budget is on loan to the Department to assist in the project and to observe the working techniques employed.

The 71 members and associates of the Joint Survey Group operate as members of one or more of the following six working committees which deal with specific aspects of reporting from the field:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Political | 5. Cultural and |
| 2. Economic | Informational |
| 3. Requirements | 6. Evaluation and |
| (i. e. Economic | Grading of |
| Warfare) | Reports |
| 4. Technical | |

A temporary subcommittee has also been designated to translate into the field instructions certain proposals of an inter-departmental committee which recently reviewed chapter XIV of the Foreign Service Regulations relating to the protection and the promotion of American economic interests abroad.

A Program Committee, the members of which are the chairmen and vice chairmen of the six subcommittees and the temporary subcommittee, reviews and coordinates the efforts of all the groups and insures that the various recommenda-

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 18, 1942, p. 337 and May 23, 1942, p. 475.

² Departmental Order 1218, effective Jan. 15, 1944, established a new Office of Foreign Service Administration. The name of this unit was changed by Departmental Order 1273 of May 6, 1944, to the Office of the Foreign Service.

tions result in an orderly pattern of directives. A small Steering Committee has general supervision over the entire project.

The scope of each Committee's terms of reference has been left as wide as possible, consistent with the program of the Group. The committees have been urged to consider any conditions that may affect, directly or indirectly, the reporting of the Foreign Service, and to key their recommendations so that the optimum conditions may be obtained. The initiative and the opportunity are theirs.

When matters of policy are involved, the Director of the Office of the Foreign Service will sponsor the recommendations before the appropriate officials of the Department. He will review, in collaboration with the other appropriate Offices and Divisions of the Department, the Group's instructions before they are sent to the field.

The several committees of the Joint Survey Group, during their first weeks of work, have drafted a number of urgently needed circular instructions to be sent immediately to the missions and consulates abroad. These initial instructions are already on their way to the field. Over a dozen other similar instructions are now under preparation. These further instructions relate to pressing current problems facing the Department and the other agencies that create a need to revise old instructions or a demand for new types of information in the form of regular periodic reports. Many of these instructions will later be incorporated in a revised edition of the Foreign Service Regulations.

As soon as these immediate tasks have been completed, the committees intend to consider certain basic long-term problems which affect reporting in the field and its use by the Department. They propose to make any necessary recommendations to accomplish the changes needed to bring about the most effective reporting from the officers abroad and the most efficient use of the material in Washington. The committees have already consulted several outstanding authorities that are not associated with the Group. Plans are now under way for some of America's leading economists, historians, industrialists, and public-relations experts to lend their assistance.

The significance of the project, both to the Department and to the Foreign Service, is obvious.

The Joint Survey Group has requested suggestions and comments from all officers in the field associated with the work of the Foreign Service. It expects to obtain from this source valuable help and information which the appropriate committees will be able to incorporate in their respective recommendations.

The final definitive proposals will thus reflect the considered judgment of 71 officials who comprise experts within the Department of State, from other Federal agencies, and the Foreign Service personnel abroad. These men and women constitute, on the whole, an outstanding assembly of talent intimately acquainted with the many thorny problems involved and their wide ramifications. The conclusions reached will have been tempered and matured after the consultations with the best outside advice obtainable. The recommendations of this Joint Survey Group should therefore be of real assistance to the higher officials of the Department as they complete plans to establish the necessary organization at home and abroad to cope with the difficult and trying problems that lie ahead.

DEATH OF JULIAN B. FOSTER

[Released to the press June 19]

The Department of State regrets to announce that Julian B. Foster, a Foreign Service officer, died at the Bethesda Naval Hospital on June 17.

Mr. Foster was born in Colorado Springs on July 20, 1897. Following his graduation from Georgetown University in 1923, he did graduate work at Columbia University and at New York University. During his varied career, he served as newspaper reporter, Civil Service Commissioner, special agent with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in New York, trade commissioner in Australia and New Zealand and at Singapore, and as Commercial Attaché at Copenhagen.

After Mr. Foster became a Foreign Service officer on July 1, 1939, he continued to serve as Commercial Attaché at Copenhagen until December 12, 1941. At the outbreak of the war in Europe he returned to the Department. On July 14, 1942 he was detailed to special duty with the Maritime Commission in Washington.

Treaty Information

PROTOCOL ON PELAGIC WHALING

On June 22, 1944 the President of the United States ratified the protocol on pelagic whaling signed at London on February 7, 1944.

The text of the protocol follows:

The Governments of the Union of South Africa, the United States of America, the Commonwealth of Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Eire, New Zealand and Norway,

Being parties or signatories to the International Agreement for the Regulation of Whaling signed at London on the 8th June, 1937 (hereinafter referred to as the Agreement of 1937), and to the Protocol signed at London on the 24th June, 1938, introducing certain amendments into the Agreement of 1937 (hereinafter referred to as the Protocol of 1938); and

Desiring, in view of the fact that pelagic whaling operations in the area to which Article 7 of the 1937 Agreement applies have been interrupted for a considerable period by the existence of hostilities and in order to meet the present emergency without prejudicing the conservation of stocks of whales, to put into force by agreement such provisions as may be necessary with regard to pelagic whaling in this area when whaling operations are resumed there:

Have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE 1.

(i) The period fixed by Article 7 of the Agreement of 1937, during which factory ships or a whale catcher attached thereto may be used for the purpose of taking or treating baleen whales, shall be extended for the first season in which whaling operations are resumed in the area referred to in the said Article 7, so as to cover the period from the 24th November to the 24th March, both dates inclusive.

(ii) Each Government party to the present protocol shall give notice to the Government of the United Kingdom when whale factory ships registered under the law of any territory under its authority or otherwise under its jurisdiction engage in whaling operations in the area defined in Article 7 of the Agreement of 1937. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform the other Governments party to the present protocol of all notices received under this paragraph and shall itself similarly give notice to the other contracting Governments if whale factory ships registered under the law of any territory under its authority or otherwise under its jurisdiction engage in whaling operations in the said area.

(iii) For the purposes of paragraph (i) of this article the first season in respect of which any notice has been given under paragraph (ii) above, shall be deemed to be the first season in which whaling operations are resumed. This season is hereinafter referred to as "the first season."

ARTICLE 2.

The provisions of Article 1 of the Protocol of 1938 relating to the taking of humpback whales in any waters south of 40 degrees south latitude shall apply during the first season.

ARTICLE 3.

(i) During the first season, the number of baleen whales caught in the area referred to in Article 7 of the 1937 Agreement shall not exceed 16,000 blue whale units.

(ii) For the purposes of paragraph (i) of this article, blue whale units shall be calculated on the basis that one blue whale equals—

- (a) 2 fin whales, or
- (b) 2½ humpback whales, or
- (c) 6 sei whales,

(iii) The Government of the United Kingdom shall consult all the Governments who have given notice under Article 1 (ii) of this agreement in order to arrange by co-operation and agreement the measures necessary to ensure that the total number of baleen whales caught during the first season does not exceed the number specified in paragraph (i) of this article.

ARTICLE 4.

In the absence of agreement to the contrary none of the provisions of the present protocol shall operate except in the first season.

ARTICLE 5.

The present protocol shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE 6.

(i) The present protocol shall be open to accession on behalf of any Government which was a party to the 1937 Agreement and has not signed the present protocol.

(ii) Accession shall be effected by means of a notification addressed to the Government of the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE 7.

(i) The Government of the United Kingdom shall inform the Governments of the United States of America, Canada, Eire, Mexico, New Zealand and Norway of all ratifications of this protocol or accessions thereto.

(ii) The present protocol shall come into force as soon as ratifications or accessions have been deposited on behalf of all Governments referred to in paragraph (i) of this article and of the Government of the United Kingdom.

(iii) The ratification of or accession to the present protocol by a Government which is a signatory but not a party to the Agreement of 1937 shall not become effective until such Government becomes a party to that agreement by ratification.

In witness whereof the undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised to this effect by their respective Governments, have signed the present protocol and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London this 7th day of February, 1944, in a single copy which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom by whom certified copies will be transmitted to all the Governments referred to in Article 7 (i).

For the Government of the Union of South Africa:

DENEYS REITZ.

A. P. VAN DER POST.

For the Government of the United States of America:

LOYD V. STEERE.

For the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia:

S. M. BRUCE.

For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

A. T. A. DOBSON.

J. E. DE WATTEVILLE.

For the Government of Canada:

VINCENT MASSEY.

For the Government of Eire:

For the Government of New Zealand:

W. J. JORDAN.

For the Government of Norway:

BIRGER BERGERSEN.

**MILITARY-SERVICE AGREEMENT
WITH CHINA**

An agreement between the United States and China regarding military service by nationals of either country residing in the other has been effected by an exchange of notes signed in Washington on November 6, 1943, May 11, 1944, and June 13, 1944.

**INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF
AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES**

On June 22, 1944 the Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification of the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944.

CONVENTION OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION, CHILE AND CUBA

The American Embassy at Habana informed the Department of State, by a despatch of May 31, 1944, of certain modifications in the Convention of Commerce and Navigation between the Governments of Chile and Cuba which was signed at Habana on March 13, 1937. The modifications were effected by an exchange of notes between the

two Governments signed at Santiago on December 3, 1942, ratifications of which were exchanged in Habana on May 17, 1944.

The texts of the notes exchanged on December 3, 1942 are published in the Cuban *Gaceta Oficial* no. 298 of May 29, 1944, pages 8769-70. The text of the Convention of Commerce and Navigation signed on March 13, 1937 is published in the Chilean *Diario Oficial* no. 18,001 of February 24, 1938, pages 461-63.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

During the quarter beginning April 1, 1944, the following publications have been released by the Department:¹

2062. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, vol. III. cxlii, 885 pp. \$2 (buckram).
2079. Foreign Service List, January 31, 1944. iv, 132 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.
2080. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Colombia—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Bogotá October 23, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 369. 5 pp. 5¢.
2081. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Revision VII, March 23, 1944. Promulgated Pursuant to Proclamation 2497 of the President of July 17, 1941. 374 pp. Free.
2082. Boundaries of the Latin American Republics: An Annotated List of Documents, 1493-1943 (Tentative Version). By Alexander Marchant, Office of the Geographer, Department of State. Inter-American Series 24. v, 386 pp. 50¢.
2084. Military Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Iran—Signed at Tehran November 27, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 361. 16 pp. 10¢.
2085. Plantation Rubber Investigations: Agreement Between the United States of America and Nicaragua Continuing in Force an Agreement of January 11, 1941, and Text of Agreement of January 11, 1941—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Managua June 23 and 26, 1943; effective July 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 357. 8 pp. 5¢.

2086. Plantation Rubber Investigations: Agreement Between the United States of America and Honduras Continuing in Force an Agreement of February 28, 1941, and Text of Agreement of February 28, 1941—Agreement effected by exchange of notes signed at Tegueigalpa June 18 and 28, 1943; effective July 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 358. 14 pp. 5¢.
2087. Index to the Department of State Bulletin, vol. IX, nos. 210-235, July 3-December 25, 1943. 19 pp. Free.
2089. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. X, no. 248, March 25, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.²
2090. Jurisdiction Over Criminal Offenses Committed by the Armed Forces of the United States in Egypt: Agreement Between the United States of America and Egypt and Procès-Verbal—Agreement effected by exchanges of notes signed at Cairo March 2, 1943; effective March 2, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 356. 17 pp. 10¢.
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