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The Department of State

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WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION—PROGRESS AND PLANS

By H. van Zile Hyde, M.D.

Alternate U. S. Representative, Interim Commission

The first World Health Assembly, which is scheduled to meet in Geneva on June 24, 1948, will mark the beginning of full-scale W_HO activity and the termination of the interim phase of the development of the international health agency planned at the International Health Conference in New York during the summer of 1946. The completion of planning for the Assembly by the Fifth Session of the Interim Commission, which met in Geneva January 22–February 7, 1948, provides an appropriate point for reviewing the work and accomplishments of the Commission and for previewing the potentialities and work of the W_HO itself.

The gap between the International Health Conference and the World Health Assembly has been prolonged well beyond the most pessimistic predictions. At the time of the Assembly the Interim Commission will have been in existence two years. At the Conference in New York, plenipotentiaries of 62 governments, representing essentially the total population of the world, signed on July 22, 1946, the constitution of the W_HO in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and confidence. It was anticipated that confirmation of these signatories would be rapidly forthcoming. China and the United Kingdom had signed without reservation. Then things slowed down. Nineteen months after the signing, when only 20¹ of the required 26 members of the United Nations had deposited instruments of acceptance, the Interim Commission set the June date for the Assembly in trust that the required number of deposits would be rapidly forthcoming.

This decision was taken when neither the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, nor France, all active members of the Interim Commission, had deposited their instruments of acceptance. It was taken in the belief that further prolongation of the interim phase would be damaging to international cooperation in health. The states serving on the Interim Commission have become acutely sensitive to the fact that they, as a small group, have been directing international health activities on behalf of all signatories to

the constitution over a long period, even though some of them have not accepted the constitution and others who are not members of the Commission have done so long since. It is to be hoped that the action taken in calling the Assembly will serve as a stimulant to this important movement.

Assuming that 26 members of the United Nations deposit instruments of acceptance of the constitution before June 24 (which must be the case if the Assembly is to meet) there will be at least 34 members of the W_HO at that time, since 8 non-members² of the United Nations have already deposited their instruments of acceptance.

The Interim Phase

The International Health Conference recognized that there would be an interval between its conclusion and the first meeting of the World Health Assembly. In order to provide for this interval, it established, through an arrangement signed by 61 governments, an Interim Commission composed of representatives of 18 members³ of the United Nations. The arrangements laid down the responsibilities of the Commission. Chief among these were the development of proposals for the program and budget for the first year of the W_HO; the provisional agenda of the first World Health Assembly, with necessary documents and recommendations relating thereto; studies in re-

¹ China, the United Kingdom, Canada, Iran, New Zealand, Syria, Liberia, Ethiopia, the Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, the Union of South Africa, Haiti, Norway, Sweden, Iraq, Siam, Yugoslavia, India, Turkey, and Egypt. Australia, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have since deposited their instruments of acceptance, making a present total of 24 members of the United Nations who have become members of the W_HO.

² Switzerland, Transjordan, Italy, Albania, Austria, Finland, Ireland, and Portugal.

³ Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Egypt, France, India, Liberia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

gard to headquarters and regional organization; and the relationship of the WHO to the United Nations and to other specialized agencies as well as to nongovernmental organizations interested in fields related to health. The arrangement also provided that the Interim Commission should take the steps necessary to effect the transfer to it, and later to the WHO, of the functions and duties of the League of Nations Health Organization and the International Office of Public Health of Paris.

The Commission has met at quarterly intervals to carry on this work. At its first session, which was held in New York immediately following the International Health Conference, Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada was elected Executive Secretary. Under his direction, a staff has been developed and offices established in New York, Geneva, and Singapore. At its fifth session, held in Geneva, the Commission concluded its major work. In the near future its recommendations regarding the agenda of the World Health Assembly and the program and relationships of the World Health Organization will be transmitted to signatories of the WHO constitution and to the Interim Commission. A final session of the Commission will be held on June 18, 1948, just prior to the World Health Assembly, to review and approve a narrative report to the World Health Assembly and such other supplemental reports and recommendations as may be required by circumstances.

Despite the frequency of meetings and the travel involved, the sessions of the Interim Commission have been attended by never less than 14 of its 18 members, showing continued active interest in international health on the part of the member governments.

The United Nations has made funds available for the work of the Commission, authorizing loans amounting to \$3,000,000 for the two-year life of the Commission. Present estimates indicate that the Commission will draw approximately \$2,700,000 against this authorization. In addition, by agreement with UNRRA, \$3,000,000 has been transferred to the Interim Commission from that agency for the continuation of certain health functions in UNRRA-receiving countries.

The work of the Commission has fallen under three quite distinct headings, namely:

- (1) Planning for the WHO;
- (2) Consolidation and continuation of the work of pre-existing international health agencies;
- (3) Continuation of certain health functions of UNRRA by arrangement with UNRRA.

Planning for the WHO

The major task of the Interim Commission has been to lay the groundwork for the WHO. This planning is certain to shape the course of the WHO for many years to come. Although the

program proposed by the Interim Commission will be modified in many ways by the World Health Assembly, it can be expected that the basic principles incorporated in it will remain as the determinants of WHO policy in its formative years.

It is important to examine, in a general way, the plans which have been formulated, in an attempt to preview the organization that is emerging and the factors giving it shape.

Program

In developing program proposals, the Interim Commission has been conscious of the broad scope of the WHO constitution, which aims at the improvement of the physical, mental, and social health of all peoples. It has been conscious, as well, of the time range of this task, which indeed stretches into infinity. It has attempted to enclose this breadth and time-reach into a program measured by the realities of present international life. Recognizing that the WHO can make only a beginning in its first year, the Commission has focused its proposals for action programs on major world health problems for the solution of which there are methods already at hand. Under the proposals the WHO would assist governments in building up effective national programs in these fields, as a first step toward its general objective of strengthening national health services throughout the world. The Commission's proposals further provide for study and planning in regard to other major problems for which there appears to be a promise of early development of methods applicable on a wide basis. It has subordinated those important but frustrating problems in which there is a sense of urgency but as yet no method lending itself to international approach. These problems, by their nature, require intensive study at national and local levels before international action can be taken.

In November 1947 the Commission, after careful deliberation, assigned top priority to certain fields of activity and intensified its planning activities in these fields. The disease problems thus chosen for emphasis have certain common characteristics, namely, high world attack rates, involving many millions of persons annually; increased incidence directly resulting from war; and methods of control not widely exploited. In addition to giving high priority to these diseases, the Commission recognized the paramount importance to the world of the development of healthy successor generations by the application of new techniques in maternal and child hygiene.

The disease entities singled out, on the above basis, for emphasis are malaria, tuberculosis, and the group of venereal diseases, with special reference to syphilis. It will be well to examine separately the reasons behind this selection.

Malaria

At first sight malaria would perhaps appear to be a disease of regional concern in the tropical and semitropical zones. Quite otherwise, it is today of prime importance to the entire world. In a time of acute world food shortage, it attacks some 300 million persons annually, killing some 3 million of them. For the most part these victims are the workers in the great agricultural areas of the world. The tremendous impact of malaria in these areas is felt in more favorable, nonmalarious climates in the deprivation of food and is evidenced by the effects of malnutrition. The debilitating effect of chronic and recurrent malaria reduces markedly the productivity of essential manpower. It suppresses the alertness of mind and body needed for the application of modern agricultural science in areas which remain backward in a forward-looking age. This situation persists even though malaria can be controlled even to the point of eradication by methods whose effectiveness has been proved in every continent. Today, with the advent of new tools of control, such as the dramatically effective DDT, malaria is more than ever susceptible of complete eradication.

What is required is the extension of knowledge and provision of leadership to affected areas. In Greece, for example, where, through the centuries, malaria has annually attacked 1 to 3 millions of a population of 7.5 millions, the disease has been reduced to a minor problem—by Greeks—under the leadership of a handful of experts sent into the country by UNRRA and maintained there now by the Interim Commission. As a further example of accomplishment in this field by a small outlay of funds—coupled with a large outlay of expertness—one can cite the wartime experience of Egypt with malaria. In 1944, upper Egypt was invaded by *Anopheles gambiae*, the most vicious vector of malaria. Tens of thousands of deaths resulted. In 1945, in one season, this mosquito was completely eradicated throughout Egypt—by Egyptians—with “know-how” supplied by three or four experts of the Rockefeller Foundation. Malarious countries can themselves conquer malaria with incentive and technical assistance supplied on an international basis.

FAO, as well as WHO, has recognized the significance of malaria in retarding full agricultural productivity. FAO knows that it is handicapped in attaining its objectives so long as populations are held back physically and mentally by this disease. It has sought the aid and advice of the Interim Commission in this matter. In the FAO schemes for development of irrigation projects in malarious zones, such as the Middle East, there stands a threat of increasing the incidence of malaria unless plans are drawn and carried out with attention to mosquito control at each step.

The Interim Commission has seen in malaria

a truly world problem toward the solution of which the WHO can make a major contribution by the rapid extension and application of existing technical knowledge.

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is, of course, one of the great enemies of mankind. During the war, deaths from this disease increased almost everywhere as a result of crowding, malnutrition, and the intimate association of open cases of the disease with the general population due to the breakdown of control measures. Indeed, during 1944 and 1945, the death rates in Europe reached most alarming heights, in many places doubling the prewar rate. Since that time there has been a deceptive reduction in current tuberculosis death rates, due to the fact that many of those persons who would normally have survived to swell the present death rate died earlier than would have been their expected lot. The rate of infection, however, remains high, as revealed by mass X-ray and tuberculin surveys, threatening a progressive increase in death rates during ensuing years. Important steps can be taken to ward off this increase and reduce, progressively, the rate of infection. Long-established methods of control, which have proved highly effective where they have been well developed, require extension and strengthening. The essence of these control measures is the finding and isolation of contagious cases.

There is, however, a relatively new tool, which only of late has won wide acceptance. The Scandinavian and other countries including France, Canada, and the United States, have produced convincing evidence of the effectiveness, in the control of tuberculosis, of the use of a vaccine known as BCG (*Bacillus Calmette-Guérin*) which was developed in France almost three decades ago. It remains now to determine the exact place of BCG, in relation to other control measures, in the over-all control of tuberculosis. It is quite fully agreed however that BCG has a vital role to play in the international control of tuberculosis. It is the tool that offers hope of immediate benefit, while the world attempts to build the economic foundations which are essential to the control of tuberculosis by older, more orthodox control measures. These latter measures depend upon a sound economic structure which makes available to all proper food, clothing, housing, medical care, and hospitalization. Internationally, the final conquest of tuberculosis is in the hands of the United Nations itself and those of its specialized agencies concerned with world economic health. Tuberculosis is a disease that can be suppressed by a planned attack. The low death rate of 32 per 100,000 in Denmark, as contrasted with rates of 200 to 400 per 100,000 in

several other areas of Europe, is a direct result of such attack.

The Interim Commission has recognized that the Wno can contribute significantly toward its control through the extension of professional knowledge by fellowships, demonstrations, and expert advice to governments, through the extension of public knowledge concerning the disease and its method of spread, by the promotion of the eradication of tuberculosis in cattle, and particularly, now, by the extension of the use of BCG vaccine.

The Commission has not felt it prudent to wait for the Wno in order to extend the use of BCG vaccine in areas in which tuberculosis is epidemic. It is therefore sending teams to India, at the request of that Government, to demonstrate the technique of vaccination in the hope of extending its use there on a wide basis. At the same time it is providing to the International Children's Emergency Fund a panel of experts to advise the Fund on the technical aspects of a program upon which the Fund is embarking to vaccinate an estimated 15 million children in Europe. The Commission has, as well, accepted the responsibility for conducting studies to determine the effect on tuberculosis rates of this vast vaccination program.

Venereal Disease

As is usual during and following war, there has been a tremendous upsurge of venereal disease over wide areas. The movement of masses of peoples, troops, and displaced civilians, the shattered economy of nations and degradation of morals which are inherent in warfare form the basis of this increase. Concurrently, in countries not directly affected by war, the incidence of venereal disease is exceedingly high as a concomitant of social backwardness. There are, for instance, extensive areas in Africa in which over 75 percent of the population is infected with syphilis. By way of contrast, certain countries, with high social and health standards, had reduced venereal disease prior to the war to a problem of minor significance. This was the case, particularly, in the Scandinavian countries, but even those countries reported a six to tenfold increase in the incidence of syphilis during the war. Venereal disease, particularly syphilis, is a serious economic burden upon the generation which tolerates it and places upon the successor generation a heavy burden of congenitally infected dependents.

Even while the war-caused increase in venereal disease was occurring, a momentous event took place in the discovery of the effectiveness of penicillin in the treatment of both syphilis and gonorrhoea. At last, a quick-acting, highly effective curative agent had been found and was in production on a large scale. It is important that this new agent be used to its full effectiveness, as rapidly as possible, in the treatment and control of venereal

disease on a world-wide scale. This requires a rapid extension of technical knowledge in regard to its use.

While extending the use of penicillin, it is of equal importance that long-established control methods, involving case finding, contact tracing, mass blood testing, suppression of prostitution, provisions of treatment, et cetera, be also extended and applied in the ways that have been found effective in countries which have demonstrated the effectiveness of control measures. Such measures include the lifting of the veils of mystery, fear, and shame from the face of this problem, and alerting the population to an awareness of the symptoms of venereal disease so that there is full public understanding of its real nature.

Venereal disease cannot be tackled single-handedly by the Wno. In view of its basic social nature it requires a combined attack by the commissions of the United Nations, particularly the Social Commission, UNESCO, and other interested voluntary agencies. The attack on these diseases must be a joint coordinated attack, with the Wno providing guidance and impetus to the technical aspects of the problem.

Maternal and Child Health

It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the importance of improving the lot of children throughout the world. The intense interest in the International Children's Emergency Fund is a clear demonstration of the full recognition of the need and importance of children in developing a stable world of the future.

Nowhere better than in the United States could one be conscious of the value of well-constructed programs for the care and guidance of mothers and children. Between the years 1933 and 1945 the reduction in infant mortality from 58.1 to 35.1 deaths per thousand live births, and the reduction in the maternal death rate in child birth from 6.2 to 2.1 per thousand live births, is a tribute to the value of a deliberate attack on the part of the medical and related health and social professions as well as of voluntary and governmental agencies.

The benefit of this experience can be extended to other parts of the world where, among tens of millions of people—perhaps hundreds of millions—20 to 30 percent of infants die in the first year and as high as 50 percent before the fifth year. In those areas the majority that survive are afflicted by avoidable chronic, wasting diseases such as hookworm, trachoma (which leads to blindness), schistosomiasis (a fluke infection debilitating large populations in tropical and semitropical areas, e.g., Egypt, where over half of the population is infected), and are further reduced in effectiveness by prolonged malnutrition and an unhealthy mental adaptation to their environment.

On the instance of the representative of the U.S.S.R. at the third session of the Interim Commission, a high priority was assigned to the development of a Wno program in the field of child health. At the fifth session, the United States Delegation presented a carefully constructed plan for action in this field. This plan was fully supported by the Interim Commission and incorporated in its program recommendations to the World Health Assembly.

It is necessary that the present generation approach aggressively the problem of building successor generations on a solid foundation. The World Health Organization can contribute greatly to this by focusing attention upon the problem and by extending to all parts of the world, by means of fellowships and expert advice to governments, knowledge that is readily available.

Other Activities

The Interim Commission has grouped numerous fields which require varied attention in a well-balanced program directed at the current world health problems. Generous provision has been made in the proposed budget for the group, with wide latitude being granted to the Director General and Executive Board in the rate and manner of development of specific programs. Among the fields included in this group are public health administration, nursing, sanitary engineering, industrial and rural hygiene, public health education, mental health, nutrition, schistosomiasis, leprosy, influenza, poliomyelitis, and cancer.

The proposed program makes special and generous provision for fellowships in recognition of the vital importance of the trained individual as the foundation of an effective health service. The experience of the Interim Commission in administering fellowships under the funds transferred from UNRRA (see below) has convinced it of the basic importance of this method of extending knowledge in such a way that it will be applied to current problems.

The proposed program further provides for the continuation and extension of work taken over from pre-existing international health agencies (Office of League of Nations). This can be more usefully discussed in connection with the operating phase of the Interim Commission work⁴ (see below).

Budget

The budget being proposed to the World Health Assembly covers the first full fiscal year of the Wno (January 1–December 31, 1949). No specific proposal is being put forward for the final months of 1948, which will constitute the initial period of the Wno. The Interim Commission felt that the budget for that period could better be drawn up

by the World Health Assembly after decisions have been taken as to the date of termination of the Interim Commission, the site of the headquarters of the Wno, and the level of activity during the first full year. This period, of perhaps four months, will constitute a transitional period from the interim to the full initial level of Wno activities, and its financing will require supplementation of the approved 1948 Interim Commission budget. It is hoped that this transitional budget may include provisions for repayment of indebtedness to the United Nations and for the establishment of a working capital fund so that the Wno may begin its first full year on a sound financial base.

The budget proposed for 1949 totals \$6,473,991. The Interim Commission is presenting it as a working document for the World Health Assembly rather than as a definitive budget. It is intended to present the Commission's views as to the requirements for carrying out effective initial programs in the various fields in which the Commission feels the Wno should take action during its first year or must take action to meet its statutory or inherited obligations. It is being presented in a form which lends itself readily to modification in emphasis on specific programs and in organizational structure. It can be reduced or expanded, in whole or in part, and refined to meet the wishes of the Health Assembly. In this way it can serve as a guide to the World Health Assembly, with no attempt being made by the smaller interim group to force an organizational pattern upon the larger group.

Headquarters

The arrangement establishing the Interim Commission charged it with making studies in regard to site of headquarters. The Commission has circularized governments to determine their interest in the matter and to elicit any offers of land or

⁴The League of Nations Health Organization ceased to exist with the dissolution of the parent body. The United Nations assumed responsibility for certain of its activities. This responsibility was transferred to the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization in the fall of 1946.

A protocol, signed on the same day as the constitution of the World Health Organization, provides for the ultimate dissolution of the International Office of Public Health and the transfer of its assets, duties, and functions to the World Health Organization. By agreement between the Interim Commission and the Permanent Committee of the Office, the Commission is now carrying on the duties assigned to the Office by international conventions. The Office was established by the Rome agreement of 1907, which can be terminated only by the consent of all 45 states which are parties. By becoming a party to the protocol the states have agreed to the termination of the agreement of 1907. They have further agreed that if all the parties to the agreement of 1907 have not agreed to its termination by Nov. 15, 1949, they will then denounce the agreement of 1906. Such denunciation will take effect on Nov. 15, 1950.

facilities that might be forthcoming. It has been indicated that France and Switzerland and perhaps other governments will lay before the World Health Assembly specific offers of land and buildings. In addition, the plan for the United Nations building in New York includes facilities for such specialized agencies as may settle there.

The studies made by the Interim Commission on this matter are not complete or definitive. A special committee composed of the Representatives of India, Egypt, France, Mexico, and Norway was appointed to study this matter and has presented a report calling attention to factors which should be taken into account in arriving at a decision in regard to the site of the headquarters, such as proximity to other related agencies; availability of adequate space, communications, transport, and other facilities; economic and social stability; cultural and scientific environment, et cetera. The report of the Committee, however, does not include a careful evaluation of these factors, but rather leaves the impression that despite such real considerations, the final choice will rest on other less tangible factors. The leading contenders at the present time would appear to be Geneva, London, New York, and Paris.

The position held consistently by the United States Representative, since the preparatory meeting in early 1946, is that the dominant consideration should be the scientific quality of the environment. It is felt that the WHO will attract a staff of high scientific attainment more readily if located in a place at which its staff can maintain close daily contact with outstanding specialists in the various fields of its interest. Isolation from such an environment could well lead to stagnation. Brussels, Copenhagen, London, New York, and Paris, among places that have been considered, would appear to excel as scientific centers.

Regional Arrangements

The arrangement establishing the Interim Commission instructed it to make studies in regard to regionalization of the WHO. Except for negotiations with the Pan American Sanitary Organization⁵ leading toward integration of that organization as the regional organ in the Western Hemisphere, as provided in the constitution of the WHO, little has been done in this field. Replies to an inquiry on the subject have been tabulated and will be presented to the WHO. These include detailed suggestions as to regional structure from the Governments of France, India, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom. Outside of the Western Hemisphere, no general pattern has emerged, with the exception of the Pan Arab

⁵ Pan American Sanitary Organization consists of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and the Pan American Sanitary Conference and its directing council.

Health Bureau which is being looked upon as the possible nucleus of a regional structure in the Middle East area.

Full integration of the Pan American Sanitary Organization must depend on the identity of membership. Negotiations have progressed, but they have not reached a final stage. Of the 21 members of the Pan American Sanitary Organization, only Haiti had become a member of the WHO at the time of the fifth session of the Interim Commission. Negotiations with the competent authorities of the Pan American Sanitary Organization had shown agreement between the Interim Commission and the Pan American Sanitary Organization on the basic points involved in integration.

Pending acquisition of full membership in the WHO by the other American republics, the Interim Commission authorized the Executive Secretary to make a working arrangement with the Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau whereby the Bureau will serve as the regional office of the Interim Commission. Such an arrangement between the Director General of the WHO and the Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau might also serve as the first step in full integration of the Pan American Sanitary Organization as the regional organization of the WHO.

The Interim Commission will make no recommendations to the World Health Assembly concerning regional organization.

Relations With Organizations

As part of its planning for the World Health Organization, the Interim Commission has taken active steps to develop a pattern of relationships between the WHO and intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations with common or related interests. It has negotiated several agreements which it will lay before the World Health Assembly for its consideration and approval. For the most part these agreements follow the standard patterns which have been developed between specialized agencies and between these agencies and the United States.

International Governmental Organizations

The Interim Commission has been impressed by the need for, and value of, close cooperation through liaison and joint committees with:

The United Nations—with particular regard to social problems, such as venereal disease, population problems, statistical activities, public relations, and administrative and financial matters;

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations—with particular regard for nutrition, rural hygiene, and health conditions retarding agricultural production, such as malaria;

The International Labor Organization—with

particular regard to industrial hygiene, housing, and accident prevention;

The International Civil Aviation Organization—with particular regard to the spread of disease through air travel and the physiology of flight; and

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—There is a particularly broad community of interest between the WHO and UNESCO. The Interim Commission is at present working closely with UNESCO in the development of the health aspects of the UNESCO field science stations project, the Hylean Amazon basin project, and the fundamental education pilot project in Haiti; in the coordination of medical abstracting and the establishment of a permanent bureau for the coordination of international congresses in medical and related fields. In the course of working together in an intimate fashion, the two agencies are attempting to develop an agreement which will go beyond the standard inter-agency agreements by including, in general terms, a definition of the boundaries of interest between the two agencies. It is expected that such an agreement will be ready for action by the World Health Assembly.

The Interim Commission has been fully alive to the fact that other specialized agencies have legitimate interests in the field of health. It has recognized that the objectives of the WHO can be obtained with greater speed if such agencies are encouraged to take an active interest in the health problems related to their major interests. The Commission feels that the WHO as “the specialized agency in the field of health”, as defined in the WHO constitution and included in the agreement approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, has a distinct responsibility for providing technical advice and assistance and in performing a coordinating function in the interagency attack upon health problems. It is in this light that it foresees active cooperation and intimate relationships with the numerous agencies and commissions which have been and are being developed within the United Nations structure.

Nongovernmental Organizations

On the national plane, voluntary agencies have been of the highest importance in the advance of public health. More often than not they lead the way in the development of new methods of attack upon disease and in the development of new administrative approaches to health problems. Thus far, on the international plane, the numerous voluntary international organizations which exist in fields related to health have not had the same spark of life or exhibited the same leadership. During the war, the work of these organizations was seriously impeded. Now, however, as a result of the

greatly increased force behind internationalism, particularly the broader thinking of Americans and American agencies, there is a new drive within these organizations, giving promise of their increasing initiative and effectiveness. The Interim Commission has recognized that the WHO would do well to support this development.

The Commission itself has not entered into formal relationship with voluntary organizations, but has developed close working relationships with the International Union Against Tuberculosis, the International Union Against Venereal Disease, the International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria, the International Congress on Mental Health, the International Congress on Microbiology, and others. As an example of the value of such relationship, one can cite the establishment by the Commission of a world influenza center in London for the world-wide study, through regional and national laboratories, of the viruses causing influenza in local outbreaks. This program is a direct result of consultation with the International Congress on Microbiology and is considered by exports the world over as of the highest importance.

The Commission is recommending to the World Health Assembly a mechanism whereby international voluntary agencies in the health field may, after establishment of their truly representative international character, become related to the WHO and have the privilege of consultative status. It can be hoped that liaison will be established with the more important organizations on a permanent basis and that some of these organizations will establish their headquarters in close association with that of the WHO, so that all major resources for the attack upon world health problems will be closely coordinated and mutually supporting. Meanwhile, as pointed out above, the Interim Commission, jointly with UNESCO, is establishing as a first step a central bureau to assist the voluntary technical organizations in developing and coordinating international congresses in their technical fields.

Absorption of Pre-existing Health Agencies

Certain rather extensive routine operating functions of the Interim Commission have been derived directly from the health organizations of the League of Nations and the International Office of Public Health in Paris, both of which have been or are being absorbed by the Interim Commission on behalf of the WHO. These functions have the solidity of international acceptance over a period of years. They perhaps lack the glamour of novelty but constitute a firm base for the new organization. These functions include the following:

The routine exchange of information between

nations on the occurrence of pestilential disease, such as cholera, plague, smallpox, and typhus;

The administration of the international sanitary conventions;

The delineation of yellow-fever zones and approval of yellow-fever vaccines;

The revision of international sanitary convention procedures;

The development and maintenance of international standard preparations;

The preparation of monographs on drugs in the development of an international pharmacopoeia;

The analysis and presentation of statistical material regarding the occurrence of infectious diseases; and

The publication of bulletins, journals, fasciculi, and international lists covering scientific, legal, and statistical matters important to international control of disease and improvement of health.

International Epidemic Control

The most extensive operation of the Interim Commission in this field is the conduct of the international exchange of epidemiological information with regard to the pestilential diseases. A world center is maintained in Geneva into which flows constantly all information concerning the occurrence of these diseases. The information is sent to Geneva directly by many countries and from others, indirectly, through the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, the Alexandria (Egypt) Epidemiological Bureau, and the Singapore Station of the WHO. The information received is transmitted throughout the world in a weekly epidemiology and vital-statistics report and, more rapidly, to the affected countries through telegram and radio. The Singapore Station maintains regular broadcasts in which it keeps shipping constantly informed of health conditions in the many ports of the Far East.

This service is of vital importance in maintaining the free movement of sea and air traffic without undue risk of transmission of disease. The epidemiological service proved its value most recently in connection with the cholera epidemic in Egypt when it kept the world continuously and reliably informed of the course of the epidemic. It was able at the same time to counter rumors that were serving as a serious impediment to maritime and air traffic.

The experience of the Egyptian cholera epidemic has indicated the need for improvement in the service as taken over from the League of Nations and has led to a decision to use telegraphic and radio means of distributing information more freely during emergencies. Further, as part of its responsibility for the administration of international sanitary conventions, the Interim Commission has instituted an investigation of the excessive quarantine restrictions imposed by nu-

merous countries during the panic period which followed immediately upon the announcement of the invasion of Egypt by cholera. The objective of this investigation is to keep disease control based on a solid scientific foundation and to prevent hysterical reactions which interfere with essential traffic.

The Interim Commission has initiated studies with a view to modernizing international sanitary and quarantine measures. It has recognized that the content and method of international sanitary conventions have become obsolescent with the growth and increased speed of air travel. An expert committee on international epidemic control has been established and charged with re-studying the basic requirements of disease control in the light of modern knowledge of disease and in the face of the realities of air travel. These studies are being made in the expectation that the World Health Organization will discard the cumbersome method of international conventions as a means for control of the spread of disease and substitute sanitary regulations adopted by the World Health Assembly under pertinent provision of the constitution of the WHO. Such regulations will have the full force of conventions, will come into effect on a wide basis more rapidly than is possible in the case of conventions, and can be revised in pace with technical progress. Under the constitution of the WHO, such regulations become binding on member states within a stated period, except for such members as may reserve in regard to them.

Lists of Causes of Death and Morbidity

A highly important project which is being carried forward by the Interim Commission is the decennial revision of the International Lists of Causes of Death and Morbidity. This list serves as the basis for the international comparability of statistics in the health field. At two meetings of an Expert Committee of the Interim Commission, this list has undergone a thorough and fundamental revision which will greatly increase its usefulness throughout the world. Jointly with the French Government, the Interim Commission is calling a special international conference in Paris in April of this year to give final consideration to the list and to win for it acceptance by the experts of all countries. Following that conference, the list will be put into final form and submitted to the World Health Assembly as the basis for international regulations on mortality and morbidity statistics. It is expected that the list will be published by the end of 1948 in time to be used as a basis for accumulating data in the 1950 censuses in many countries.

Field-Services Program

The largest operating program of the Interim Commission has been its field-services program

which has been the continuation of certain health function of UNRRA conducted under funds transferred to the Commission by that organization.

In late 1946, it was apparent to both UNRRA and to the Commission that a sudden cessation of the important health work done by UNRRA would imperil certain countries and constitute a danger to world health. In Greece, for instance, the work of UNRRA in the control of malaria had shown promise of almost complete suppression of this disease if the work could be carried on into the 1947 malaria season. Such suppression was of the utmost importance to Greece in its rehabilitation, since the disease, uncontrolled, affects between 1 and 3 million people annually. In China, the UNRRA plans for rehabilitation of port sanitation and quarantine required activation in order to prevent the spread of cholera and plague from that endemic area to noninfected countries. Everywhere in war-devastated Europe, medical education urgently required the infusion of new knowledge and modern ideas that UNRRA had only begun to provide in the form of fellowships and study grants. Medical schools had been reopened, but faculties were seriously handicapped by years of isolation from the current of medical thought and development. There was a crying need for young doctors throughout Europe and it was important that they be properly trained.

The Commission, as a planning body for the WHO, was not in a financial position to do this urgent work. The Director General of UNRRA was acutely aware of the needs and took the lead in working out an agreement with the Interim Commission which placed it in a position to meet the most urgent demands. Pending the establishment of the WHO, the Commission has carried on the program largely as it was originally conceived and instituted by UNRRA. It has shifted emphasis from mission programs to fellowships and study tours. This was a change in emphasis which had been initiated by UNRRA in adapting its program to the changing needs of the devastated countries.

Although the field-services program has of necessity been limited to UNRRA receiving countries, it has given the Interim Commission valuable experience in the development of working relationships with governments in the strengthening of national health services. Much of the experience can be carried over into the WHO as a basis for its work. It will be necessary, however, for the WHO to orient its field work quite differently from the UNRRA orientation. When UNRRA embarked upon its work, it was faced with acute devastation and almost complete administrative disorganization in the receiving countries. Its program was shaped by these factors. Also UNRRA had large sums at hand, placing it in a position to provide supplies, as well as technical advice and assistance; it would

strike hard at all the urgent problems in the countries in which it was operating. The WHO will have a much larger field in which to operate, all countries being potentially its beneficiary. At the same time, its financial resources will be more restricted. It will therefore be necessary for the WHO to focus its attention upon a limited number of general health problems, giving assistance on a wide geographical basis in regard to these specific problems. As progress is made in the solution of these, emphasis can be shifted to other problems of general importance.

In view of the importance of the field-services program as a basis for future WHO work, it would be well to look briefly at some of the Interim Commission activities in certain of the receiving countries.

The Interim Commission maintains missions, varying in size from 1 to over 30 experts, in Austria, Greece, China, Ethiopia, Poland, Hungary, and Italy. The composition and functions of these missions vary in accordance with the need of each recipient country.

In Greece, the mission has been largely concerned with providing technical advice to the Government in the control of malaria and tuberculosis. This has included the close supervision of widespread use of DDT both by airplane spraying in marsh areas and hand spraying of houses in communities throughout the malarious areas of the country.

In Ethiopia, the mission has been conducting courses for sanitary inspectors and hospital dressers in an attempt to provide foci for the spread of elementary concepts of sanitation and nursing care.

In China, where the largest mission of experts is maintained, the Commission is training both the faculties and students of the schools of medicine, nursing, and public health. It also provides to the Government technical advice concerning the control of cholera, plague, kala azar, tuberculosis, and malaria, as well as advice and assistance aimed at the improvement of port sanitation and quarantine.

In Italy, a small mission is maintained, at the request of that Government, to assist and advise in the wise use of local funds that were accumulated from the internal sale of UNRRA-supplied goods. This mission is working with the Italian Government and the Rockefeller Foundation in an effort to eradicate malaria-carrying mosquitoes on the Island of Sardinia and in other malarious areas of Italy.

In Austria, Hungary, and Poland the missions consist of a single medical officer, serving in a liaison capacity. These officers assist in selecting and making arrangements for professional personnel granted fellowships by the WHO Interim Commission for foreign study. They also assist in arranging for visits of specialists and lecturers

and in providing current medical literature, periodicals, and teaching apparatus made available by the Commission. These officers also give technical advice and assistance on the many problems faced by the health authorities of these countries.

Assistance to Yugoslavia and Finland has been limited to the award of fellowships, and in the Ukraine to the supply of current medical literature.

This brief review indicates the diversity of the activities of the Interim Commission under its field-service program.

Fellowship Program

The aim of the fellowship program has been to foster the spread of medical knowledge to the widest possible extent and particularly to aid in rehabilitating public health and medical education in the countries to which it has been possible to extend aid. Essentially, one third of the field-services funds has been allocated for this program. The WHO Interim Commission staff experts have assisted governments in the selection of fellowship candidates and in arranging study schedules for them. Although the universities and medical schools in nearly all countries receiving fellows are overcrowded, they, as well as hospitals, laboratories, and governmental health administrations, have cooperated consistently in providing training.

The majority of fellows are experienced specialists engaged in teaching at universities or hospitals; their fields of study include practically all the specialized medical techniques. The awards to this group provide for three to six months of study and observation, often at a number of different institutions. A second group is composed of specialists in the technical and administrative public-health services; most of these fellows are on leave from responsible posts in the health administrations of their own countries. Their studies, covering periods of three to six months, include advanced work in universities and observation in public-health agencies and field projects. A limited number of fellowships for a full year of study are awarded to young men and women who are preparing for careers in various branches of public health and nursing. In view of the necessary emphasis placed on the rehabilitation of medical schools during this period of the program, a large number of fellowships have been in basic medical sciences and clinical fields. There have been 175 fellowships awarded in Europe.⁶

⁶ Fellowships have been distributed in the following fields: public-health administration, 28; cancer, 12; venereal disease, 7; tuberculosis, 6; child health, 12; clinical specialties, 56; mental health, 11; basic medical sciences, 35; public-health nursing, 2; dentistry, 3; and legal medicine, 3.

Fellows have been placed largely in the United States, Canada, England, and Switzerland.

Medical Literature

Assistance in the selection and procurement of medical books and periodicals has been given to eight of the eleven countries which have requested such aid. Members of the WHO Interim Commission staff have taken part in this highly specialized task, which is essential to the restoration of medical education in countries cut off from scientific developments during the war.

The World Health Assembly

As the meeting of the World Health Assembly approaches, one can look back upon the development and international acceptance of a broad WHO constitution, followed by a long interim period during which useful work has been done and valuable experience gained.

The World Health Assembly will have before it recommendations based upon this experience. These recommendations are being submitted to the World Health Assembly by the Interim Commission in the anticipation of lively and fruitful discussions, not as a finished product for rubber stamping by the Assembly. It will be necessary for the Assembly to give careful and detailed study to all elements of the proposed program in order to mature the recommendations and fit them into a sound budget structure, scaled to fit the available funds. The program adopted by the Assembly will cast the die, shaping the WHO for many years to come. Other matters, in addition to the general program which will be before the Assembly requiring exploration, and in most cases decision, are the pattern of relationships between the WHO and other organizations; the regional pattern of the WHO, with particular reference to the integration of the Pan American Sanitary Organization as a regional organization of the WHO; the location of WHO headquarters; and the selection of a Director General.

The World Health Assembly will be composed of the health leaders of the countries constituting the organization. The International Health Conference in New York, which was climaxed by the signing of three important international instruments, and the successful course of the Interim Commission since that time have confirmed the historical fact that, in the field of health, nations can meet together in a spirit of friendship and understanding and arrive at firm decisions which are carried through to an effective conclusion for the betterment of mankind. The first World Health Assembly can be expected to be another example of this historical fact. It will be the first in a series of annual World Health Assemblies, which can be an important focus of the world's hope of peace and life.

Completion of ITO Charter Hailed as Hope for Troubled World

STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

[Released to the press March 25]

The Department of State announces the signing of the final act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment at Habana, marking the completion of a charter for an International Trade Organization. The representatives of about 60 nations participated in the preparation of the final draft of the charter.

The charter is a momentous achievement and one from which the whole world will benefit. It is the product of more than two years of constant and conscientious labor by experts and representatives of the many nations who worked long and weary hours to reach agreement on a code of international economic activity which would be acceptable to all. First, the United States issued in December 1945 its *Proposals for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment*¹ which suggested the formation of an International Trade Organization. This was expanded by the United States into a *Suggested Charter* in September 1946.² The following month a Preparatory Committee of 18 nations established by the United Nations modified this draft at London; in February 1947 further changes were made at a meeting at Lake Success; and in August 1947 a fourth draft was drawn up at Geneva. Finally, at Habana from November 21, 1947, to March 24, 1948, the present charter was prepared. Through this series of conferences the proposed charter received the fullest possible consideration and the utmost care in its formulation.

The charter will now be submitted to the various countries for acceptance according to the constitutional procedures established by each country. In the United States it will be submitted to the Congress for approval.

The completion of the charter is a clear and unmistakable demonstration of the ability of a major part of the world to work together for the common good. It goes far beyond study and commendation. It contains numerous and detailed commitments which are mutually beneficial to the members. It is broader in scope and greater in detail than most, if not all, previous agreements between nations on economic relations.

Many of the changes and modifications made in subsequent drafts of the charter were suggested

by interested groups in this country. The charter includes provisions recommended by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, by business, labor, farm, and other organizations. As a result the charter is a live and meaningful document concerned with practical rules for encouraging the flow of international trade.

The main objective of the charter is the raising of living standards throughout the world. It proposes to do this by promoting the expansion of international trade on a basis of multilateralism and general nondiscrimination, by fostering the growth of production and employment, and by encouraging the economic development of backward areas. Its substantive chapters set forth a series of international commitments with respect to national policies regarding tariffs, customs administration, hidden restrictions on trade, import and export quotas, exchange controls, preferences and other forms of discrimination, state trading, subsidies, restrictive business practices in international trade, intergovernmental commodity agreements, the international aspects of domestic employment policies, economic development, and international investments. Other chapters outline the structure, functions, and procedures of the International Trade Organization.

The chapter on employment and economic activity emphasizes the fact that employment, production, and demand for goods and services are not only of domestic concern but are necessary for the well-being of all countries. Members agree to take action designed to achieve and maintain full and productive employment through measures appropriate to their political, economic, and social institutions.

The chapter dealing with economic development and reconstruction was, as it had been in the previous conferences on the charter, one of the most hotly debated sections at the Habana conference. Under the provisions of this chapter, members agree to cooperate with other countries through the medium of international agencies for the purpose of promoting general economic development as well as the reconstruction of those countries whose economies have been devastated by the

¹ Department of State publication 2411.

² Department of State publication 2598.

war. The chapter specifies the principles which shall apply to the promotion of economic development and reconstruction and the treatment of international investment. It indicates the conditions and specifies the procedures under which particular measures, otherwise inconsistent with the commercial-policy provisions of the charter and with trade agreements made pursuant thereto, may be used to promote economic development and reconstruction. Similarly, the chapter delineates the particular conditions and procedures under which preferential agreements for economic development and reconstruction may be employed.

Almost a third of the charter is devoted to provisions on commercial policy. Under the provisions of the chapter dealing with this subject, members agree to extend to each other general most-favored-nation treatment and to undertake negotiations directed toward the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of preferences on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. In general, the charter also prohibits the imposition of discriminatory internal taxes and regulations on foreign products. In view of the peculiar features of moving pictures as a commodity in international trade, special provisions were included to deal with cinematographic films.

Since quantitative restrictions on imports and exports can have an even more limiting effect than tariffs, taxes, or other similar charges, it was agreed that basically such quantitative restrictions would not be allowed. It was recognized, however, that under certain conditions and with regard to certain commodities it might be advisable to allow exceptions. The permitted exceptions are carefully enumerated and circumscribed, with safeguards to prevent their possible abuse. These exceptions include the use of import quotas on agricultural and fisheries products if they are necessary in connection with governmental programs restricting domestic marketing or production. Import quotas are also permitted for the purpose of safeguarding a member's balance of payments.

Safeguards are also included to insure that the interests of other members are not unreasonably prejudiced by the indiscriminate use of subsidies. A modification of considerable interest to the United States was made in the provisions dealing with export subsidies. Such subsidies may now be used without the prior approval of the organization, as had been previously required under the Geneva draft over the objection of the United States. They, however, must not be employed by a member to acquire more than its equitable share of world trade in the particular commodity.

Since state trading has become of growing importance in recent years, the charter has included a section dealing with this aspect of commerce. This section provides that countries carrying on trade through state enterprises should conduct

their commerce in accordance with the general principles of nondiscriminatory treatment which are applicable under the charter to private trade. In particular, state-trading enterprises are required to make their purchases and sales solely in accordance with commercial considerations and to give the enterprises of other member countries adequate opportunity to compete for such purchases or sales.

The charter also contains general commercial provisions dealing with freedom of transit, anti-dumping and countervailing duties, customs valuation, documents and other formalities in connection with importation and exportation, marks of origin, and the publication and administration of trade regulations. These provisions are designed to reduce or eliminate the many burdensome restrictions imposed on trade through administrative devices, including the so-called "invisible tariffs", which often prove to be more of an impediment to trade than the usual form of tariffs.

A final section of the chapter on commercial policy contains a number of special provisions. Of particular importance are the provisions which permit a member to withdraw tariff concessions in the event that they should lead to such relatively increased imports as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers. This is the so-called "escape clause" which the United States has included in previous trade agreements, notably the general agreement on tariffs and trade recently concluded at Geneva, to insure that domestic interests are adequately safeguarded. Also of interest in this section are provisions permitting the formation of customs unions and similar arrangements. Finally, the section lists a number of general exceptions to the obligations of the charter so as to permit measures for the protection of public morals, health, safety, and the like and to meet certain temporary exigencies arising as a result of the war, such as measures for the acquisition or distribution of commodities in short supply.

Closely related to the commercial-policy provisions of the charter is the chapter on restrictive business practices. This chapter requires that members shall take appropriate measures to prevent business practices, whether on the part of private or public enterprises, which restrain competition and foster monopolistic control whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade. The charter sets up various consultative and investigative procedures to implement this obligation for the prevention of restrictive business practices.

The charter recognizes that primary products, such as agricultural commodities and minerals, are sometimes subject to special difficulties which necessitate special treatment of the international trade in such commodities through intergovernmental agreements. The charter therefore defines

the general principles which are to govern inter-governmental commodity agreements, the circumstances under which they are to be used, and the procedures for developing and administering them. These provisions seek to safeguard the interests both of producer and consumer countries and to afford an effective solution to the particular commodity problem involved.

The remaining articles of the charter deal with the structure and functions of the International Trade Organization, procedures for the settlement of differences, and a number of general matters, including relations with nonmembers, general exceptions for national security reasons, methods of amending the charter, procedure for withdrawal of a member from the Organization and for termination of the charter, and requirements to be met for entry of the charter into force. The principal organs of the Organization will consist of a Conference, an Executive Board, and a Secretariat, including a Director-General and his staff. Differences may be settled by consultation or arbitration between the members, or by reference to the Executive Board or Conference, or to the International

Court of Justice under certain circumstances. The charter prohibits a member from entering into a preferential arrangement with a nonmember which prevents the latter from according to other members any benefit of such an arrangement. In general, members are prohibited from according to nonmembers treatment which, being more favorable than that accorded to other members, would injure the economic interests of the latter. Members are free under the charter to discriminate against nonmembers if they so wish.

The charter is to enter into force when a majority of the countries which signed the final act of the Habana conference have approved the document. However, if a majority fail to approve at the end of one year after the signature of the final act, then the charter may come into force whenever 20 countries approve the charter. If the charter has failed to come into force by September 30, 1949, those countries which have approved the charter may consult among themselves as to whether and on what terms to bring the charter into force.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House March 24]

I am deeply gratified that representatives of more than 50 nations are signing today in Habana the charter for the International Trade Organization. This charter will now be sent to the government of each nation for ratification.

The charter for the International Trade Organization is a code of fair dealing in international trade. Member nations agree to work out mutually beneficial employment policies and ways of promoting economic development. The charter provides for limitations upon cartels and defines the proper scope of intergovernmental commodity agreements. It establishes standards for the conduct of international trade. The charter thus deals comprehensively with economic problems which heretofore have been dealt with piecemeal, if at all, in international agreements.

The charter has immediate significance to the

efforts of the nations now working to repair the devastation and dislocation caused by World War II. Acceptance of the charter, in the spirit in which it has been framed, will stimulate the expansion of international trade upon which world prosperity depends. By supporting the growth of a prosperous international trade, this code of fair dealing will contribute greatly to our efforts for a just and lasting peace.

The development of this charter is an example of the finest type of international cooperation. The action in Habana today marks the conclusion of one of the most difficult and important tasks ever undertaken at international conferences.

This achievement demonstrates that many countries can work together through the United Nations to reach sound agreement on complex international issues.

STATEMENT BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Secretary of State

[Released to the press March 25]

It is gratifying that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment has succeeded in producing a charter for an International Trade Organization.

Completion of the charter follows two years and more of intensive effort, including four meetings held under the auspices of the United Nations, to formulate a generally acceptable code of fair prac-

tice in matters affecting international commerce. Representatives of more than fifty nations have now produced a document which, when approved by the governments concerned, will bring into being an organization dedicated to these purposes.

In the development of the charter, widely divergent interests and points of view had to be reconciled. The present economic difficulties and special situations of many of the countries represented at

Habana added to the difficulty of this task. The fact that agreement was finally made possible in these circumstances demonstrates that the most difficult common problems are susceptible of cooperative solution where there exists a common determination to succeed.

The course and outcome of the Habana conference also demonstrate the great immediate importance attached to both the ends and the means set forth in detail in the charter. Participating governments sent some of their leading men to the meetings and were intensely concerned, to the end of the negotiations, with the exact final terms of agreement. Chaotic economic conditions at present brought home the vital need for a statement of long-range objectives and for agreement upon the fair trade policies to be used in seeking these objectives. The charter for the ITO is an answer to both needs.

The charter represents agreement on basic economic policies never before treated in a single general international agreement. It recognizes the degree to which national action over a wide area

affects the economic well-being of other nations. Employment, economic development, international trade policy, intergovernmental commodity agreements, and cartel activity are dealt with, in each case with a view to assuring that national and international action in these fields will be directed toward a general raising of living standards throughout the world. The charter not only spells out in considerable detail principles to govern world trade but establishes procedures for making them effective. It provides for the establishment of the International Trade Organization to be the agency responsible for the administration of the provisions of the charter. The Organization will furnish a forum for discussion and consultation regarding solution of international problems of trade and employment.

The acceptance of the charter will affirm the common economic goals of world recovery, point the way toward those goals, and thus contribute to progressive expansion of world production and consumption through a growing and mutually profitable trade among all members on a fair basis.

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM L. CLAYTON¹

Chairman, U. S. Delegation

This is a day for history. There have been other conferences on international economic affairs. But none of them has undertaken a task so difficult as the one that is completed here today. None of them has come to an agreement concerning so many vital economic interests of so many states. None of them has produced a document so comprehensive as the Habana charter for world trade. Few, if any of them, have attained so notable a measure of success.

This is a momentous day for the United Nations. It marks the culmination of an enterprise that had its beginnings in the declarations of policy that were made in the Atlantic Charter in 1941 and in article VII of the mutual aid agreements in 1942. It marks the completion of three years of careful planning and almost two years of continuous negotiations. It marks the embodiment in a charter, produced by more than 50 nations, of the principles contained in the *Proposals* that were published by the United States in 1945.² It marks the

end of four months of hard work here in Habana. And, as we look upon the result of these labors, we find that the time and the effort of all the many countries who have contributed to the charter of Habana have been well spent.

The charter is complicated and difficult. It is long and detailed and technical. But behind its many chapters and its scores of articles there lies a simple truth. The world will be a better place to live in if nations, instead of taking unilateral action without regard to the interests of others, will adopt and follow common principles and enter into consultation through an international organization when interests come into conflict. And this, throughout the entire range of trade relationships, is what the signatories of the charter agree to do. Each will surrender some part of its freedom to take action that might prove harmful to others, and thus each will gain the assurance that others will not take action harmful to it. This may well prove to be the greatest step in history toward order and justice in economic relations among the members of the world community and toward a great expansion in the production, distribution, and consumption of goods in the world.

¹ Made on Mar. 23, 1948, at final plenary session of U.N. Conference on Trade and Employment and released to the press on the same date.

² *Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment* (Department of State publication 2411).

The International Trade Organization will deal with questions that nations have always held to be of the greatest importance. It will seek solutions for problems that have all too often been a source of irritation and ill-will. It will serve as a center where the peoples of the world, with their diversity of economic interests, can meet on common ground. The Ito will substantially complete the structure of international economic cooperation. It will provide a necessary supplement to the work of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and other specialized agencies. It will add strength to the United Nations itself.

It is difficult to realize that the charter designed to bring this Organization into being is now completed. For we have been told, again and again, throughout these years, that it could not be done. The program was too ambitious. It would involve too many commitments. Circumstances and systems were too diverse. Fair dealing, in

international trade, was old-fashioned and impractical. The disorganization caused by the war was too great. The problems of reconstruction were too pressing. Nations were too much preoccupied with immediate difficulties. They would not look to the future. The future, in any case, was too uncertain. It could not be done.

It has been done!

The charter is now ready for submission to the legislatures of the participating nations for approval.

This conference has afforded the world an impressive demonstration of the ability of nations to work out a comprehensive agreement on matters of vital importance under conditions of great difficulty. Interests have differed at Habana, but efforts to understand, to explain, and to agree have never failed. We have all gained in knowledge and understanding. We have achieved, through these years of working together, a voluntary agreement for our mutual benefit. In this achievement, a troubled world may well take hope.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations

I welcome the signing of the charter of the International Trade Organization as I would welcome the signing of a treaty of peace. The Ito is, in fact, in the nature of a treaty of economic peace, ending more than two decades in which protection and reprisal were far more common than cooperation. The full significance of the step cannot be appreciated without recalling the tariff rivalry of the 1920's, the restrictive nationalism of the depression years, the distortions caused by Nazi and Fascist trade aggression, and the tight controls imposed on almost all economies during the last great war. It was a trend relieved only by this country's sustained effort toward tariff reduction under the reciprocal trade-agreements program.

Thus the Ito is a turning point. It is the international organ, in the United Nations pattern, through which the world will work cooperatively to cut away the accumulated snarls which have entangled peacetime international trade.

The importance of this event in forwarding the interests of political peace is self-evident. As the Ito functions effectively, nations will be able to exploit more fully their natural economic advantages of geography, resources, and skills and to develop industrially. Workers and consumers will reap the benefits in increased employment and

higher standards of living. The Ito influence on the flow of international trade can be expected to aid also in achieving international monetary stability. In short, commercial frictions are diminished, and energies can increasingly be devoted to peaceful pursuits.

Hand in hand with the Ito goes the reciprocal trade-agreements program, now up for renewal in Congress. The Ito charter pledges member states to negotiate for the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of trade preferences in much the same way that the United States, almost alone, has pursued reductions over the last 14 years. Consequently, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is the essential vehicle for carrying out Ito objectives and achieving our own aims under the Ito charter.

Moreover, extension of the act by Congress would be evidence of the good will of the United States toward world trade expansion. It would offer to the trade of other countries the prospect of entering the American market, but only in return for concessions providing wider markets for American goods. It would stimulate the expansion of commerce, increase production, and stabilize employment.

¹ Made on Mar. 24, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

U.S. Position in the United Nations Regarding Chilean Complaint

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

U.S. Representative in the Security Council

MR. PRESIDENT: My speech will not be long. The Council has before it charges against the Soviet Union and against the present rulers of Czechoslovakia. In the main, they allege interference by the Soviet Union in various ways in the affairs of Czechoslovakia, including the threat of force and the support which the Soviet Union has rendered to the Communist minority in its disruption of the Government of Czechoslovakia.

My Government views these charges with concern. It feels that the Security Council has an obligation to consider these charges with care. The Council has heard the Representative of Chile and Dr. Papanek. Many points have been made on which we should have clarification. We have yet to hear anything which amounts to an answer to any of the charges. The Ukraine's Representative yesterday did not answer. The distinguished Representative of the Soviet Union today has not answered. The Ukrainian Representative devoted all of his discourse to an attempt to draw a red herring across the whole situation by making a mass of unsubstantiated and fanciful allegations about the conduct of others, some of which were directed toward my Government. This could not help to determine the question now before the Security Council. Today the distinguished Representative of the Soviet Union interprets the conduct of the United States as crude interference in the internal affairs of other countries and other states, as blackmail and bribery; even charges of incitement to treason against Czechoslovakia by the United States.

Well now, Mr. President, if that were so—if it were correct—if we, the United States, were willing to recognize a semblance of truth in these charges, I affirm that it could not convince the unfortunate and unhappy people of Czechoslovakia that the charges against the rulers of the Soviet Union are spurious. The poor people of Czechoslovakia are redeemed from bondage by being told that other peoples have suffered from indirect aggression. However, such fantastic stories about the United States have been told throughout my attendance upon the General As-

semblies and Security Council meetings of the United Nations. And it has always been obvious to all the world why such statements were made and that they are propaganda of the arbitrary rulers of the Russian people. They have not changed any since the first time they were uttered. They are just the same as ever and they are unworthy of a detailed answer.

The main point that interests us as a responsible body of this great international institution is to apply the test to such conduct that it deserves and ask the question: wherein do you find any answer whatever to the charges that are revealed here, that the Soviet Union has reduced the good people of Czechoslovakia to slavery; that their great system of democracy has been turned topsy-turvy; and that their economic structure has been so disrupted already that freedom of acquiring and holding property is now destroyed?

Probably the Representative of the Ukraine has not been in so favorable a position as the doormen and the cowboys of the United States of America. I am certain that the distinguished Representative of Russia does not have the opportunity that the very well-informed taxi driver in the city of Washington or in the city of New York has to have knowledge about the external affairs of the United States. But his comment, which was intended to be witty, operates as a great compliment to the democratic system of the United States, in which taxi drivers and doormen and cowboys can know and have something to say about the external affairs of their beloved country.

Now, there is one witness—that is, he might be a witness—of the actual facts in Czechoslovakia. He represents the present rulers of the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, and I do not see him sitting here at this "horseshoe".

I assume the Czechoslovakian Representative will say that we are dealing with a domestic matter, but how does he explain the coincidence of the arrival in Prague of Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Zorin immediately preceding the crisis? Members of the Council will realize that it was not in character for a Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union to travel to other countries on business such as distribution of wheat. On the contrary, it is customary for representatives of satel-

¹Made before the Security Council on Mar. 23, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

lite states to be summoned peremptorily to Moscow. Also, members of the Council will recall a similar arrival of another Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vyshinsky, in Bucharest at the time developments occurred in Rumania not at all unlike those which we are now discussing in Czechoslovakia.

The Council, therefore, is fully justified in inquiring into what Mr. Zorin may have done in Prague in addition to or rather than discussing wheat. We should know if he held, as charged, discussions with Prime Minister Gottwald and other leaders of the Communist Party and if, in these discussions, he in effect directed developments. Is the Representative of Czechoslovakia in a position to deny that Mr. Zorin encouraged the Communists and promised them assistance? It would also be interesting to know whether, as alleged, Mr. Zorin was refused an audience by the President of Czechoslovakia and, if so, what the reason for this refusal may have been.

The visit is in sharp contrast to the procedure at the time the Czechoslovakian Government was forced to reverse itself in the matter of participating in the European Recovery Program conference in Paris. This talk about the desire for economic independence does not fit the facts as the Security Council knows them. At that time the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia were summoned to Moscow. In the light of that occurrence and the humiliating reversal of position which the Czechoslovakian Government was forced to announce, can the Czechoslovakian Representative assert that his country has been free from external pressure? Can he assert, as the Representative of the Soviet Union asserted today, that their failure to cooperate in the European Recovery Plan was of their own volition, when that great democratic Government that preceded these rulers chose to enter into the arrangement with the other representative countries and then were forced to reverse their course? Also we have heard the statement that the Czechoslovakian Government has been forced to relinquish all control over the uranium mines in Czechoslovakia, and we have heard the statement that no Czech is allowed to have anything to do with the operation of these mines. If this is true, the Council is entitled to hear the Czechoslovakian Representative attempt to reconcile this situation with the position that there has been no foreign pressure on Czechoslovakia.

There is also a reference made in one of the statements to the fact that the Minister of Trade made a public statement to the effect that the Communists owed the victory of their *coup d'état* primarily to the Soviet Union and that the press statement reproducing this public statement was later corrected to leave this passage out. It would be most interesting if the Czechoslovakian Government would inform the Security Council whether

the Minister of Trade made that statement on behalf of the present rulers of Czechoslovakia. If so, to what aid from the Soviet Union was the Minister referring? It might also enlighten the Council to be informed as to the reasons for withdrawing the original press statement.

We have a series of charges relating to the claim that the Communist minority has by a *coup d'état* taken control of the machinery of the state. On the other hand, we have the contrary claim that all that has happened has been in accordance with the will of the Czechoslovakian people and is therefore an internal matter with which we cannot deal.

In this connection, the Representative of the new Czechoslovakian Government released a statement to the press yesterday giving the position of his Government with regard to the issues before the Security Council. This statement raised certain additional questions to which the Council would, I imagine, be glad to have the answers. The allegation was made that the developments which took place in Czechoslovakia in February resulted from the *deviation of certain political parties* from the ideas for which the best Czechoslovakian patriots fought during the terrible years of German occupation and from the abandonment of the principles on which the Czechoslovakians based the building of their liberated country. Is it the position of the new Czechoslovakian Government that the Communist Party alone of all the political parties which made up the National Front before February is true to the ideals of democracy and freedom which had been the mainstay of the Czechoslovak people for hundreds of years? If this is the case it might be interesting to hear the Czechoslovakian Government's explanation of the necessity for the sudden change from the policy of traditional Czechoslovakian democracy to the policy of a police state.

The allegation was also made to the press that the Czechoslovakian crisis was settled according to constitutional principles and parliamentary practice. Is it consistent with the Constitution of Czechoslovakia for the present rulers to deprive regularly elected members of Parliament of their parliamentary immunity and to remove them from office, or to dismiss judges and other high officials of the Government who disagree with them?

We would be glad to have information concerning the charges which have been made before us. Do the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia welcome the domination of Russian-trained officials? Is every influential citizen of Czechoslovakia regarded as a traitor or as "a person who betrayed his country", solely because he deviates from the ideas of the present officials ruling the inhabitants?

It is charged that President Benes has been prevented from speaking to the people of Czechoslovakia and that three separate speeches prepared by him were censored by the present rulers of the peo-

ple. It would be useful to know whether this statement is accurate and, if so, the reasons for the decision of the Government to refuse the President facilities for making these speeches publicly. If these allegations are not true, it would be helpful if some explanation could be given to the Security Council as to why the President has not made a statement to his people at this time of crisis.

Czechoslovakia was a nation which understood democracy and a country in which democratic principles and procedures prevailed. If, as the Czechoslovakian Representative has asserted to the press, the recent developments were spontaneous internal developments, how can he reconcile that assertion with actions which were taken by the Communist minority, such as breaking up meetings of other established parties, the arrest of opposition political leaders, the expulsion from universities of well-known professors, the imposition of a complete censorship on the press and radio of the country? Why have editors of leading Czechoslovakian papers disappeared; why have leaders in all walks of Czechoslovakian life fled; why have a number of Czechoslovakian diplomatic representatives abroad resigned; why did the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia commit suicide; and, I repeat, why has the President of Czechoslovakia remained silent?

Too much has happened which is not in character with the Czechoslovakian people and Czechoslovakian tradition. Too much has happened which bears a striking similarity to what happened in other countries for the Security Council to be satisfied with perfunctory or categorical denials or with further red herrings. The Council deserves and should receive from the Czechoslovakian Representative the fullest explanation with respect to the points which I have raised. We should also hear what the Representative of the Soviet Union has to say as to these points.

The Security Council should realize that grave charges have been made, charges to which it cannot close its eyes. The Security Council should, therefore, consider these charges in all of their aspects. All sides of the case should be heard.

No member should draw conclusions prematurely or lightly. Certainly my Government does not intend to do so. The Council should realize, furthermore, that if these charges should be established they would constitute a case of indirect aggression. The United Nations would then be called upon to develop effective collective measures designed for the preservation of the territorial integrity and political independence of states, however small.

Whether the charges are traversed or admitted, my Government's position is to support continued consideration by the Security Council aimed at saving other peoples from indirect aggression.

Resolution on Yugoslav Gold Reserves in U.S.¹

The Economic and Social Council

HAVING EXAMINED the question as to whether it should consider the substance of the matter raised by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia regarding its gold reserves in the United States of America;

CONSIDERING that it could not examine the substance of this matter without thus being led into the consideration of the different aspects of the particular dispute existing between the United States of America and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia;

CONSIDERING that it has no competence to take cognizance of such aspects because of the juridical issues involved;

Decides that this matter does not fall within the competence of the Council; and

Expresses its hope that the United States of America and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia will settle their dispute as soon as possible.

Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography²

Economic and Social Council

Terms of Reference for the Economic Commission for Latin America. E/712, Feb. 27, 1948. 4 pp. mimeo.

Memorandum Concerning the Shortage of Newsprint. E/727, Mar. 3, 1948. 27 pp. mimeo.

Terms of Reference for the Economic Commission for Latin America. Note by the President . . . E/735, Mar. 4, 1948. 3 pp. mimeo.

The Question of the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders on a Wide International Basis. Note by the Secretary-General. E/736, Mar. 4, 1948. 7 pp. mimeo.

Status of Women. Resolutions of 3 March 1948. E/737, Mar. 4, 1948. 2 pp. mimeo.

Freedom of Information and of the Press. E/738, Mar. 4, 1948. 2 pp. mimeo.

Human Rights. Resolutions of 1 and 2 March 1948. E/749, Mar. 6, 1948. 3 pp. mimeo.

Narcotic Drugs. Resolutions of 2 March 1948. E/750, Mar. 5, 1948. 4 pp. mimeo.

Establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee To Study Factors Bearing Upon Establishment of an Economic Commission for the Middle East. Resolution of 8 March 1948. E/753, Mar. 8, 1948. 2 pp. mimeo.

¹ U.N. doc. E/764, adopted on Mar. 9, 1948.

² Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York City. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of Meetings¹

In Session as of April 4, 1948		
Far Eastern Commission	Washington	1946 Feb. 26-
United Nations:		
Security Council	Lake Success	Mar. 25-
Military Staff Committee	Lake Success	Mar. 25-
Atomic Energy Commission	Lake Success	June 14-
		1947
Commission on Conventional Armaments	Lake Success	Mar. 24-
Security Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question.	Lake Success	Oct. 20-
General Assembly Special Committee on the Greek Question	Salonika	Nov. 21-
		1948
Commission for Palestine	Lake Success	Jan. 9-
Temporary Commission on Korea	Seoul	Jan. 12-
Interim Committee of the General Assembly	Lake Success	Feb. 23-
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Subcommission on Employment and Economic Stability	Lake Success	Mar. 22-
World Conference on Freedom of Information	Geneva	Mar. 23-
CFM (Council of Foreign Ministers):		1947
Commission of Investigation to Former Italian Colonies	Former Italian Colonies	Nov. 8-
		1948
Deputies for Italian Colonial Problems	London	Jan. 29-
Deputies for Austria	London	Feb. 20-
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization): Mission to Siam	Siam	Jan. 3-
Provisional Frequency Board	Geneva	Jan. 15-
First Meeting of Planning Committee on High Frequency Broadcasting	Geneva	Mar. 22-
Sixth Pan American Railway Congress	Habana	Mar. 27-
Ninth International Conference of American States	Bogotá	Mar. 30-
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization): Personnel Licensing Division.	Montreal	Mar. 30-
ICAC (International Cotton Advisory Committee): Seventh Meeting	Cairo	Apr. 1-
Meeting of Technicians in Connection With Final Protocol of Tonnage Measurement of Ships.	Oslo	Apr. 2-
Fifth International Leprosy Congress	Habana	Apr. 3-11
Lyon International Fair	Lyon	Apr. 3-12

¹ Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Activities and Developments»

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF POLICY GROUP ON BOGOTÁ CONFERENCE DESIGNATED

Paul C. Daniels, Director for American Republic Affairs, has been designated Deputy Chairman of the Policy Group on the Bogotá conference, effective March 5, 1948.

April 4, 1948

U.S. OBSERVERS TO SIXTH PAN AMERICAN RAILWAY CONGRESS

The Secretary of State has announced the composition of the United States observer group to the Sixth Pan American Railway Congress scheduled to convene at Habana, March 27, 1948. United States representation will consist of William T. Faricy, president, Association of American Railroads; Julian Duncan, Bureau of Statistics, Interstate Commerce Commission; and Seymour T. R. Abt, Transport and Communications Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce.

**U.S. DELEGATION TO FIRST SESSION OF
CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES COMMITTEE**

[Released to the press March 26]

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the First Session of the Chemical Industries Committee as recommended to the Secretary of State by the Secretary of Labor. This meeting which was called by the International Labor Office is scheduled to convene at Paris on April 6 and is expected to last 10 days. The Delegation is tripartite, composed of representatives of the Government, employers, and workers of the United States, as follows:

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Arthur J. White, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division, Department of Labor
Thomas W. Delahanty, Associate Chief, Chemical and Health Products Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

Advisers

W. Duane Evans, Chief, Productivity and Technical Developments Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor
Richard Eldridge, Labor Attaché, American Embassy, Paris

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATES

E. W. Dwyer, Head, Industrial Relations Section, Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis, Mo.
Howard R. Huston, Assistant to the President, American Cyanamid Company, New York City

WORKERS' DELEGATES

John J. Mates, International Board Member, United Mine Workers of America, Washington, D.C.
H. A. Bradley, President, International Chemical Workers Union, Akron, Ohio

The meeting has been called to consider the problems of the chemical industries in the light of recent events and changes and of conditions of labor and the organization of industrial relations in those industries.

**U.S. DELEGATION TO FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
LEPROSY CONGRESS**

[Released to the press March 25]

The Department of State has announced the following United States Delegation to the Fifth International Leprosy Congress which is scheduled to be held at Habana, April 3-11, 1948:

Chairman

Perry Burgess, President, American Leprosy Foundation, New York City

Delegates

Frederick A. Johansen, Medical Director, U.S. Public Health Service; Director, U.S. Marine Hospital, Carville, La.; Member, Advisory Medical Board, American Leprosy Foundation
Eugene R. Kellersberger, General Secretary, American Mission to Lepers, Inc., New York City

Norman R. Sloan, Medical Director, Kalsupapa Leper Settlement, Territory of Hawaii
Malcolm H. Soule, Chairman, Advisory Medical Board, Leonard Wood Memorial; Professor of Bacteriology, U. of Mich., Ann Arbor

The Fifth International Leprosy Congress is sponsored and organized by the Government of the Republic of Cuba in collaboration with the International Leprosy Association. The scientific work of the Congress will be divided among five committees as follows: therapeutics, classification, epidemiology, research, and social assistance. Among the principal subjects to be considered by the Congress will be (1) determination, up to the present time, of the real value of the new drugs of the sulphona type in connection with the treatment of leprosy, and (2) approval or modification of the new South American classification of the various forms of leprosy.

Leprosy congresses have been held periodically during the past 50 years. The first congress was held at Berlin in 1897, and the fourth met at Cairo in 1938.

**REGIONAL CONSULAR CONFERENCES AT
MEXICO CITY AND CAPETOWN**

[Released to the press March 22]

The importance of keeping the United States Foreign Service in constant alinement with changing demands and performance criteria of American business and industry so that the Service will always be in a position to protect and promote American overseas trade, will be stressed at two regional consular conferences to be held at Mexico City and Capetown, both from April 5-8 inclusive.

Ambassador Walter Thurston will formally open the Mexico City conference, which will be attended by diplomatic and consular officers from 20 posts in Mexico, and Gen. Thomas Holcomb, Minister, will launch the Capetown sessions to which officers from six South African and Portuguese East African posts will be sent. Donald W. Smith, Deputy Director of the Office of the Foreign Service, will head the small Washington Delegation to the Mexico City meeting.

Among the topics to be discussed at the daily sessions are economic, commercial, industrial and agricultural problems and reporting; trade promotion; commercial reference and research; commercial intelligence; industrial progress; fishery matters; visas and immigration; the U. S. information and cultural programs; veterans' affairs; security measures; and general administrative problems.

In general, Foreign Service officers will be the principal speakers, but the Mexico City Delegates will also be addressed by several Department of State officials whose duties in Washington keep them in constant communication with American representatives in Mexico.

U.S. Position in the United Nations Regarding Palestine

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT¹

It is vital that the American people have a clear understanding of the position of the United States in the United Nations regarding Palestine.

This country vigorously supported the plan for partition with economic union recommended by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine and by the General Assembly. We have explored every possibility consistent with the basic principles of the Charter for giving effect to that solution. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the partition plan cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means. We could not undertake to impose this solution on the people of Palestine by the use of American troops, both on Charter grounds and as a matter of national policy.

The United Kingdom has announced its firm intention to abandon its mandate in Palestine on May 15. Unless emergency action is taken, there will be no public authority in Palestine on that date capable of preserving law and order. Violence and bloodshed will descend upon the Holy Land. Large-scale fighting among the people of that country will be the inevitable result. Such fighting would infect the entire Middle East and could lead to consequences of the gravest sort involving the peace of this Nation and of the world.

These dangers are imminent. Responsible governments in the United Nations cannot face this prospect without acting promptly to prevent it. The United States has proposed to the Security Council a temporary United Nations trusteeship

for Palestine to provide a government to keep the peace. Such trusteeship was proposed only after we had exhausted every effort to find a way to carry out partition by peaceful means. Trusteeship is not proposed as a substitute for the partition plan but as an effort to fill the vacuum soon to be created by the termination of the mandate on May 15. The trusteeship does not prejudice the character of the final political settlement. It would establish the conditions of order which are essential to a peaceful solution.

If we are to avert tragedy in Palestine, an immediate truce must be reached between the Arabs and Jews of that country. I am instructing Ambassador Austin to urge upon the Security Council in the strongest terms that representatives of the Arabs and Jews be called at once to the council table to arrange such a truce.

The United States is prepared to lend every appropriate assistance to the United Nations in preventing bloodshed and in reaching a peaceful settlement. If the United Nations agrees to a temporary trusteeship, we must take our share of the necessary responsibility. Our regard for the United Nations, for the peace of the world, and for our own self-interest does not permit us to do less.

With such a truce and such a trusteeship, a peaceful settlement is yet possible; without them, open warfare is just over the horizon. American policy in this emergency period is based squarely upon the recognition of this inescapable fact.

Report on Fifth Meeting of Preparatory Commission for IRO

ARTICLE BY GEORGE L. WARREN

The Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization (PCIRO) met for the fifth time at Geneva on January 20, 1948.² The purpose of the meeting was to consider the status of adherences to the IRO constitution, to adopt budgets for the current and ensuing fiscal years, and to take action indicated by consideration of the report of the Executive Secretary. The Commission had assumed operating responsibilities on behalf of IRO on July 1, 1947, for the care, repatriation, and resettlement of displaced persons.

April 4, 1948

Status of the International Refugee Organization

The French and Belgian Delegates advised the Commission that their Governments had completed the required legislative actions and would soon deposit certificates of ratification to the IRO constitution with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It was noted that the deposit of ratifications by France and Belgium would bring

¹ Released to the press by the White House on Mar. 25.

² For the report of the 4th meeting of the Preparatory Commission for IRO, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1947, p. 638.

the number of adherences to IRO to 13 and that the adherence of two additional governments would be required to bring the IRO into being. The total percentage of governments' contributions, including those of France and Belgium, would be 75.24 percent. The Brazilian Delegate announced the intention of his Government to introduce appropriate legislation in the Congress immediately upon the signing of an interim working agreement with the Commission. The hope was expressed that Brazil might complete its adherence by March 31, 1948.

Budget Discussions

Budgets authorizing expenditures of \$119,000,000 in the current fiscal year and of \$155,000,000 for the fiscal year 1948-49 were approved by the Preparatory Commission. Together the two budgets provide funds for the resettlement of 679,000 displaced persons and the repatriation of 179,000. The budget for the current fiscal year is \$3,443,000 higher than that approved at the October meeting of the Preparatory Commission. This was made possible by an increase in anticipated revenue, by receipt of \$1,500,000 from the assets of UNRRA, and anticipated reimbursements from the Australian Government of \$580,760 for the transportation of displaced persons to Australia and the return of prisoners of war to Europe in PCIRO ships.

A comparison of the budgets for the fiscal years 1947-48 and 1948-49 reveals the extent to which PCIRO hopes to increase the rate of resettlement of refugees. The budget for the current fiscal year devotes 12 percent to resettlement costs as compared with 36 percent in the budget for 1948-49. Increased resettlement will result in a decrease in care and maintenance costs from 68 percent of the current year's budget to 48 percent of the 1948-49 expenditures.

Resettlement Overseas

The discussion on the budgets developed the information that PCIRO has seven ships in operation in moving displaced persons overseas for resettlement in Australia, Brazil, Canada, and Venezuela. Four of these are chartered from the U. S. Army. Displaced persons numbering 17,300 have already been recruited by immigration selection missions or are in possession of immigration visas and are awaiting transportation from Austria, Germany, and Italy. It was estimated that four extra ships would be required to move these persons immediately.

Cut-off Date

In the discussion of the budget for 1948-49 the United Kingdom Delegate took the initiative in proposing a cut-off date before which a refugee must have left his country of origin or former habitual residence in order to qualify for IRO assistance. This proposal was advanced for the purpose

of defining the total of the refugee problem which IRO faces and for discouraging the influx of new refugees to the areas of assistance. Several European representatives opposed the suggestion to set a date after which refugees could not qualify for IRO assistance, stating that IRO had an obligation to governments which have large numbers of refugees already on their territories and which have a vital concern in any transfer to them of full responsibility for new arrivals on their territory after the established cut-off date. For budgetary reasons, the United States Delegate suggested that the General Council of IRO, when activated, consider the establishment of a cut-off date such as February 1, 1948. The United States Delegate stated, however, that his Government would not be indifferent to the situation of any group of refugees which might be affected by the cut-off date, and would give consideration to the reporting of any such groups of refugees as might be affected by the decision when and if taken to the United Nations.

Quotas of Displaced Persons To Be Accepted by Countries of Resettlement

The Executive Secretary reported that as a result of inquiries since the previous meeting he wished to withdraw his earlier suggestion for calling an international conference of governments to establish quotas of displaced persons to be accepted by countries of resettlement. In lieu of such a conference it was proposed that he be instructed to consult governments individually to secure their voluntary estimates of the numbers of refugees and displaced persons which they would be willing to accept as their fair share of the total to be resettled. This suggestion was adopted by the Commission.

Eligibility of Volksdeutsche in Austria

After an extended discussion on the eligibility of the *Volksdeutsche* in Austria, based on two reports presented to the Commission by the Executive Secretary, the Commission voted to refer the problem of the eligibility of the *Volksdeutsche* to the General Council of IRO when activated.

IRO Relations With Voluntary Organizations

An *ad hoc* subcommittee of the Preparatory Commission conferred with representatives of voluntary agencies during the meeting of the Commission and received verbal and written statements by the organizations, which by vote of the Commission were referred to the Executive Secretary for information and consideration.

The Commission recessed on January 31 to reconvene on May 4, 1948, unless the International Refugee Organization comes into being before that date, in which event the Commission will meet no later than May 15, 1948.

Italy Accepts Proposal of U.S., U.K., and France To Place Free Territory of Trieste Under Italian Sovereignty¹

MEMORANDUM OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF MARCH 20, 1948

The Government of the United States desires to propose to the Government of Italy that it agree to the early consideration, jointly with the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the negotiation of a Protocol to the Treaty of Peace with Italy to provide for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty.

It will be recalled that the Government of the United States has consistently maintained that the entire area of the Free Territory is ethnically and historically Italian territory and that this Government agreed to its separation from Italy only on the condition that it should be truly independent and that the human rights of the people be fully protected and guaranteed against all possibility of suppression or infringement. This condition is now apparently impossible of achievement and therefore this Government has concluded that the rights and interests of the overwhelmingly Italian population of the area can be assured only through the return of the Free Territory to Italian sovereignty.

The Government of the United States has decided upon this proposal in view of the proven unworkability of the provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Italy establishing the Free Territory. It is the considered opinion of this Government that certain elements of the population have succeeded in establishing conditions which make inoperative the guarantees of true independence for the Territory and the protection of the basic rights of the people as envisaged in the Permanent Statute of the Free Territory. The successful establishment of a Free Territory was recognized from the first as being entirely dependent upon the fullest cooperation and good will of all concerned. However, from the first hours of the history of the area as a Free Territory it became all too

apparent that certain elements were intent upon preventing the establishing of a truly independent Free Territory of Trieste. Subsequent events have further proven that the most fundamental human rights have been denied and a totalitarian system has been established in the Zone of the Territory placed under the temporary administrative responsibility of the Commander of the Yugoslav forces in the Free Territory of Trieste. These developments have convinced the Government of the United States that the settlement envisaged in the Treaty of Peace with Italy cannot successfully guarantee freedom for the people of the area or true independence for the Free Territory of Trieste.

The Government of the United States, after consultation with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, has therefore decided to recommend the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty as the best solution to meet the democratic aspirations of the people and make possible the reestablishment of peace and stability in the area. It is hoped that the Government of Italy will concur in this view and agree to the immediate negotiation of a protocol to the Treaty of Peace with Italy to effect this solution of the problem.

It is proposed that such protocol as may be agreed to by the Powers concerned would, prior to coming into force, be submitted to the Security Council for its approval in view of the special responsibilities assumed by the Council in connection with the Free Territory of Trieste.

A similar communication is being addressed to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

¹ Released to the press Mar. 23. For recommendations of the three Governments, see BULLETIN of Mar. 28, 1948, p. 425.

**TEXT OF NOTE FROM THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR IN REPLY TO THE
MEMORANDUM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

March 22, 1948

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE,

With reference to the memorandum delivered by the Department of State on the 20th instant concerning the proposal of the Government of the United States to consider, together with the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, the negotiation of a protocol to the Treaty of Peace with Italy providing for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty, I have the honor, on instructions from my Government, to communicate to you the following:

1. The Italian Government learned with very keen and legitimate satisfaction that the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France had reached the conclusion that the reestablishment of a free order and respect for the democratic aspirations of the great majority of the population of the Free Territory of Trieste can only be guaranteed by the return of the Territory to Italian sovereignty.

2. The Italian Government is prepared to participate to that end together with the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union through the drawing up of a protocol which will be submitted to the Security Council for approval.

3. The Italian Government speaks for the entire Italian people and the people of the Free Territory in expressing their rejoicing. It realizes fully the importance and significance of the proposal jointly put forward by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. This proposal not only constitutes the recognition of a fundamental principle of international justice, but, when realized, can likewise constitute a guaranty of peace and of that sincere collaboration which Italy desires with the neighboring Yugoslav people.

Please accept [etc.]

ALBERTO TARCHIANI
Ambassador of Italy

Transfer of Passenger and Cargo Vessels to Italy

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House March 16]

Fourteen of the ships transferred to Italy today are Italian vessels seized by the United States during the war. The other 15 are the equivalent tonnage of Italian ships which were seized by the United States and lost during the conflict or reduced to such a condition that they could not be returned.

The Italian vessels seized by the United States during the early years of the war played an important part in the victory against dictatorship to which the Italian people contributed so much after

their own liberation from Fascism. They are returned now to rejoin the Italian Merchant Marine and work again for the rebuilding of peace and the restoration of a prosperous Italy.

In making this transfer, I am happy to express again the feeling of friendship and admiration of the American people for the Italian people, who, in these brief years since the war ended in Europe, have made such courageous strides forward in the democratic faith and repeatedly shown the world that, supported with courage and wisdom, this faith cannot and will not falter or fail.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9935

[Released to the press by the White House March 16]

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the Trading With the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 411), as amended, and the act of August 5, 1947, Public Law 370, 80th

Congress, 1st Session, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Attorney General and the United States Maritime Commission are authorized and directed to transfer to the Government of Italy all right, title, interest, and possession of the United States, the Attorney General, or the Maritime Commission in the following vessels, which were under Italian registry and flag on September 1, 1939:

¹ 13 *Federal Register* 1395.

Elwood (ex. Laconia)	White Clover (ex. Montfiore)
Gallant Fox (ex. Guian)	Alcibiades (ex. Iole Fassio)
Gold Heels (ex. Brennero)	Faireno (ex. Dentice)
Hermitage (ex. Conte Biancamano)	Malvern (ex. Trottierra)
Lowlander (ex. Leme)	Monticello (ex. Conte Grande)
Mokatan (ex. Mar Glance)	Swivel (ex. Baicin Padre)
Troubador (ex. Confidenza)	
Typhoon (ex. Colorado)	

2. The United States Maritime Commission is authorized and directed to designate 15 surplus Liberty ships and to transfer them to the Government of Italy,² it having been determined by the Commission that 15 Liberty ships have a total tonnage approximately equal to the total tonnage of vessels under Italian registry and flag on September 1, 1939, and subsequently seized in United States ports and thereafter lost while being employed in the United States war effort.

3. The above transfers shall be made pursuant to agreements to be executed by the Attorney General or the United States Maritime Commission or both, as the case may require, acting on behalf of the United States, and by the Government of Italy, which agreements shall contain substantially the following provisions and such other provisions consistent with the act of August 5, 1947, as the Attorney General and the Maritime Commission, in consultation with the Secretary of State, shall consider necessary and appropriate:

(a) No monetary compensation shall be paid for the use by the United States or its agencies of former Italian vessels acquired or seized by the United States after September 1, 1939.

(b) All costs incurred to return or transfer a vessel to the Government of Italy shall be borne or reimbursed by the Government of Italy.

(c) The Government of Italy shall agree to discharge and save harmless the Government of the United States of America from any responsibility and liability for the processing, settlement and satisfaction of any claims to or against the vessels so transferred or the lost vessels in respect of which substitute vessels are transferred.

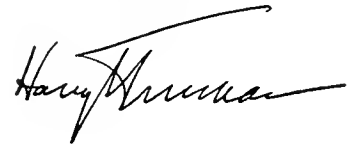
(d) Prior to the removal of any vessel to be transferred from the custody, actual or constructive, of any court, the Government of Italy shall make or cause to be made arrangements, including the posting of a stipulation for value or other security in nature and amount satisfactory to such court, to secure the payment of any unpaid claims against the vessel.

(e) Of the 15 surplus Liberty ships designated for transfer to the Government of Italy the Maritime Commission shall retain such number as will constitute security for the payment of such sums of money as the Attorney General may determine sufficient for the processing, settlement and satisfaction of any claims not otherwise secured to or against the lost vessels in respect of which the substitute ships are being transferred.

(f) Delivery of the *Hermitage* (ex. *Conte Biancamano*) and *Monticello* (ex. *Conte Grande*) pursuant to this order shall be without prejudice to any rights of the Government of the United States, under existing agency agreements with the Government of Italy, with respect to (1) accounting for revenues of such vessels accruing prior to the date of delivery of such vessels pursuant to this order, and (2) the operation of the S.S. *Saturnia* and S.S. *Vulcania*, or either, in accordance with existing agreements between the United States and Italy.

4. The Liberty ships to be transferred to the Government of Italy shall be selected by the United States Maritime Commission, in consultation with the Government of Italy, such vessels to be operated by Italy for commercial use. Provision shall be made that such Liberty ships are to be operated under the Italian flag and shall not be sold to any person or corporation not a national of Italy, without the consent of the Government of the United States.

5. The Attorney General and the United States Maritime Commission shall act in consultation with the Secretary of State in carrying out the terms of this Executive order with all possible promptness in a manner which will effectuate the foreign policy of the United States to assist friendly and democratic European nations to rebuild their economies without delay.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 16, 1948.

Additional Treaties With Italy U.S. Will Keep in Force or Revive

[Released to the press March 16]

Text of a note from Ambassador Dunn delivered on March 12, 1948, to the Italian Foreign Office by the American Embassy at Rome

I have the honor to refer to my note of February 6, 1948 giving official notification, in accordance with Article 44 of the Treaty of Peace with Italy dated at Paris February 10, 1947, regarding the pre-war bilateral treaties and other international agreements with Italy which the United States desires to keep in force or revive.³ It was stated

²The names of the Liberty ships transferred are as follows: Fort Wedderburne, Fort Gasperau, Fort Charnisay, Fort Hudson's Hope, Fort Maurepas, Fort Fork, Fort MacMurray, Fort Simpson, Fort Kootenay, Fort La Traite, Fort Walsh, Fort Rae, Fort Frederick, Fort Gibraltar, and Fort Acton.

³BULLETIN of Feb. 22, 1948, p. 248.

in that notification that the reciprocal copyright arrangement between the United States and Italy and the agreement for the protection of trademarks in Morocco would be the subject of a separate communication.

I have the honor to inform you now that the Government of the United States of America wishes to include the reciprocal copyright arrangement between the United States and Italy effected pursuant to the exchange of notes signed at Washington October 28, 1892, and the exchanges of notes signed at Washington September 2, 1914, February 12, March 4, and March 11, 1915, among the pre-war bilateral treaties and other international agreements with Italy which the United States desires to keep in force or revive. Accordingly, it is understood that the aforementioned arrangement will continue in force and that the Government of each country will extend to the nationals of the other country treatment as favorable with respect to copyrights as was contemplated at the time the arrangement was entered into by the two countries.

The Government of the United States of America also desires to continue in force or revive the agreement for the protection of trademarks in Morocco, effected by exchange of notes signed at Tangier June 13, July 29, and December 19, 1903 and March 12, 1904.

Reiteration of Four Power Responsibilities in the ACC

Statement by Secretary Marshall

[Released to the press March 25]

The Representatives of this Government have tried diligently and patiently for nearly three years and are still trying to make the Allied Control Council an effective organization for the administration of Germany as an economic and political unit. Their efforts have to a large extent been frustrated by the tactics of the Soviet Representatives on the Council. The Acc in Berlin as well as the joint occupation of the city are established by governmental agreement. Any further attempt to disrupt the functioning of the Allied Control Authority, as initially suggested by the conduct of the Soviet Representative on March 20, could only be construed as reflecting an intention, which the United States does not share, to renounce efforts to obtain Four Power agreement on policies for Germany and would be regarded as unilateral action aimed against the unification of Germany. In accordance with the international agreement binding on all four control powers, the United States intends to continue to fulfill its responsibilities as a member of the Control Council and as a joint occupant of the city of Berlin.

German "People's Congress" Condemned by U.S. and U.K.

Statement by Secretary Marshall

[Released to the press March 25]

The self-styled German "People's Congress" was organized in December, 1947, under the auspices of the Socialist Unity Party of the Soviet zone, and functions as a Communist-dominated organization. Its membership indicates that it represents but a small minority of the German population. It has been condemned by the United States and British occupation authorities as "a deliberate attempt by the organizers to circumvent the policies of military government to ensure that political activities are conducted honestly and openly. . . . The People's Congress purports to represent all parties and sections of the population but in fact it has been repudiated by all the recognized political parties except the Communist Party". On these grounds it has been denied authorization of its activities in the bizonal area.

The so-called "People's Congress" has no legitimate claim to represent the German people as a whole, and it is practicing a cruel deception upon the German people in seeking to impose itself upon them as a substitute for genuine German unity.

Nonmilitary Aspects of German Occupation To Remain Under Department of the Army

[Released to the press by the White House March 23]

On January 27 the Department of the Army announced that an agreement had been reached that the Department of State should assume the responsibility for the nonmilitary aspects of the German occupation, looking toward the transfer of such responsibility on or about July 1, 1948. Following a review of the present situation, it has been decided that it would be inadvisable to make any changes in our present administrative arrangements for Germany. This decision will not have any adverse effect on progress toward developing German responsibility for self-government and administrative initiative.

General Clay remains as military governor and as commander-in-chief of the United States forces in Europe.

No Immediate Plans for Meeting of French, British, and American Foreign Ministers

[Released to the press March 23]

The Department of State announced on March 23 that there is no plan for a meeting between M. Bidault, Mr. Bevin, and Secretary Marshall. It is hoped, however, that the three Governments will establish the closest consultation on all matters of mutual interest. Whether this consultation will take the form of a meeting between the three Secretaries or through some other method cannot be determined at the moment.

Reply to Soviet Objections to Tripartite Discussions on Germany

TEXT OF NOTE TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMOUR

[Released to the press March 26]

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note, No. 50, of March 6, 1948, concerning the discussions which the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France held in London respecting Germany.

In its note of March 6, the Soviet Government reiterated the views expressed in the Soviet Embassy's communication of February 13, 1948, to the effect that the London discussions were in contradiction to the Potsdam Agreement and to the Agreement on Control Machinery for Germany. In its memorandum of February 21, 1948, the Department of State pointed out that these talks were arranged for a discussion of problems in Germany of mutual interest to the three governments, and that there is no provision in the Potsdam Agreement, or other agreements relating to Germany concluded by the four occupying powers, which prevents any of the powers from discussing between themselves questions of common concern.

The United States Government notes that the Soviet Government continues to fail to recognize that the three powers have been obliged to consult among themselves at this time as a result of the unwillingness of the Soviet Government to implement the principles of economic unity as well as other principles of the Potsdam Agreement. The Soviet Government claims that the other occupying powers have undertaken a series of unilateral actions, contrary to the four-power agreement with respect to Germany.

The Soviet Government cites, as the first expression of such policy, the agreement between Great Britain and the United States with respect to the economic fusion of their respective zones of occupation in Germany. The note of the Soviet Government states: "It is well known that the question of creating a unified Anglo-American Zone was not even submitted for the consideration of the Control Council". This statement does not correspond to the facts. At the meeting of the Allied Control Council in Berlin on July 20, 1946, General McNarney made the following statement on behalf of his Government:

"The United States Government is of the view that no zone in Germany is self-sustaining. The treatment of two or more zones as an economic unit would improve conditions in the zones concerned.

"Therefore, the United States Government has authorized its representative on the Allied Control

Council to join with the representatives of any other occupying power or powers in measures for the treatment of our respective zones as an economic unit, pending quadripartite agreement which would permit the application of the Potsdam decision to treat all of Germany as an economic unit so as to attain a balanced economy throughout Germany.

"While the United States would prefer quadripartite agreement to implement the Potsdam decision for the establishment of central German administrative agencies for Germany as a whole, its representative is prepared to cooperate with the representatives of any or all of the other occupying powers in Germany in establishing administrative arrangements to secure economic unity.

"The United States does not intend by its present proposal to divide Germany but rather to expedite its treatment as an economic unit.

"Any arrangements which representatives of the United States may make with the representatives of any other occupying power will be open on equal terms to the representatives of all other occupying powers at any time they are prepared to participate.

"The United States Government proposes this arrangement because of its belief that Germany can no longer be administered in four air-tight compartments without free economic interchange unless economic paralysis is to result. The United States Government is unwilling to permit creeping economic paralysis to grow if it is possible to attain economic unity between its zone and any other zone in Germany as a prelude to economic unity for all Germany."

According to the official minutes of the Allied Control Council (CONL/M(46)19), the meeting agreed in view of the unpreparedness of the other delegations to defer consideration of the United States proposal. At the next meeting on July 30, 1946, according to the official minutes (CONL/M(46)20), the Control Council considered the United States Government's proposal. At this meeting Marshal Douglas announced that after full consideration the British Government had authorized him to accept, in principle, General McNarney's offer. Comments on the United States proposal were made by the Soviet representative at this meeting and by the French representative at subsequent meetings.

It should be recalled that the same offer of the United States Government to join its zone economically with that of any other occupying power had previously been made before the Council of Foreign Ministers by the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes, on July 11, 1946, at Paris, and was subsequently reiterated by him in an address at Stuttgart on September 6, 1946. The responsibility for rejection of this offer and for failure to include its zone in this economic arrangement lies upon the Soviet Union itself.

The threat to the authority of the Allied Control Council does not arise from the actions of the United States, but rather from the consistent pursuit by the Soviet Government in the eastern zone of Germany of a systematic unilateral policy of its own. The Soviet Government has failed to observe the principle of economic unity provided for in Section III, B, 14, of the Potsdam Agreement. It has likewise failed to insure, as provided in Section III, B, 15 (c), of the same agreement, "the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports". It has carried out reparation removals of industrial capital equipment from the eastern zone without regard to agreed limitations on such removals and without consideration of the legitimate peace-time requirements of the German economy. It has also continuously taken reparation in the form of resources and current production, contrary to the understanding at Potsdam. The Soviet Government under the guise of reparation has taken into its possession in gigantic trusts (the so-called Soviet A. G's) major industrial establishments in the eastern zone accounting for 25 to 30 per cent of the total remaining industrial productive capacity.

The Soviet Government has furthermore carried out in its zone a unilateral policy with respect to political activity. The Potsdam Agreement envisaged that local self-government would be re-established throughout Germany on democratic principles; that all political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion should be allowed and encouraged; and that representative and elective principles should be introduced in the various levels of government. In actual practice, however, the Socialist Party was suppressed by the imposed amalgamation with the Communist Party into the Socialist Unity Party, which has become the new bulwark for a totalitarian regime in eastern Germany, while the other authorized political parties have been subjected to pressure, discrimination and intimidation, and have not been enabled to function freely. Basic human rights are being denied the population, while concentration camps are being used anew for individuals unwilling to accept this new totalitarianism. It is the unilateral policy of the Soviet Union which

has cut off eastern Germany from its natural intercourse, political and economic, with western Germany.

The Soviet Government not only charges the other three governments with the inadequate functioning of the Allied Control Council but also with the failure of the Council of Foreign Ministers to reach agreement on German questions during its 1947 sessions held in Moscow and London. The official records of these conferences do not confirm the Soviet Government's assertion that it made efforts to bring about four-power agreement by meeting half-way the proposals of the other powers. The Soviet Government resorts to a curious logic when it seeks to demonstrate its assertion by enumerating proposals of the Soviet Union not found acceptable by the other three powers. By a sincere effort to arrive at reasonable compromises, the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France were able to arrive at many agreed positions, only to find that the Soviet Government was not likewise ready to seek solutions acceptable to all four powers.

It is impossible not to draw the inference from the known proceedings of the Allied Control Council and the Council of Foreign Ministers that the Soviet Government has been pursuing in Germany objectives different from those of the other occupying powers, who are seeking the pacification of Germany and the economic recovery of Europe as a whole, including Germany. This inference appears to be borne out by the extensive remarks in the Soviet Government's note of March 6 directed against American aid in the economic recovery of Europe as well as against the economic and political cooperation of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg confirmed in the treaty signed at Brussels, March 17. It is not these steps which have led to the political cleavage of Europe as claimed by the Soviet Government, but rather prior actions of the Soviet Government and a group of eastern European states under Soviet influence which have disrupted the normal framework of the European community and interfered with the progress of recovery from the effects of the war.

In the light of the foregoing, the United States Government is not able to agree with the Soviet Government's interpretation of the London discussions on the German question. The London discussions sought the solution of the urgent political and economic problems which have arisen as a result of the continuous failure to reach and implement quadripartite agreement, due to the attitude of the Soviet Government. As was stated in the communique issued on March 8 by the representatives of the powers participating in the informal London discussions: "The participating powers had in view the necessity of ensuring the economic reconstruction of western Europe includ-

ing Germany, and of establishing a basis for the participation of a democratic Germany in the community of free peoples. While delay in reaching these objectives can no longer be accepted, ultimate Four Power agreement is in no way precluded".

Accept [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

NORMAN ARMOUR
Assistant Secretary of State

PUBLICATIONS

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932, Volume II, Released

[Released to the press March 22]

The Department of State released on March 22 *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1932, volume II. Four other volumes for the year will be released within the next few months as soon as they are ready.

The year 1932 is the first for which more than three regular annual volumes have been prepared. The increase in number of volumes has become necessary in order to continue properly to set forth a yearly record of the Department's diplomatic activities in a period when international relations were assuming greater importance. With this increase in number of volumes the former method of arranging the country sections in a purely alphabetical order has been found inadequate. Beginning with the volumes for 1932, aside from a general section, the volumes are arranged on an area basis. Volume I for 1932 will contain the general section, including papers on international conferences and other matters of a multi-lateral nature. Volume II, now being released, contains country sections, arranged in three groups, the British Commonwealth of Nations, Europe, and the Near East and Africa. The third and fourth volumes will contain the documents on the Far East and the fifth volume those relating to the American republics.

For the most part, volume II deals with subjects of a commercial or legal nature. Of special importance in the political field is the collection of reports on internal developments in Germany which shed light on the growing threat of the Nazis to the Weimar Republic in the year before Hitler finally seized power.

Copies of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1932, volume II (lxxxvi, 827 pages), may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., for \$3 each.

Department of State

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

American Mexican Claims Commission: Report to the Secretary of State, under the act of Congress set up December 18, 1942. Arbitration Series 9. Pub. 2859. iii, 676 pp. \$1.50.

Relevant documents with decisions of the Commission showing reasons for the allowance or disallowance of the claims.

Liquidation of German Property in Sweden. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1657. Pub. 2970. iii, 52 pp. 15¢.

Accord Between the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, and Sweden—Signed at Washington July 18, 1946; entered into force March 28, 1947.

Food Production: Cooperative Program in Peru. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1669. Pub. 3000. 23 pp. 10¢.

Agreement Between the United States of America and Peru Further Extending and Modifying Agreement of May 19 and 20, 1943—Signed at Lima December 4, 1946, and January 29, 1947; entered into force January 29, 1947, effective January 1, 1947.

American Dead in World War II. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1672. Pub. 3007. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States of America and Belgium—Signed at Brussels June 6 and July 23, 1947; entered into force July 23, 1947.

United States Educational Foundation in China. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1687. Pub. 3050. iii, 25 pp. 10¢.

Agreement Between the United States of America and China—Signed at Nanking November 10, 1947; entered into force November 10, 1947.

Digest of UNESCO Program for 1948. International Organization and Conference Series IV, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2. Pub. 3081. 9 pp. 5¢.

A six-point program for promoting peace and security by marshaling the cultural and educational resources of the world.

UNESCO and the National Commission: Basic Documents. International Organization and Conference Series IV, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 3. Pub. 3082. 17 pp. 10¢.

Constitution of UNESCO, act providing U.S. membership, and list of officers and members of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.

National Commission News, April 1, 1948. Pub. 3090. 10 pp. 10¢ a copy; \$1 a year; foreign subscription \$1.35 a year.

Prepared monthly for the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

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The Department of State bulletin

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

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THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

An Article

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), with headquarters in Montreal, Canada, is affiliated with the United Nations as the specialized agency in the field of international civil aviation. Endowed with broad jurisdiction in the field of international air navigation and with consultative and advisory functions in matters pertaining to the economics of international air transport and to private international air law, ICAO includes in its membership of 46 states¹ all the major nations engaged in international air commerce. One of the first postwar intergovernmental organizations to begin operation, ICAO² has already made a major contribution to postwar international air transportation by standardizing in large part the techniques of air navigation. It has a potentially important function in the field of joint support of air-navigation facilities and is becoming increasingly active in the field of private international air law.

The great strides in the development of international military air transport during World War II brought to the attention of the Allied Governments the possibilities and problems of postwar international civil aviation. In the period between the two world wars, the International Commission for Air Navigation (CINA), established under the Paris convention³ of October 13, 1919, had set up a number of technical standards for civil air transport and arranged for exchange of aviation information among member states. CINA, however, which by 1939 represented 33 states, was never able to deal with international aviation on a world-wide basis. Its membership consisted chiefly of European states. The United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Germany, China, and most of the Latin American states did not participate. A group of Western Hemisphere states, including the United States, met at Lima in 1937 to establish a second international civil-aviation body under the Pan American

convention for air navigation drawn up in Habana in 1928, but the permanent American aeronautical commission was never formally constituted.

Cognizant that a postwar international organization was needed that not only would set up air-navigation standards and practices for the whole world, but would deal with the economic problems of international air transport, the United States took the lead by calling an international conference on civil aviation. On November 1, 1944, representatives of 54 nations met at Chicago.⁴

The International Civil Aviation Conference lasted until December 7, 1944. The final act of the Conference, signed by the representatives of all participating governments, contained the texts of the following instruments: interim agreement on international civil aviation; convention on international civil aviation; international air-services transit agreement; and international air-transport agreement; as well as 12 technical annexes.

Each of the four instruments was opened for signature on December 7, 1944. The first two instruments not only set forth general principles for international air navigation but also provided respectively for a provisional and a permanent international aviation organization. The international air-services transit agreement, incorporating the "two freedoms" of the air—the right

¹ As of Feb. 17, 1948.

² During the period June 6, 1945, to Apr. 4, 1947, the Organization was called PICAO (Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization).

³ Relating to the regulation of air navigation.

⁴ The only major nonenemy or nonenemy-occupied states which did not participate were Argentina, which was not invited, and the U.S.S.R., which did not attend. Argentina in June 1946 adhered to the interim agreement, the convention, and the transit agreement, but the U.S.S.R. has taken no action in this direction.

to fly over sovereign territory and the right to land for noncommercial purposes—and the international air-transport agreements incorporating the “five freedoms,” including commercial air rights, were only the beginning of an attempt to handle the economic problems of international air transport through reciprocal granting of privileges on a multilateral basis. The technical annexes were only a start in the direction of international standardization of air-navigation procedures. It would be the work of the new international aviation body to develop and revise the work of the Chicago conference.

By June 6, 1945, the interim agreement had been accepted by the number of states (26) required to bring it into force, and the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization was accordingly established. On August 15, 1946, the first meeting of PICAO was held at Montreal, Canada.

Structure of the Organization

The structure of the provisional Organization—an annual Assembly of all member states, a Council of 21 member states elected by the Assembly, and an international Secretariat—has been preserved in the permanent Organization, which came into existence on April 4, 1947, 30 days after the twenty-sixth instrument of ratification of the Chicago convention had been deposited with the United States Government.⁵ The Assembly,⁶ which elects its own officers and determines its own rules of procedure, has the function of taking appropriate action upon the reports of the Council and handling all other matters referred to it by the Council or not specifically assigned to the Council. The Council, or executive body, complies with the directives of the Assembly, maintains liaison with member states and with other international bodies, and is generally responsible for carrying out the work of the Organization. In session about eight months of the year, the Council is assisted by subsidiary working groups such as the Air Navigation and Air Transport

⁵The United States is the depositary government for the instruments of ratification of or adherence to the interim agreement and to the convention on international civil aviation.

⁶First Interim Assembly held in Montreal, Canada, May 21–June 8, 1946; First Assembly of ICAO held in Montreal, Canada, May 6–27, 1947; Second Assembly of ICAO scheduled to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in June 1948.

Committees. ICAO's Legal Committee, as explained later, is another important body within the Organization. The President of the Council is Dr. Edward Warner, formerly Vice Chairman of the United States Civil Aeronautics Board. In charge of the permanent secretariat is Secretary General Albert Roper, formerly Secretary General of the International Commission for Air Navigation (CINA).

Work in the Technical Field

In view of the great speed with which modern airplanes traverse the earth and the large number of civil aircraft flying internationally, it was necessary that the Organization undertake at once the work of standardizing international air-navigation facilities and developing uniform aircraft-operational procedures.

The Air Navigation Committee of the Council directs the technical work of the Organization. Work was begun in October 1945 on developing “Recommendations for Standards, Practices, and Procedures”, which may become legally binding under the Chicago convention when adopted by the Council. The First Assembly of ICAO by a resolution adopted the following definitions:

“Standards: Any specification for materiel, performance, personnel, or procedures, the uniform application of which is recognized as necessary for the safety or regularity of international air navigation and to which Contracting States will conform in accordance with the Convention; in the event of impossibility of compliance, notification to the Council is compulsory under Article 38.”

“Recommended Practice: Any specification for materiel, performance, personnel, or procedures, the uniform application of which is recognized as desirable in the interest of safety, regularity, or efficiency of international air navigation, and to which Contracting States will endeavor to conform in accordance with the Convention.”

Ten specialized categories have been established in technical matters; aerodromes, air routes, and ground aids; meteorology; rules of the air and air-traffic control; communications; aeronautical maps and charts; search and rescue; personnel licensing; accident investigation; operating practices; and airworthiness. Each category is handled initially by a division, that is, an inter-

national meeting in which all member states may participate. The technical recommendations drawn up by the divisions are submitted to all member states for review and comment prior to possible amendment by the Air Navigation Committee and adoption by the Council. During recent months the most important activity of the Organization in the technical field has been the review of "PICAQ Recommendations for Standards, Practices, and Procedures" with a view to their adoption as international standards and recommended practices under article 37 of the convention.

Among the problems of standardization yet to be solved is the unification of numbering and dimensional systems used in connection with international air navigation. ICAO has worked hard but made little progress in resolving the controversy between the proponents of the metric and English systems.

In addition, ICAO is faced with the general problem of implementing its standards and recommended practices. Many member states in this postwar transitional period are faced with drastic economy measures and find it difficult to provide the type of air-navigation facilities and aircraft needed to carry out ICAO's technical decisions. Even such countries as the United States may find it difficult to put into practice all of ICAO's technical decisions, especially since there is a very real question as to whether ICAO standards should be applied to purely domestic aviation practices. The Air Coordinating Committee of the United States Government has agreed that ICAO's standards for air navigation should be applied to our national aviation practices, both domestic and international, except when implementation definitely would be detrimental to the national interest, could not be effected under existing legislation, or would impose undue hardship on our various aviation activities.

During the fall of 1945 the Interim Council established 10 regional areas: North Atlantic, European-Mediterranean, Caribbean, Middle East, South Pacific, South American, South Atlantic, Southeast Asian, North Pacific, and African-Indian Ocean. A series of regional air-navigation meetings was inaugurated in order to take inventory of international air-navigation facilities, determine requirements for safe operations in

the various regions, and develop special regional operating "procedures."⁷

One of the most interesting developments which had its beginning at a regional meeting is the North Atlantic Ocean weather ship station program. In the spring of 1946, the North Atlantic Route Service Conference recommended to the Interim Council the establishment of 13 ocean weather ship stations. The stations not only would provide essential weather data to permit safe and economical operation of the heavily troubled North Atlantic routes, but also would provide electronic air-navigation aids and would serve in emergencies as search and rescue units.

Following approval of the program by the Council, the Interim Assembly of PICAQ in May 1946 decided that the ocean weather stations could not be financed from the PICAQ general fund. Instead, the Assembly resolved that the program should be carried out by contributions "in kind or in cash" from interested states. At the London Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Weather Stations, held under the auspices of PICAQ in September 1946, an international agreement was reached whereby the 13 weather stations were to be established and maintained by eight different states, with PICAQ assuming responsibility for coordination of the program.⁸

The Organization's authority for carrying out the ocean weather ship station program and other "joint-support" projects is contained in chapter XV of the Chicago convention, which places on the Council the responsibility for consulting with

⁷ To date, the following regional air-navigation meetings have been held: North Atlantic Route Service Conference in Dublin, from Mar. 4-27, 1946; European-Mediterranean Route Service Conference in Paris, from Apr. 24-May 15, 1946; Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting in Washington, from Aug. 26-Sept. 13, 1946; Middle East Regional Air Navigation Meeting in Cairo, from Oct. 1-18, 1946; South Pacific Regional Air Navigation Meeting in Melbourne, from Feb. 4-22, 1947; South American Regional Air Navigation Meeting in Lima, from June 17-July 7, 1947; and South Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting in Rio de Janeiro, from July 15-31, 1947.

⁸ The London agreement has not yet been fully implemented. As of Feb. 17, 1948, only seven ocean weather stations were in operation: two maintained by the United States, two by the United Kingdom, one by France, one by Belgium and the Netherlands jointly, and one maintained part time by Canada.

a member state which, in its opinion, fails to provide adequate air-navigation facilities for international carriers. The Council is also to consult with other states affected by the lack of proper air-navigation facilities—airports, radio, and meteorological services, etc.—and make recommendations for improvements. If the member state is willing to remedy the situation but unable to bear the cost of the new facilities, the Council may agree to provide all or a portion of the funds. The Organization may finance “joint support” projects to a limited extent by drawing on its general fund, but for the most part will make special assessments, as in the case of the ocean weather ship stations, against the various member states in proportion to their use of the air-navigation facilities in question.

The “joint support” program of ICAO promises to be one of the most valuable contributions of the Organization to international civil aviation. In addition to the North Atlantic Ocean weather ship stations, the Organization is at the present time sponsoring the joint operation of the loran station at Vik, Iceland. Member states furnishing financial and technical assistance for operation of the station are Canada, France, Iceland, the Netherlands, the United States, and the United Kingdom, whose flag lines use this air-navigation facility when flying across the Atlantic.

Work in the Economic Field

The Chicago Aviation Conference, in drawing up two separate agreements—the international air-services transit agreement and the international air-transport agreement—for signature and acceptance by states members of the Organization, anticipated the difficulties inherent in postwar attempts to solve the problem of international exchange of aviation privileges on a multilateral basis. Thirty-six states accepted the transit agreement, incorporating the “two freedoms”, but only 17 states accepted the transport agreement,

⁹The United States, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and China, which accepted the air-transport agreement, subsequently withdrew from the agreement.

¹⁰The FAL Division's terms of reference also include matters pertaining to financial and monetary regulations, taxes, police and immigration requirements, military restrictions, and regulations imposed by national and international aeronautical authorities.

incorporating the “five freedoms.”⁹ The latter agreement was not an effective medium for the establishment of postwar international air routes, and the Organization as early as August 1945 directed its Air Transport Committee to undertake the development of a multilateral agreement on commercial rights in international air transport. The subject was explored extensively at the PICAQ Interim Assembly in May 1946 and the ICAO First Assembly in May 1947 but without arrival at an acceptable agreement. A special ICAO commission meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, in November 1947 found that the time was not ripe for drawing up a multilateral agreement which would be generally acceptable.

Speed and the ability to span natural barriers are the major advantages air transportation has to offer. Today, however, airlines flying internationally, along with other types of foreign commerce, are faced with many serious delays and hindrances arising out of governmental regulations and laws. Methods of handling customs and border clearances have not yet been revised to meet the needs of rapid air transit. Although bilateral conventions for the avoidance of double taxation have been concluded between the United States and Sweden, Canada, the United Kingdom, and France, much still remains to be done in this field in order to relieve international air carriers, along with others engaged in foreign trade, of the economic burdens arising from taxation of their income by the foreign country or countries in which they do business as well as by their homeland. International airlines today are also seeking relief from customs duties on equipment imported into foreign countries for installation as part of the air carriers' own air-navigation facilities. In certain instances, airlines flying internationally find that foreign immigration laws interfere with their technical programs by preventing the assignment at overseas posts of trained airline technicians.

ICAO's Division on Facilitation of International Air Transport (FAL), deals with the removal of obstacles to aircraft, passengers, and cargo arising from national laws and regulations. The FAL Division, after study of the problem of how to bring administrative practices abreast of aviation's technical progress, prepared detailed recommendations on customs procedures and quarantine and immigration regulations.¹⁰ In June

1946, the P_IC_AO recommendations for standards, practices, and procedures on facilitation of international air transport were approved by the Interim Council and recommended to the member states for application. Although these recommendations have been by no means universally applied, experience gained with them to date should prove of value to the F_AL Division when it meets in Europe in May 1948 to consider new and revised recommendations. In addition to working direct with member states, ICAO is cooperating with other international organizations, such as the World Health Organization and the International Air Transport Association, which also have programs for the facilitation of international travel.

The Statistics Division of the Air Transport Committee is charged with the collection and study of data on origin and volume of international air traffic and its relation to facilities provided; also data on government subsidies, tariffs, and operation costs. Since 1945 some member states have been submitting traffic and financial data on forms drawn up by the Organization, but much still remains to be done to secure the cooperation of other member states which have made little effort to discharge their obligations in this field. The session of ICAO's Statistics Division which opened in Montreal on January 13, 1948, considered methods by which improvements could be made in the air-transport statistical reporting forms, the promptness with which they are filed, and their analysis and publication; also the possibility of collecting other types of aviation statistics, such as airport and accident statistics.

Other subjects under study by the Air Transport Committee at the present time are the possibility of international ownership and operation of the world's trunk air routes; the problem of differentiating between scheduled and nonscheduled air services; the rules of procedure to govern the filing of aviation agreements and contracts between member states or their airlines, as required under chapter XVII of the Chicago convention; the possibility of reducing international air-mail rates, the standardization of charges at international airports; and the double taxation of operators of international airlines. The views and data submitted by member states on these problems will form the bases for reports to be submitted by the

Air Transport Committee through the Council to the next Assembly of all member states, which is scheduled to be held in Geneva in June 1948.

Work in the Legal Field

With the creation of a permanent Legal Committee by the First Assembly of ICAO in May 1947, the Organization took over the work of unifying and codifying private international air law, which formerly had been handled by the Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens (CITEJA).¹¹ At its first meeting held in Brussels, in September 1947, the Legal Committee reached agreement on a draft convention on international recognition of rights in aircraft, which would facilitate the financing of aircraft engaged in international civil aviation. The draft convention will be presented to the 1948 ICAO Assembly for approval by both member and nonmember states. In addition to handling private air-law matters, the Legal Committee is charged with advising the Organization on public air law, e. g., in connection with the sovereignty of a state over the air space above its territory and the elimination of discriminatory national regulations.

The convention on international civil aviation defines the aims and objectives of ICAO as follows: "to develop the principles and techniques of international air navigation and to foster the planning and development of international air transport so as to:

"(a) Insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world;

"(b) Encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes;

"(c) Encourage the development of airways, airports, and air navigation facilities for international civil aviation;

"(d) Meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport;

"(e) Prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition;

"(f) Insure that the right of contracting States

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¹¹ Established at Paris on May 7, 1926, and dissolved following its sixteenth and final session, held in Montreal (May 10-22, 1947), concurrently with the First Assembly of ICAO.

FOREIGN AID AND RECONSTRUCTION

Foreign Assistance Act of 1948¹

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House April 3]

Few Presidents have had the opportunity to sign legislation of such importance as the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948.

The signing of this act is a momentous occasion in the world's quest for enduring peace.

I commend the Congress of the United States for the cooperation it has evidenced in the prompt passage of this measure.

Its passage is a striking manifestation of the fact that a bipartisan foreign policy can lead to effective action. It is even more striking in its proof that swift and vigorous action for peace is not incompatible with the full operation of our democratic process of discussion and debate. Those who are skeptical of the effectiveness of a democratic system should ponder the lesson of the enactment of this measure.

Our program of foreign aid is perhaps the greatest venture in constructive statesmanship that any nation has undertaken. It is an outstanding example of cooperative endeavor for the common good.

The Foreign Assistance Act is the best answer that this country can make in reply to the vicious and distorted misrepresentations of our efforts for peace which have been spread abroad by those who do not wish our efforts to succeed. This measure

is America's answer to the challenge facing the free world today.

It is a measure for reconstruction, stability, and peace. Its purpose is to assist in the preservation of conditions under which free institutions can survive in the world. I believe that the determination of the American people to work for conditions of enduring peace throughout the world, as demonstrated by this act, will encourage free men and women everywhere and will give renewed hope to all mankind that there will one day be peace on earth, good will among men.

Statement by George C. Marshall

[Released to the press by the White House April 3]

The decision of the United States Government as confirmed by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 is, I think, an historic step in the foreign policy of this country.

The leaders in the Congress and the membership generally have faced a great crisis with courage and wisdom and with legislative skill, richly deserving of the approval and the determined support of the people.

Program for Development of Sicily and Southern Italy

STATEMENT BY ROBERT A. LOVETT

Acting Secretary of State

[Released to the press April 11]

Representatives of the Committee for Economic and Social Development of Italy, composed of prominent American citizens of Italian origin, called on the Acting Secretary of State on April 1 to inform him of their program for assisting in the development of Sicily and southern Italy. During the course of the conversations Mr. Lovett made the following remarks

I am happy to receive the Committee for Eco-

nomie and Social Development of Italy, and to hear of your program to contribute to the welfare of the people of Sicily and southern Italy.

The Government and people of the United States have already done much to help the Italians help themselves back to economic recovery and the restoration of a truly democratic way of life. The efforts and the progress which the Italian nation have already made in this direction have inspired the admiration of the world.

(Continued on following page)

¹ Public Law 472 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

Interdependence of the Americas

ADDRESS BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL¹

Chairman, U.S. Delegation

It is a genuine pleasure for me to meet again with the distinguished delegates of the American republics, and especially so under the hospitable auspices of the Republic of Colombia. I wish to express through His Excellency Doctor (Laureano) Gómez, Foreign Minister of Colombia, our distinguished presiding officer, the very sincere appreciation we feel for the Government of Colombia as our host, our respectful admiration for His Excellency President Ospina Pérez, and our strong feeling of friendship and regard for the people of Colombia.

It is my privilege and duty to convey to the conference warm greetings from President Truman with his earnest wish that our efforts here will be successful in behalf of all the peoples of the Americas.

Ten years have passed since the Eighth International Conference of American States was held in Lima. The momentous events of that period delayed this Ninth Conference but did not halt progress in inter-American cooperation.

The emergency meetings of the Foreign Ministers, which enabled us to coordinate our wartime efforts, were followed by the all-important conference at Mexico City in 1945 which resulted in the Act of Chapultepec, and the Conference on the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security so successfully concluded last August at Rio de Janeiro with the treaty of reciprocal assistance.

We are here to consolidate and to carry forward the decisions of these previous conferences. We have to consider a lengthy agenda to give effect to the provisions of the ninth resolution of the Mex-

ico City conference, pertaining to the reorganization, consolidation, and strengthening of the inter-American system. This is no small undertaking, for what we do in this respect will have an important bearing on the future of all our joint undertakings. The proposed organic pact will be the very heart of our hemispheric organization.

Cooperation among our countries has been greatly broadened and intensified during recent years. We need for this cooperation an organizational structure which will on the one hand be adequate to the increased responsibilities placed upon it, and on the other hand, efficiently administered so that duplication of effort may be avoided. The inter-American conferences and meetings of Foreign Ministers are the instruments through which the inter-American system formulates policy and reaches decisions on questions of major importance. The drafters of the organic pact have wisely concluded that to insure that these policies and decisions are effectively carried out, the Pan American Union, as the central permanent agency of the inter-American system, must be given a greater responsibility and commensurate staff. Under the direction of the inter-American conferences and meetings of Foreign Ministers the Pan American Union should play an increasingly significant role in the effective functioning of the inter-American system.

I am sure we all are agreed that the development

¹Made before the second plenary session in Bogotá, Colombia, on Apr. 1, 1948, and released to the press on the same date. The Secretary of State is serving as Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference.

(Continued from preceding page)

But a further effort is required before we can say the task is done. That effort is the European Recovery Program, which has just been approved by the Senate and House of Representatives. Its primary purpose is to make possible the economic recovery of the peoples of Europe by providing American aid to reinforce their self-help and cooperation so that they can live together in peace and security. Certain basic plans for economic rehabilitation drawn up by the Italian Govern-

ment itself form part of the European Recovery Program for Italy. These plans include the rehabilitation of southern Italy and Sicily—land reclamation, the building of roads and electric power lines, the modernization of agriculture, and the establishment of local industries.

I should like to say again that I am happy to hear of your plans to support and assist the Italian people in this great project, and I am sure you can make a most valuable contribution towards the aim for which we are all working.

of the inter-American system is within the concept of the United Nations and contributes to the attainment of its objectives.

The urgent need of effective methods of economic cooperation presents us with problems that call for the utmost good will and understanding in order to accommodate complex interests.

Agreement on a convention setting forth the procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes is one of the necessary aims of this conference. By this means we will establish a broad juridical basis for the peaceful adjudication of any differences that may arise among the American states. At the same time we will set an example to a distracted world in the maintenance of peace among neighbor states under an accepted system of law that assures justice and equity to all nations, large and small.

Significant questions related to social progress and the rights of the individual man are to receive full consideration in the deliberations of the conference. These are matters in which all our peoples are deeply concerned. They rightfully expect us to take positive action for their protection and welfare. That, in reality, is the purpose of our endeavors.

The overwhelming desire of the people of the world is for peace and security, freedom to speak their thoughts, freedom to earn a decent living in their own way. It is the earnest, the very genuine desire of the people of my country to continue to assist, so far as they are able to do so, the other people of the world to attain these objectives.

We have encountered, as you are aware, the determined and open opposition of one group of states. If the genuine cooperation of the Soviet Union could be secured, world recovery and peace would be assured. Until such cooperation is secured, we must proceed with our own efforts.

My Government has assumed heavy responsibilities in this undertaking, but we cannot do the job alone. We need the understanding and the cooperation of other nations whose objectives are the same as ours.

We must face reality. Allow me to talk to you frankly regarding the tremendous problems the United States is facing. After four years of supreme effort and a million casualties, we had looked forward to a state of tranquillity which would permit us to reorganize our economy, having made vast expenditures in natural resources and money. Instead my people find themselves today faced with the urgent necessity of meeting staggering and inescapable responsibilities—humanitarian, political, financial, and military—all over the world, in western Europe, in Germany and Austria, in Greece and Turkey, in the Middle East, in China, Japan, and Korea. Meeting these unprecedented responsibilities has demanded tremendous drafts on our resources and imposed burdensome

taxes on our people. These are heavy exactions—far heavier than seems to be realized.

The basic economic trouble has been the collapse of European economy. Europe was formerly the most important center of international trade, and the disastrous impact of the war on the European economy has been felt everywhere in the world. The Western Hemisphere, for example, formerly enjoyed a substantial business with Europe and the virtual breakdown of that commerce has adversely and directly affected the American republics. The recovery of Europe is therefore a prerequisite to the resumption of trade relationships.

In the planning of the European Recovery Program, the United States gave and will continue to give careful consideration to the interests of the countries represented at this conference, both as to the procurement of materials to be purchased and the need of goods in short supply.

The difficulties you have experienced in obtaining certain materials from the United States to meet the needs of your industrial and agricultural development are understood. The problem of shortages is not yours alone. I am constantly under the necessity of explaining and defending this situation to manufacturers and particularly to farmers in the United States, who are themselves short of tools of production, of fertilizers, of steel, and other vital elements of our economy. The pressure on our production comes from every direction.

The Recovery Program provides the economic means of achieving a purpose essentially moral in nature. We propose to provide the free nations of Europe with that additional marginal material strength they require to defend the free way of life and to preserve the institutions of self-government. If human rights and liberties are blotted out in Europe, they will become increasingly insecure in the new world as well. This is a matter of as much concern to your countries as it is to mine.

The United States cannot continue to bear alone the burdens on its own economy now necessary to initiate a restoration of prosperity. We have to look to other nations whose interests correspond with ours for active cooperation. All that are able should contribute. All will share the benefits. We have poured out our substance to secure the victory and prevent suffering and chaos in the first years of peace, but we cannot continue this process to the danger of exhaustion.

The rewards of freedom are economic as well as political. Only in such freedom can opportunity and incentive give full rein to individual initiative.

We have already agreed to certain principles that are stated in the Economic Charter of the Americas, signed in Mexico City in 1945. In that document the American republics proclaimed their common purpose to promote the sound develop-

ment of national economies. The charter pointed the way toward realization of this aim through the encouragement of private enterprise and the fair treatment of foreign capital.

Our specific task here is to find workable methods by which our principles may be effectively applied in practical affairs. In a few moments I shall discuss the proposals of the United States Delegation for achieving this objective. But first I wish to draw attention to the general background from which they proceed. I do so because I believe that the experience of my country in its economic development offers some useful precedents.

One of the principal needs of the United States after it achieved independence was private capital for development of its resources and for western expansion. From overseas, and this is the point I wish to emphasize, at first cautiously and often with misunderstanding on both sides, the venture capital of Europe was invested in the new United States of America.

The great benefits accruing to the people of the United States from its material development were attributable in an important degree to this assistance received from abroad which together with the economic and political freedom of action enabled our people to capitalize rapidly upon the great natural resources of the country, and thus develop the production which has enabled us to bear today the heaviest responsibilities ever placed upon a single nation.

By 1900 the people of the United States themselves were becoming large investors in enterprises abroad. But internal development continued unabated. Despite the transformation from debtor to creditor nation and the accumulation of capital for foreign investments of its own, the United States continues to welcome money and technical assistance from other countries.

The point I wish to make is that even after the United States had achieved economic maturity and had become a major source of venture capital foreign investors continued to participate in the industrial and commercial growth of the nation without discrimination.

This policy has enabled the United States to prosper. The large-scale exchange of capital, goods, and services; the system of free enterprise; the confidence of other people in our future and the protection afforded foreign investments; the contributions made by skilled, energetic immigrants—all these helped immeasurably in making our nation not only productive and vigorous, but free. I repeat, this policy has enabled the United States to prosper, and I wish here to stress that it has enabled the United States to do a great deal for other countries, including the protection of their freedoms along with our own.

May I at this time invite your attention to a

fact of particular significance related to the broad benefits to which I have just referred? That is, the fact that these benefits have been transferred into human values through the elevation of the real wages of labor to a point higher than has been achieved under any other system of enterprise in the history of mankind. These benefits automatically transfer themselves into the cultural and physical advancement of all of the people.

The United States is qualified, I submit, by its own historical experience to respond understandingly to the purpose of other American republics to improve their economic status. We understand the wish to achieve balanced economies through the development of industries, mechanization of agriculture, and modernization of transportation.

My Government is prepared to increase the scale of assistance it has been giving to the economic development of the American republics. But it is beyond the capacity of the United States Government itself to finance more than a small portion of the vast development needed. The capital required through the years must come from private sources, both domestic and foreign.

As the experience of the United States has shown, progress can be achieved best through individual effort and the use of private resources. Encouragement should therefore be given to the increase of investment capital from internal as well as external sources. It is obvious that foreign capital will naturally gravitate most readily to countries where it is accorded fair and equitable treatment.

For its part, the United States fully supports the promotion of economic development in the American republics. We advocate the prompt preparation of sound development programs, which will set specific and realistic goals to be accomplished in the next few years.

The United States supports the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as an important source of long-term capital for developing the economies of the American republics. My Government confidently expects the role of this institution to be one of increasing usefulness.

The President of the United States is submitting to Congress a request for an increase in the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank which will be available for sound projects. These Government funds will be in addition to the private financing which will be needed for a much greater number of development projects.

The United States has studied the proposals regarding the taxation of foreign investments, with a view to avoiding double taxation and to encouraging the flow of private capital into other countries desiring it. I am glad to report that the President has under consideration measures to liberalize taxes on capital invested in foreign coun-

tries. These measures are designed to encourage not only initial investment but also the retention and reinvestment abroad of earnings derived from such capital. These measures also would liberalize the tax treatment of United States citizens residing abroad, and should therefore encourage technical experts to accept employment in other countries.

My Government attaches special importance to efforts to improve health, sanitation, education, and agricultural and industrial processes throughout the Hemisphere. We look forward to an expansion of the cooperative efforts of the American republics in these fields. We are surveying the availability of technical experts who may collaborate in the progress and development of the American republics, as recently authorized by the Congress on a more flexible basis.

The economic advancement and security of the Hemisphere are supremely important to all countries, large and small, and to every citizen of our countries. Through joint endeavor, with each country accepting its share of responsibility and seeking faithfully to carry out its obligations, I am confident that the American republics will consistently move forward and attain the objectives which we all so earnestly desire.

Before concluding I wish to call attention to the close relationship between the solemn pacts we are here to conclude at Bogotá and the treaty of reciprocal assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro last September. Together, these pacts, when ratified, will form a harmonious whole guaranteeing the social, cultural, and economic progress of the Americas and at the same time the preservation of their independence, security, and sovereignty. I am informed that ten countries have already ratified the treaty of reciprocal assistance and that several other nations plan to take positive action along this line. It is to be hoped that during our labors here we may receive the gratifying word that the required number of ratifications have been deposited to enable the treaty to enter into effect. Such action is particularly important in the present world situation. We need the other vital measures we are to consider here as indispensable contributions to the welfare of the Americas. The peoples for whom we speak are impatient to launch this promising cooperative endeavor, for they see in it their greatest hope for achieving a better life for themselves, their children, and their children's children. They look to this conference to set in motion the concerted effort that will make their constant dream of peace and plenty a living, satisfying reality. We must not fail them.

[Following the conclusion of his formal address to the conference, Secretary Marshall spoke contemporaneously substantially as follows]

As has been the case with my predecessors here, it has been necessary for me to speak formally

from a prepared statement. Much of what is said here goes far beyond this table to ears other than ours. Now my friends, I wish to speak to you personally and directly. I feel that in the discussions, particularly of economic matters, so much of detail necessarily becomes involved that the great purpose for which we are assembled and the situation in which we find ourselves becomes somewhat submerged, if not at least partially lost sight of.

I feel that what has already been said and, I suppose, much of what has yet to be said refers directly or indirectly, but specifically in many instances, to my country, to its international actions and present undertakings. I also have the feeling that there is a very limited understanding of the tremendous responsibilities and the equally tremendous burdens that the Government of the United States has been compelled to assume and which is very pertinent to our discussions here in this conference. For example, at the present moment our Legislature is under the necessity of considering at the request of the President the strengthening of our armed forces which would involve the expenditure of additional billions. Now you have a direct interest in that, because we hope that through such a process we can terminate this subversion of democratic governments in western Europe, and we can reach an understanding to maintain the peace and security, the tranquillity, and the future trade developments of the entire Western Hemisphere and not alone the United States. But the great burden of such action has rested on the people of the United States, and it is a very heavy burden.

I think that I can to a reasonable degree understand your reactions and your views because I had a considerable experience along very similar lines immediately preceding and during the war years. As Chief of Staff of the United States Army from the fall of 1939 up until almost the end of the war, I was under continual and the heaviest possible pressure from almost every part of the world, from rulers of countries, from our own military commanders in those regions, and from groups or sections at home or their representatives in Congress who felt very deeply regarding a particular situation. Now if we had not resisted those multitudes of pressures, all of which were based on the logical belief to a reasonable extent of the people concerned of the importance, the necessity, and urgency of their situation, the duration of the war and the situation at the end of the war would probably have been quite different.

The United States today with its tremendous responsibility, which involves us all over the world, has to proceed with great wisdom in all it does and what it feels it must do in the future. I ask you to have this in mind and to realize what a

tremendous burden the people of my country have undertaken. You profit by it as much as we do.

I was sitting here yesterday and regarding this very decorative and impressive mural painting (the mural of Liberator Simón Bolívar) which illuminates this room. It suddenly occurred to me that it had a peculiar significance in relation to an event far distant from us here—in the far Pacific, as a matter of fact. The last territory that we wrested from the hands of the Japanese was a small island called Okinawa, between Formosa and Japan. That was the last big fight. One hundred and ten thousand Japanese were killed. The only captured were those wounded to the extent that they could not commit suicide. We had very heavy casualties. That operation was carried out by the 10th United States Army. But the point that occurred to me yesterday was this: the Commander of that Army was Simon Bolivar Buckner. He died in the last days of the fight—on the front line. Surely, that has some significance here in this room dominated by this painting in the rear of me; that out in the Pacific that man who made a great contribution and finally gave his life for the peace and security of the Pacific, that it would no longer carry a threat to your western shores, should have borne the name of your great liberator. Certainly that indicates something of our common purpose and much more of our common bonds.

U.S. DELEGATION TO NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

[Released to the press March 27]

Following is the United States Delegation to the Ninth International Conference of American States, which convenes in Bogotá, Colombia, on March 30, 1948:

Chairman

George C. Marshall, Secretary of State

Delegates

Willard L. Beaulac, Ambassador to Colombia
 John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury
 W. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce
 Norman Armour, Assistant Secretary of State for political affairs
 Charles F. Brannan, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
 William D. Pawley, Ambassador to Brazil
 Walter J. Donnelly, Ambassador to Venezuela
 William McC. Martin, Jr., Chairman, Board of Directors, Export-Import Bank of Washington
 Paul C. Daniels, Director, Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State

Special Congressional Advisers

Donald L. Jackson, Member of Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives
 Michael J. Mansfield, Member of Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives

Alternate Delegates

John C. Dreier, Chief, Division of Special Inter-American Affairs, Department of State
 M. B. Ridgway, Lt. Gen., U.S.A., Department of the Army
 William Sanders, Associate Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State
 Leroy D. Stinebower, Deputy U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations
 Jack B. Tate, Deputy Legal Adviser, Department of State

Advisers

Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Director, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
 Henry Chalmers, Commercial Policy Adviser, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
 John S. deBeers, International Finance Division, Department of the Treasury
 John J. Haggerty, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture
 John Haklerman, Assistant Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State
 Osborne B. Hardison, Rear Admiral, U.S.N., Department of the Navy
 Hubert Harmon, Lt. Gen., U.S.A.F., Department of the Air Force
 Edward Hidalgo, National Security Resources Board
 Edward A. Jamison, Division of Special Inter-American Affairs, Department of State
 Muna Lee, Division of American Republics, Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State
 Cecil B. Lyon, Special Assistant to Assistant Secretary for political affairs, Department of State
 Kenneth Meiklejohn, Assistant Solicitor, Department of Labor
 Otis E. Mulliken, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State
 Oscar M. Powell, Regional Director for the West Coast, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency
 Sherman S. Sheppard, Chief, International Activities Branch, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President
 H. Gerald Smith, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs, Department of State
 Joseph H. Taggart, Economic Adviser to Chairman, Munitions Board, The National Military Establishment
 Lloyd Tibbott, Assistant to the Chief, Division of Regulations, Maritime Commission
 Marjorie M. Whiteman, Office of Assistant Legal Adviser for International Organization Affairs, Department of State
 Simon N. Wilson, Division of Special Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

Special Assistant to the Chairman

Marshall S. Carter, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

Special Assistant for Press Relations

Michael J. McDermott, Special Assistant for Press Relations, Department of State

Secretary General

Clarke L. Willard, Associate Chief, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Special Assistant to the Secretary General

Frances E. Pringle, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Technical Secretary

Ward P. Allen, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State

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Assistant Technical Secretaries

Donald M. Dozer, Acting Chief, Division of Research for Latin America, Department of State
Laura Iredale, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State
John L. Kuhn, Executive Secretariat, Department of State

Documents Assistant

Margaret L. Moore, Division of Special Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

Archivist

Patricia Ann Foster, Division of Central American and Panama Affairs, Department of State

Administrative Secretary

Orion J. Libert, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Assistant Administrative Secretary

Anthony A. Covins, Division of Foreign Service Administration, Department of State

Administrative Assistant

Ann Jablonski, Division of Finance, Department of State

Secretaries of Delegation

Howard E. Chaille, Division of Communications, Department of State

Joseph W. Musick, Office of Controls, Department of State
R. Richard Rubottom, Jr., Second Secretary of Embassy, Bogotá

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT SIGNED

[Released to the press April 21]

The international wheat agreement, which was open for signature in Washington from March 6 until April 1, has been signed on behalf of all the importing and exporting countries listed in annexes I and II to article 2 of the agreement.¹

The 36 signatory countries are Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, the French Union and Saar, Greece, Guatemala, India, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Republic of the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, and Venezuela.

The agreement is subject to formal acceptance by the signatory governments.

The objectives of the agreement, as provided in article 1, are to assure supplies of wheat to importing countries and to assure markets to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices.

INVITATIONS TO ATTEND THE INTERNATIONAL AIR EXPOSITION EXTENDED

At the request of William O'Dwyer, Mayor of the City of New York, the Department of State has transmitted on behalf of the City of New York, to all foreign governments having diplomatic missions at Washington, invitations to send representatives to attend the International Air Exposition on Mayor's Day, August 7, 1948. The repre-

sentatives of the foreign governments will be the official guests of the City of New York on Mayor's Day. Although this event is not sponsored by the United States Government, the Department of State is transmitting the invitations of the Mayor of the City of New York in consideration of the general interest in the Golden Anniversary Air Exposition.

U.S. TO ACT AS HOST TO FIFTH MEETING OF RUBBER STUDY GROUP

[Released to the press March 29]

The Department of State has announced that the United States Government will act as host to the fifth meeting of the Rubber Study Group which will convene at Washington April 26-May 1, 1948, to review the world rubber situation. Invitations have been issued to the following countries whose Governments are members of the Group: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Hungary, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and the Pan American Union have been invited to send observers.

The Rubber Study Group was organized in 1944 by the Governments of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. France has participated in all but the first meeting. At its fourth meeting at Paris in July 1947, the Rubber Study Group established a Management Committee which meets periodically at London. A permanent secretariat was set up at London by the Management Committee in 1947 to provide the Study Group with a full information service covering both the statistical situation and the general economic position as it relates to rubber.

¹ For comments on the wheat agreement, see BULLETIN of Mar. 28, 1948, p. 395.

U.S. TO ACT AS HOST TO SECOND MEETING OF TIN STUDY GROUP

[Released to the press March 29]

The Department of State has announced that the United States Government will act as host to the second meeting of the Tin Study Group which is scheduled to be held at Washington April 19-24, 1948, to review the world tin situation. Invitations have been issued to the following Governments which are members of the Group: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Siam, and the United Kingdom. The United Nations and the Pan American Union have been invited to send observers.

The International Tin Study Group was established upon the unanimous recommendation of a world Conference on Tin held at London in October 1946 at which the principal tin-producing and -consuming countries of the world were represented. At the first meeting of the Study Group, held at Brussels in April of last year, it was agreed to establish a Management Committee consisting of seven member governments which would supervise the work of the secretariat of the Group. This committee meets approximately four times a year alternately at Brussels and The Hague. The secretariat has been established at The Hague and is responsible for the provision of continuous information relating to the production and consumption of tin.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES ON TROPICAL MEDICINE AND MALARIA PLANNED

[Released to the press April 2]

The program of the Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria, which are to be held in Washington May 10-18, is practically complete, and it contains much to interest the medical profession.

The meetings are sponsored by the Department of State in collaboration with other agencies of the United States Government and scientific societies to encourage and facilitate the pooling of useful knowledge for the prevention and treatment of tropical diseases. Such an international congress is now long overdue, and since new knowledge and methods have been developed since the last meeting in 1938, particularly during the war years, it is more needed than ever before.

Meetings will be in the Departmental Auditorium, Department of Commerce Auditorium, and the Auditorium of the National Museum, providing ample space to accommodate the 2,000 persons expected to participate. An elaborate display of scientific and commercial exhibits covering a wide range of tropical medicine will be exhibited in the Hall of Nations of the Washington Hotel.

April 11, 1948

For the convenience of those in attendance and to conserve time, the meeting halls will be provided with a simultaneous interpretation system so that speeches and papers will be heard in any one of the three official languages, English, French, and Spanish. Up to four scientific meetings will be held at one time. The subjects to be considered at the congresses cover a wide range. Consideration will be given to human diseases which debilitate and kill as well as interfere with production and trade. The problems of nutrition of man in the tropics together with the maladies of domestic animals will be discussed. Emphasis will be placed on the most effective uses of the insecticides which have given a new power over disease-spreading insects, as well as on the drugs which have recently been synthesized. To cover so wide a field the scientific program has been organized in 12 sections. There will be about 180 papers in all presented by outstanding scientists from 37 countries. Daily programs of technical motion pictures have been scheduled.

Highlights of the working program will be two special evening sessions, the first of which will commemorate the demonstration by Walter Reed of the mosquito transmission of yellow fever. The second will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery by Ronald Ross of the method of malaria transmission. Tours will be made to the National Institute of Health, the Naval Medical Research Institute, and the Army Medical Department Research and Graduate School. There will be a whole day of demonstrations at the Agricultural Research Center at Beltsville, Maryland, including the spraying of insecticides from the air.

Entertainment for the delegates and members, in addition to private dinners and social functions, will include an official reception at the Pan American Union; a social gathering at the Shoreham Hotel; a garden party at Dumbarton Oaks; a trip by boat to Mount Vernon; and an official dinner at the Mayflower Hotel. The wives of members and delegates will be feted officially at a White House tea by Mrs. Truman and at a special luncheon at the Army-Navy Country Club in Arlington.

Physicians, doctors of veterinary medicine, sanitary engineers, nurses, bacteriologists, parasitologists, entomologists, chemists, and other professional persons should find much of value in the program and also in the association with other scientists in the same fields from other lands. Any reputable professional person with qualifications and interest in any phase of tropical medicine will be eligible to become a member of the congresses. Anyone desiring further information should write to the Executive Secretary, Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Progress of Human Liberty in Democratic Forms

BY GEORGE V. ALLEN¹

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

* * * * *

Having taken my oath of office only yesterday, this is my first public address in my new capacity, which carries the somewhat vague title—Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. One might logically conclude that since diplomacy and the conduct of foreign affairs are traditionally secret operations, there would be little for a State Department official to do in the field of public affairs. The Department has often been accused of dissimulating rather than disseminating the truth. The creation of an Assistant Secretaryship for Public Affairs was decided upon, I believe, in an effort to bring about the widest possible dissemination of the truth.

Serious efforts have been made and are being made to change the traditional attitude toward diplomacy. This can be accomplished best by a change in the traditional conduct of diplomacy. The Department of State has a responsibility not only to keep the public informed in foreign affairs but to seek public support and assistance in the formulation of foreign policy.

In my capacity as public-affairs officer, I shall make every effort to deal as openly with the public as is humanly possible. I do not promise that there shall be no longer any secrets. Public officials, when first taking office, are under the temptation to make pleasing promises of the determination to "let the public in on what is going on". If they make such promises, however, they may discover later that the promises are impossible of fulfilment. There is point to the complaint of some commentators that our national interests have at times suffered from too much publicity during negotiations.

Although I am unable to give you assurances of a wide-open policy in the public-affairs section of the State Department, I do want to say this with the utmost genuineness. My job is with the public, and I shall at all times be your advocate. I hope you will be mine. I hope we can work together as a team, all seeking to achieve the same end.

One is often asked, "What is the end we seek to

achieve in our foreign policy?" A more frequent question is, "Do we have a foreign policy?" Moreover, there is considerable confusion regarding what foreign policy is anyway—ours or any other nation's. Can it be defined so the ordinary man can understand it, or must one search through volumes of learned studies to begin to comprehend the subject?

I shall be bold enough today to try to answer, as simply as I can, my own personal understanding not only of what foreign policy is in general but also what the major policy is which we Americans are seeking to achieve today.

Let us consider briefly what foreign policy is. I believe the broad answer to this is fairly easy. The foreign policy of any nation or government consists of the aims which that nation seeks to achieve *outside* its own borders. The contrast is with domestic policy, which is the goal or goals which a government seeks to attain within its frontiers.

The foreign policy of a country may include aims which remain constant over a long period of time, such as, for example, Russia's effort to gain control of the Dardanelles during more than four centuries. On the other hand, a policy may be entirely discarded. At one time, for example, we Americans clamored loudly for "54'40" or fight" in a dispute with Canada over the northwest frontier. This aim has long since been forgotten.

State Department officials have been asked to define American foreign policy ever since Thomas Jefferson organized the Department in 1789. Moreover, I have no doubt that British, French, and all other foreign-office officials in democratic countries have often been asked a similar question by their own citizens. It would not generally occur that a Soviet citizen would ask his foreign office the question, "What is Soviet foreign policy?" To do so might imply either that there were some doubts in the citizen's mind on the subject or that he was critical.

Fortunately, the question can be freely asked in America. I hope this will always be true. To answer the question has sometimes been difficult, but I believe the answer is easier today perhaps than it has been at any time in our history.

During the early days of our Republic, our for-

¹ Address made before the Overseas Press Club in Washington, D.C., on Apr. 1, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

eign policy was concerned primarily with staying out of European quarrels—the no-entangling-alliance policy. Later we were concerned, outside our borders, with the question of extending those very borders to the Pacific Ocean. Since the turn of the century we have been increasingly concerned with improving our relations in this Hemisphere, culminating some years ago in the keystone of our policy in this field, the policy of the good neighbor.

Today, it seems to me clear that the chief aim which the United States seeks to achieve abroad is the triumph, on the broadest possible scale, of the principles of democracy. Practically everything we do, in big and little matters, is directed toward that goal. We seek to support in every way we can the democratic way of life, the dignity of the human individual, freedom of religion, and freedom of thought and expression.

Additional elements in our foreign policy, coordinated with this chief aim, include strongest support for the United Nations and an effort to make it a more effective instrument. We seek to uphold the principles of the Atlantic Charter, including notably freedom from fear. We strive to free the world from the fear of aggression. We seek the triumph of justice, of decency, and stability in international relations.

I should point out that our foreign policy, like that of every other nation, is a national one. Our Government, in the final analysis, must seek to achieve goals which will have the best results for our own nation. We seek the preservation of democracy in the world essentially in order to assure its preservation in our own country. Happily, our national aims coincide with the interests of free men everywhere.

One may well ask, "Is there anything new in our foreign policy today? We Americans have always believed in democracy and fought for it. Why do you suddenly put it at the head of the list, dominating all else in our foreign policy at the present time?"

The answer, I believe, lies in the fact that democracy has only recently been brought under serious threat. From the beginning of our Republic until recent times, democracy has been on the increase in the world. Human liberty and freedom of thought made steady progress during the nineteenth century. We Americans came to regard its triumph as rapidly being achieved and to believe there was not much we need to do about it except stand by and wish it godspeed.

But with the 1917 revolution in Russia a new concept came into prominence—the concept of the rule of a great nation through an ideological dictatorship conceived in bloodshed and maintained by the chains of mental slavery. For a number of years this dictatorship was too busy with its internal affairs to cause much concern to the outside world. Our foreign policy was affected, cer-

tainly, but the existence of an anti-democratic regime in Russia was not at first a major concern to us.

Then came the rise of a similar regime in Germany, different in certain acts and concepts but entirely similar in its totalitarianism and its ruthless destruction of any opportunity for the people to make their voices heard. The German brand of totalitarianism was more immediately dangerous. Its aggressive actions galvanized our people into the realization, for the first time, that democracy as a principle of government could be lost. We began to realize that Sinclair Lewis was not living in a dream world when he preached, "It can happen here."

Today the vast majority of American people are thoroughly aroused to the fact that our democratic way of life is under most serious attack, and some even fear that democracy is losing the battle.

If you grant that the preservation of democracy is the chief aim of our foreign policy, the next question is, "What are we doing about it? How do we implement this policy?" I would like to emphasize that there is an important distinction between foreign policy and its implementation, although the difference is not generally or sufficiently appreciated.

In my own view, the single most important implement we are using at the moment, in our effort to achieve the preservation of democracy, is to assist in the economic recovery of the democratic world.

Perhaps I should explain why I do not list economic recovery itself as a major goal of our foreign policy. Why should *Erp*, for example, be called merely an instrument of foreign policy? Certainly, the relief of misery and want, the attainment of food and clothing and the material things of life, are good ends in themselves. But only materialists would list those ends as final goals. There is a better and higher goal, toward which economic recovery is merely a way station. The political and spiritual freedom of the human soul and the human personality is the ultimate goal we must keep constantly in our minds.

Economic recovery is merely one of the many implements of our foreign policy. We are doing and attempting many other things at the same time—but all are directed toward the same overwhelmingly important task of the democratic world today.

In the field of public affairs, you and I are concerned with information and education as instruments in achieving our foreign-policy objectives. The astonishingly widespread misrepresentation and misunderstanding of our motives make it imperative that American policy be better understood, not only behind the Iron Curtain and elsewhere abroad but even in our own country.

After two years abroad, I am shocked to return

and find the extent to which Mr. Henry Wallace, to take an outstanding example, goes about parroting the misrepresentation of our foreign-policy aims. Very many of the things he says are the same sort of villification of our motives I have listened to over the Moscow radio during the past two years in Iran.

I shall, in conclusion, undertake to consider whether there is a reasonable likelihood that the democratic way of life will suffer extinction, whether it will hold its own in a stalemate with totalitarianism, or whether it will triumph.

There are people devoted to human liberty on both sides of the Iron Curtain, just as there are on both sides people who are willing to sell their liberties for the false promise of a worker's paradise under Communism. If two things are accomplished, it is my personal conviction that democracy will prevail. In the first place, economic development throughout the democratic world must be achieved, to give the masses of the people, the industrial workers and the farmers, a high stand-

ard of living and their full share in the product of their labors. At the same time the United States must develop its military strength, in order that our assurances of support for the democratic elements abroad will have some meaning. With these two objectives achieved, I believe we shall see the end of aggression, and the overthrow of democratic governments through infiltration of Communist minorities will cease. I do not believe that a military decision is inevitable in the contest between democracy and totalitarianism. Human beings love liberty everywhere, and with adequate opportunity they will begin to show this love more boldly, even in places where today a man does not dare to speak his mind.

I look forward confidently to the ultimate triumph of democracy everywhere throughout the globe. Such a triumph is necessary if we are to have world peace, for only through democratic governments can the peoples of the world prevent their rulers from embarking on aggressive acts which lead to war.

Reduction of Trade Barriers—Rhetoric or Reality

BY WINTHROP G. BROWN¹

Acting Deputy Director, Office of International Trade Policy

Ten days ago at Havana, the representatives of 54 nations, meeting under the auspices of the United Nations, reached agreement on a charter for an International Trade Organization, to be submitted to their governments for acceptance. This charter is a broad code of international economic conduct. It is the culmination of over two years of international effort, and at the final session of the conference William L. Clayton, head of the United States Delegation, had this to say:

"There have been other conferences on international economic affairs. But none of them has undertaken a task so difficult as the one that is completed here today. None of them has come to an agreement concerning so many vital economic interests of so many states. None of them has produced a document so comprehensive as the Havana charter for world trade. Few, if any, of them have attained so notable a measure of success."

Five months ago, at Geneva, the representatives of 23 nations, also meeting under the auspices of the United Nations, reached agreement on a general agreement on tariffs and trade, containing rules for the conduct of many aspects of their trade with each other and providing for the tariff treatment of products accounting for over half the

world's international trade. This agreement has already been put into effect by the principal trading nations represented at Geneva.

To answer the question implicit in the topic suggested for this talk requires an examination of the background of these two rather momentous documents, of what it is that they seek to accomplish, and of the extent to which they may be expected to accomplish it.

After World War II economic conditions were chaotic in the extreme. Not only was there tremendous physical destruction of facilities for production, transportation, and communications, but there was also destruction of intangibles, such as breaking of business channels and liquidation of foreign investments. Shortages of food, clothing, fertilizer, raw materials, and machinery are still the rule. And during the war techniques for the control of trade by governments had been brought to a high degree of perfection. In almost every country imports and exports are being controlled by government as to quantity, source, and destination. International trade has been turning towards bilateralism and control.

Positive action on a wide scale was needed to reverse this trend and start trading nations moving again in the direction of multilateral international trade: No one nation, not even the United States, was powerful enough to accomplish this

¹Address made before the World Trade Conference of the Cleveland World Trade Association on Apr. 2, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

alone. It was important to act before the patterns of bilateralism and control had become too permanently fixed.

The United States, therefore, in December 1945 proposed the international adoption of certain rules for the conduct of international trade, and invited a considerable number of countries to negotiate with it and with each other for the reduction of tariffs and the regulation and limitation of the use of other trade barriers.

This action found a ready response. One of the first acts of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations early in 1946 was to appoint a committee of 18 nations to prepare for a United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment. This committee adopted as the basis for its deliberations the *Suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization*, published in September 1946 by the United States.² At London in the fall of 1946, at Geneva in the spring and summer of 1947, and at Havana at the conference just completed, the *Charter* has been debated and refined and improved. It is now ready for submission to the legislatures of the participating countries for their approval.

The invitations to tariff negotiations were accepted. The negotiations took place. The general agreement on tariffs and trade has, for the most part, been put into effect.

What are the fundamental beliefs that have motivated all this effort?

They are, first, the belief that excessive barriers to world trade must be reduced so that the volume of trade may be large. This does not mean a world of completely free trade. It does mean a world of "open" trade—readier access to world markets, greater opportunity for specialization, more active competition, larger industrial output, increased labor productivity at lower production costs.

Second, the belief that international trade should be multilateral rather than bilateral. This simply means that trade should consist of buying and selling among the traders of many nations, rather than through a series of separate agreements between pairs of nations. Sales should not have to be confined to buyers who agree to deliver equivalent values in other specified goods. Traders should be able to buy and sell where they please, exchanging goods for money, and money for goods. That is multilateral trade. Bilateral trade, on the other hand, is close kin to barter. Such a system limits the number and size and kind of business transactions to the capacity of the weaker partner, and therefore holds down the volume of world trade, freezing it into a rigid pattern that cannot be accommodated to changing conditions.

Third, the belief that international trade should be nondiscriminatory, that each country shall give equal treatment to the commerce of all other

nations. We have seen the results of trade discriminations during the years between two world wars—nations playing off trade with one country against that with another in a global game of political chess. Almost inevitably trade discriminations develop political aspects, and the competitive clashes which in private enterprise are merely stimulating become national issues and involve national pride when they occur in government-to-government dealings.

Fourth, the belief that progressive trade policies must be supported by consistent policies for stabilization in the field of certain primary commodities. Prolonged and drastic fluctuations in world markets for these commodities can create widespread hardship and unemployment and thus undermine the very foundations of a cooperative world economy. Machinery and rules should be provided for reaching intergovernmental agreements to govern temporarily the production and marketing of such commodities when they are in burdensome world surplus.

Fifth, the belief that though nations may choose to use different systems of trading, it is possible for them to work in harmony. Therefore, an effort should be made to find rules which, for example, will govern the operation of state trading enterprises in international trade so as to place those countries using such a system as nearly as possible on the same basis as those relying on private enterprise.

Sixth, the belief that it is essential to develop the resources of underdeveloped areas and to make the fullest use of the resources of all areas. Increased production and increased consumption lead the way hand in hand to increased prosperity, and one's most highly developed neighbors turn out to be one's best markets.

Seventh, the belief that the availability of machinery for easy international consultation, the obligation to consult, and agreement in advance on the rules of the game are the surest guaranties against economic warfare.

And so, under this *Charter*, nations which join the Iro would agree:

1. To take measures designed to maintain productive employment and buying power within their own borders as a means to stimulating trade, avoiding measures which would create difficulties for the economies of others.

2. To encourage private and public international investment and to recognize the need for economic advancement of less well-developed areas.

3. To negotiate for mutual reduction of trade barriers.

4. To eliminate discrimination in international

² Department of State publication 2598.

trade, except in exceptional and clearly defined circumstances.

5. To lower the "invisible tariff" of customs administration.

6. To conduct international trade between private and public enterprises according to principles of nondiscrimination and fair dealing.

7. To curb and regulate international monopolies and cartels.

8. To accept a code of principles to govern the formation and operation of intergovernmental commodity agreements, which should be fair to producer and consumer alike and give producers and consumers an equal voice in their negotiation and operation.

9. To consult with other members about contemplated action which might affect them adversely.

The same basic beliefs also underlie the general agreement on tariffs and trade, which, you will recall, is the second document which I mentioned at the beginning of this talk. When the United States put forward to the world its proposals for rules to govern international trade and for an International Trade Organization, it had available also a mechanism for more concrete action—the mechanism of the Trade Agreements Act. Accordingly, as I said, it invited a considerable number of other nations to negotiate with it and with each other for the reduction of tariffs. As a result 23 countries, representing over three quarters of the world's international trade, met at Geneva, and after seven months of negotiation, reached agreement on the text of an agreement which specifies the tariff treatment of products which account for over half of the world's trade. Imports of these products by the Geneva countries prewar amounted to over ten billions of dollars, of which United States imports were about a billion and three quarters.

The tariff concessions granted were of three kinds: reductions in rates of duty; binding of existing rates against increases; and binding of duty-free status. The United States obtained reductions in duty from other countries on products of principal interest to us accounting in 1939 for about 500 million dollars of imports. We granted reduction in duty on imports into the United States accounting in 1939 for about 500 million dollars. We bound the existing tariff rates on about 150 million dollars of imports and bound the duty-free status of about a billion one hundred million dollars of imports. We obtained corresponding concessions for our exports of approximately the same magnitude.

The general agreement also contains provisions designed to prevent the participants from canceling out tariff concessions by imposing discriminatory and restrictive measures such as import quotas, exchange controls and manipulations,

internal taxes and regulations, and the like, and from evading the undertaking to grant unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. This agreement has already been put into effect by Australia, Canada, Cuba, Belgium, France, Holland, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

This was more than just agreement "in principle". It was concrete action. It showed that the most important trading nations meant business when they professed to believe in the expansion of trade and the reduction of trade barriers. It showed they could work together in that effort. It showed that commitments such as those contained in the Iro charter have meaning.

I have outlined the background of the Iro charter and the general agreement on tariffs and trade, telling you something about why they came into being and what they seek to accomplish. And now I must try to answer the question implicit in the title of this speech. Is this all worth while? Will it do what it sets out to do?

Granted that the problems at Geneva and Havana were complex, granted that the area of agreement was extensive, granted that the charter is one of the most comprehensive, and the general agreement one of the largest, international documents ever signed—just how should they be evaluated?

It would be easy to say that the rules which they lay down are riddled with exceptions; that the principles accepted are too vague to be meaningful; that a mere promise to consult is not much guaranty of good behavior; that the tariff concessions made will not really hurt any domestic industry no matter how uneconomic; that to agree on principles of multilateral trade under present world conditions is to ignore realities and live in an ivory tower; that it is foolish to go to all this trouble under the appalling uncertainties of the present day; that the wiser course would have been to wait until conditions were stabilized, until the shape of things to come could be more clearly discerned. All of these things could be and are being said, and each of them contains a modicum of truth.

But it can also be said that the deepest need of the world today is agreement and a sense of direction. Nations can no longer solve their problems alone. National boundaries have long since ceased to confine either depression or prosperity. When things are uncertain and confused, when there is a likelihood of nations working at cross purposes, when there is a common need and wide differences of opinion as to how to meet it, then is the time to reach agreement on the direction in which nations are to go. Geneva set the direction of over three quarters of the world's trade and took the first steps along the course thus charted. Havana was the next step in developing the long-term pattern

of international economic relations. The establishment of the International Trade Organization will give that pattern stability and substance.

It would have been easy to pursue a cautious policy and wait for "more normal" times before seeking international agreement in the field of trade. But events do not wait for the cautious man to make up his mind. The time to mold the clay is when it is still on the wheel and before it has set into a pattern we do not like. We believe in the kind of trade policy I have described. The trend was in the other direction—towards a thickening mass of restrictions, discriminations, bilateral deals, and governmental interferences in foreign trade, with their inevitable extension of controls into domestic trade. So we acted. We assumed the leadership in the fight for the kind of world trade pattern under which private enterprise and free competition can continue. We tried to obtain agreement that the course of international trade would be set away from bilateralism and control and towards expansion, competition, and equality of opportunity. We succeeded.

The Ito charter has been criticized with equal vehemence on the grounds that it is so idealistic that it won't work and conversely that it has so many exceptions that it won't work.

It is true that the charter is idealistic. This is nothing to apologize for. It sets up ultimate objectives toward which all countries can agree to work. But it is also realistic. It recognizes facts and faces them. It is not afraid to provide clear exceptions designed to meet abnormal conditions such as the present emergency. The exceptions are, however, carefully defined. Many of them are temporary; all of them are limited in extent; and no nation will be able to use any of them except under conditions upon which all nations have agreed. If it were not for the exceptions the charter would not be practical and it is because it is practical that it can be expected to work. I would add that it will work also because it does not represent the point of view of any one nation or group of nations. We cannot bury our heads in the sand and refuse to recognize that not all nations share our views as to just what the rules of the trade game should be. We must work out a way in which nations of differing views may work together towards common objectives.

I quote again from the words of Mr. Clayton at the final session of the Havana conference:

"The charter is complicated and difficult. It is long and detailed and technical. But behind its many chapters and its scores of articles, there lies a simple truth. The world will be a better place to live in if nations, instead of taking unilateral action without regard to the interests of others, will adopt and follow common principles, and enter into consultation through an international organization when interests come into con-

flict. And this, throughout the entire range of trade relationships, is what the signatories of the charter agree to do. Each will surrender some part of its freedom to take action that might prove harmful to others; and thus each will gain the assurance that others will not take action harmful to it."

The general agreement on tariffs and trade also contains exceptions to its general provisions which I mentioned earlier. These exceptions are, of course, made to allow for the present extreme shortages abroad in production and foreign exchange. But these exceptions, like those in the charter, are closely defined, their use limited, and the conditions under which they must be abandoned are clearly set forth.

It would be less than honest of me to say that our foreign sales of exportable products will increase immediately because of these tariff concessions from other countries. They will not. In the long run, United States commercial exports cannot increase until the rest of the world is better able to pay for them. Profitable trade must be reciprocal and there is very little real reciprocity when our exports of goods and services are exceeding our imports by 11 billion dollars a year, as they did in 1947.

But tariff concessions in a wide area of world trade—such as were achieved at Geneva and are looked forward to under the Ito—will inevitably facilitate, liberalize, and encourage world trade. People work and produce when they see a chance to exchange their products for things which they want and cannot produce for themselves. That is human nature. As world production and trade conditions begin to return to normal, as exceptions cease to be operative, as United States producers again face competition in foreign markets, the tariff concessions embodied in the general agreement will give easier access to those markets for the goods which United States agriculture and industry must sell abroad in order to maintain the level of economic activity in this country. Even while shortages of dollars exist, the concessions will help to expand trade between so-called "soft currency" countries, and the general provisions will limit the use of controls to the cases where they are really needed.

The general agreement was negotiated by the United States under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act, which expires on June 12. The President has asked the Congress to renew this tried and tested instrument of our foreign economic policy, already four times renewed, for a further period of three years. Why?

There were only 23 countries at Geneva. It is important to bring many other countries into the general agreement. To do so they must negotiate reductions in their tariffs with the Geneva coun-

tries. The President needs the trade-agreements authority to participate in these negotiations.

If he does not have effective authority to negotiate because of failure to renew the act, we will simply have to say to countries wishing to come into the agreement that it is uncertain whether we can give effect to the results of any negotiation. Since the trade of most countries with the United States is highly significant to them, they will hesitate to come in on this basis. We will be keeping friendly countries out of this cooperative economic effort.

In the European Recovery Program we will be embarking on a tremendous effort to help western Europe get back on its feet. The program recognizes the elementary fact that one of the prerequisites to their staying on their feet is to reduce the barriers to their trade between each other and between themselves and the rest of the world. They should get into a position to earn their own way by selling their goods. The reduction of their tariffs on each other's goods and the extension of tariff reductions in their trade with the rest of the world is one good way of enabling them to pay their own way. We should not, just as we embark on the European Recovery Program, give up our ability to participate with these countries in working out arrangements by which they can more completely pay their own way.

The Trade Agreements Act is a symbol to the rest of the world of the United States willingness to participate in international economic cooperation. Its first enactment, 14 years ago, marked the reversal of the policy of economic isolationism which we pursued after World War I. Any action which could be interpreted as a repudiation by the United States of the trade-agreements policy

would be considered by other nations as equally symbolic, and would jeopardize United States leadership in the fight for the kind of economic world in which we believe and in which private enterprise and free competition can continue.

I began with a description of accomplishment in the field of international economic relations. I have for a time been discussing doubts, seeking to dispel them. Let me end with a word as to the basic significance of the Havana and Geneva agreements.

Their basic significance is the fact and the extent of agreement. Never before in the history of the world have so many nations reached agreement on so much practical action and over so wide a range of principle in their economic relations. In a troubled world, ravaged by storms of controversy and disagreement, nations have come together in agreement on matters of basic economic importance. They have agreed on a pattern for their trade. They have taken concrete steps to put it into effect. They have shown that the United Nations can be made to work.

The issue today is more than just trade. It is more even than the preservation of free enterprise. It is the struggle for freedom itself. In this struggle the system we believe in is on trial. We must show the world that it will work. Nations which believe in freedom must come closer together economically as well as politically. Some of them did so at Geneva. More of them did so at Havana. What was accomplished there does not cure our economic ills nor win the battle for freedom. But it gives solid cause for hope that those ills can be cured, and that the battle can be won—if we continue the fight.

Restitution of Looted Property in Japan

UNITED STATES DIRECTIVE

The United States interim directive, dispatched by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers on 17 March 1948, follows

1. The instructions here below are additions to and do not derogate from the full force and effect of FEC-011/12.

2. The SCAP should accord the same treatment to all property found in Japan, and identified as having been located in an Allied country either at or during the time of occupation, and which was removed therefrom by fraud or duress by the Japanese or their agents, as that which he accords to objects in the four categories listed in para. 1 of FEC-011/12 (JCS Directive # 57) identified as

having been located in an Allied country at the time of occupation.

3. In the case of Allied vessels subject to restitution the SCAP may, at his discretion, make delivery at Western Pacific points outside Japan whenever it would be to his advantage and whenever the recipient country agrees. If delivery is so made any costs of supporting and repatriating ships crews used for such delivery would only be borne by the recipient country if it specifically agrees to do so. In the case of delivery of other items of looted property unutilized outgoing shipping space of Japanese vessels being employed in the importation of goods or repatriation of Japanese from a restitution recipient country to

Japan may be made available, at the expense of the Japanese Government but at the risk of the recipient country, to deliver such items at points outside Japan.

4. After full opportunities have been given for inspection of objects known to have been looted the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers is authorized to liquidate property, excepting gold, silver, precious metals, and cultural objects, known to have been looted but not identified pursuant to the terms of this paper. The proceeds of such liquidation shall form a secured fund to be entrusted to the care of SCAP, which may be used, in the discretion of SCAP, for the purposes of the occupation. The initial value of the secured fund is to be preserved by SCAP or his successor authority. The Governments of Australia, China, France, India, Netherlands, Philippines, and U.K. should have a priority right to purchase items offered for liquidation by foreign exchange acceptable to SCAP up to but not exceeding their recognized national reparations percentage shares (when determined, and adjusted to total 100%, applicable to this fund) of industrial assets available from within Japan. The secured fund should finally be distributed among the countries herein specified in accordance with the percentage mentioned above, payable in U.S. dollars, or, at the discretion of SCAP, in foreign exchange acceptable to the recipient countries concerned. The secured fund shall be distributed to the recipient countries not later than 1 October 1949.

5. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers shall create an agency comprising one representative from each of the restitution and reparations teams in Japan of the eleven member countries of the Far Eastern Commission, who desire to participate, to advise on restitution matters. In addition, the Supreme Commander or his deputy should act as the non-voting chairman of the agency. It may meet at the call of the Supreme Commander or at the request of any member. The Supreme Commander should notify the United States Government of the views of the agency when his views conflict with those of the majority of the member countries.

6. In cases of doubt as to the adequacy of the evidence of ownership submitted to support a claim for an object known to have been looted, the Supreme Commander shall inform the other members of the advisory agency of the existence of the claim. The advisory agency, after examining the evidence, shall give its advice to the Supreme Commander as to whether the claim should be approved or the provisions of paragraph 4 above applied.

7. No claims for the restitution of looted property should be lodged with SCAP after eight months from the issuance of this directive to SCAP; provided that after such terminal date, claims may, with the concurrence of SCAP, be lodged for property known to have been looted but not previously identified.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND COMMERCE

[Released to the press April 2]

The Departments of State and Commerce announced on April 2 procedures to be followed by those persons admitted to Japan to seek restitution of their property, or to investigate possibilities for engaging in business activity in Japan.

The new regulations governing admittance to Japan for commercial entrants were previously announced by the Supreme Commander on February 3, 1948. As announced at that time, the numbers permitted to enter Japan at any time will be limited to those whose activities will contribute to the economic rehabilitation of Japan. The Japanese Government is operating five commercial hotels but total facilities available in these hotels throughout Japan will accommodate only 500. Commercial entrants may remain in these hotels only 60 days unless accommodations are adequate for a longer period without denying entrance into Japan to other applicants, and those who apply for a semi-permanent resident's permit, which

would permit them to remain in Japan longer, must not only demonstrate that their continued presence will contribute to the objectives of the occupation but must also provide their own support outside the facilities of the Japanese Government-operated hotels.

Individual applications must be sponsored by the applicant's own government and forwarded through established diplomatic channels. United States property owners or their representatives desiring to take advantage of the arrangements outlined herein, should make application to the Office of International Trade, U. S. Department of Commerce, through its field offices. Applications will be considered by the Supreme Commander in priority of their receipt, and entry permits will be valid during a period of 60 days, assigned by the General Headquarters in Japan. Passport applications should be filed with the clerk of Federal or State courts or with the passport agents located in Washington, San Francisco, and

New York. Transportation will be obtained by the entrants via established transportation facilities.

Procedures governing the restitution of properties to American and other United Nations owners are chiefly the following. After his arrival in Japan the U.S. owner, or his duly authorized agent, will make application to the Supreme Commander through the U. S. Reparations and Restitution Mission in Tokyo for the return of his property. Attention is drawn to Department of State press release no. 532, June 27, 1947, which described the instructions under which powers of attorney may be drawn by American property owners outside of Japan. Regardless of whether the property was sold or liquidated by the Japanese Government during the war, owners are entitled to return of their property. However, in such cases, the owner must agree, as a condition of the return of his property, to refund to the Japanese Government the amount of money received as payment or that was deposited in a blocked account in the owner's name at the time of sale or liquidation. Repayment of such amounts, however, will only be due after the settlement of any claims for loss or damage that the owner may make against the Japanese Government. If the property has been leased to a third party by the Japanese custodian or administrator, the owner will have the opportunity of terminating the lease and obtaining vacant possession. If, however, the property has been requisitioned by the occupation forces for their use, vacant possession will not be obtained by the owner until the property is released by the occupation forces.

In accepting the return of the property, the owner will not be required to renounce any claim he may have against the Japanese Government or its nationals for damages to the property. Since the procedures for adjudicating or settling claims against the Japanese Government or its nationals have not yet been determined, it is not possible to state the extent or nature of compensation which may be provided in respect to claims for loss or

damage suffered before return of the property, nor when such claims will be acted upon. An owner who is unable or unwilling to assume control of his property at the present time will not be compelled to accept its return, nor will any rights he may have be prejudiced by his not resuming control at present. Until the property is returned to the owner, the Japanese Government has sole responsibility for its preservation and protection under the direction of the Supreme Commander, but after its return its future maintenance and any rehabilitation costs are the responsibility of the owner.

At present SCAP regulations do not permit postwar commercial entrants to engage in business and investment activities in Japan except as specially authorized. Business entrants are now permitted to engage in international trade through Boeki Cho (Japanese Board of Trade), and SCAP licenses have been issued to banking, shipping, and insurance companies to service foreign trade. Resident Allied and neutral nationals who have been in Japan continuously since September 2, 1945, are permitted to engage in business activities on the same basis as Japanese nationals and it is contemplated that commercial entrants whose activities will contribute to the economic rehabilitation of Japan will be accorded the same privileges.

No procedure has yet been established whereby foreign exchange can be converted to yen except at the military exchange rate of 50-1 and all import-export of raw materials and other commodities must be through Boeki Cho and subject to SCAP approval and validation. In addition, at the present time there is no provision for conversion of Japanese yen into foreign currencies.

Commercial entrants wishing to investigate investment possibilities must realize there is a critical shortage of materials, services, and facilities which may handicap their operations, and permission to do business in Japan, if granted, will in no way constitute special grounds for such materials, facilities, or services.

STATEMENT BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Secretary of State

[Released to the press March 25]

The terms of reference of the Far Eastern Commission provide that the United States may issue interim directives to SCAP pending action by the Far Eastern Commission whenever urgent matters arise which are not covered by policies already formulated by the Commission. In this case there was agreement among the countries on a portion of the policy of restitution and, since

the restitution program is considered urgent by many of the countries which suffered at the hands of the Japanese, the United States felt it necessary to provide SCAP with policy guidance. The directive issued by the United States covers only those aspects of the restitution program on which there are no differences. The unagreed aspects of the restitution policy are still under discussion in the FEC.

Rejection of Yugoslav Comments on Personal American Activities

[Released to the press March 16]

Text of note from the Secretary of State to the Ambassador of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Sava N. Kosanovic), March 15, 1948

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and has the honor to refer to the latter's note Pov. br. 231 of March 3, 1948¹ relative to a press report concerning the marriage of the United States Consul General at Munich which is said to have been attended by the Director of the Office of American Military Government for Bavaria and by, among others, the former Regent of Hungary, Admiral Nicholas Horthy. The Ambassador, in characterizing Admiral Horthy as a "war criminal" present at a wedding ceremony together with high American officials, requests that he be informed "what steps will be taken to punish these American officials."

The Secretary of State informs the Ambassador that, in the opinion of the United States Government, the list of guests reported in the press as having attended a ceremony of such a private nature as the marriage of two American citizens in Germany is not a matter for representations on the part of the Yugoslav Government. The Ambassador's comments in his note under reference are accordingly rejected.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington.

Entry Into Force of Industrial-Property Agreement With France

[Released to the press March 17]

On February 27, 1948, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic each delivered to the other Government a notice of acceptance of the supplementary agreement between the United States and France concerning the restoration of certain industrial-property rights affected by World War II, signed at Washington on October 28, 1947.² Accordingly, the supplementary agreement, pursuant to the provisions thereof, came into force on February 27, 1948.

The supplementary agreement amends an industrial-property agreement between the two Governments, signed at Washington on April 4, 1947,³ which was designed to permit delayed filing of patent applications, accomplishment of formalities, and payment of fees, which acts were not

possible during the war. The agreement of April 4, 1947, was entered into in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 690, 79th Congress, approved August 8, 1946. Since the signature of that agreement the Congress of the United States enacted legislation (Public Law 220, 80th Congress, approved July 23, 1947) permitting extension of periods during which the above-mentioned benefits might be obtained. The supplementary agreement is designed to extend periods specified in the earlier agreement to the later dates permitted by act of Congress.

Procedure for Filing Claims With Hungary

[Released to the press March 18]

The treaty of peace with Hungary which came into force on September 15, 1947, provides that legal rights and interests of American nationals in Hungary as they existed on September 1, 1939, are to be restored, and the Hungarian Government is required to return all property in Hungary of United Nations nationals as it now exists. Where property has not been returned within six months from the coming into force of the treaty (i. e., within six months from September 15, 1947), application for the return thereof is to be made to the Hungarian authorities on or before September 15, 1948, unless claimants are able to show that applications could not be filed within that period. In cases where property cannot be returned or where, as a result of the war, a United Nations national has suffered a loss by reason of injury or damage to property in Hungary, the Hungarian Government is required to make compensation in local currency to the extent of two thirds of the sum necessary, at the date of payment, to purchase similar property or to make good the loss suffered. To enable claims to receive consideration under the treaty, claimants must have been nationals of one of the United Nations on January 20, 1945 (the date of the armistice with Hungary), and on September 15, 1947 (the date the treaty came into force), or must establish that under the laws in force in Hungary during the war they were treated as enemies. Claimants must also be nationals of this Government at the time of the filing of their claims.

The Department of State has recently been advised of the requirements of the Hungarian Government in connection with the preparation of claims and will communicate directly in the near future with all claimants of whom the Department has a record, advising them of such requirements.

¹ Not printed.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1947, p. 912.

³ BULLETIN of Apr. 20, 1947, p. 725.

American nationals, including individuals, corporations, and associations, resident outside Hungary, who desire to file claims under the treaty, should, upon being advised of the requirements in that connection, prepare and submit their claims to the Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State, Washington, D.C., at the earliest practicable date. Claimants residing in Hungary should, upon receipt of instructions as to the method of preparing claims, prepare and file their claims with the American Legation in Budapest.

Claimants who desire to file claims of the character indicated but who have not previously communicated with the Department of State regarding that subject, should do so at once.

The Department of State and the American Legation in Budapest will endeavor to render claimants such assistance as is practicable in connection with the preparation of their claims and in the transmittal thereof to the Hungarian Government. Full responsibility for the actual preparation of claims, however, and for the submission of the necessary documentary evidence to establish their validity rests with the claimants and their attorneys.

When information regarding the procedure for preparing and filing claims under the treaty of peace with Italy becomes available, a similar announcement will be made. Announcements have already been made with respect to claims under the Bulgarian and Rumanian treaties.¹

Income Tax Convention With New Zealand Signed

[Released to the press March 16]

A convention between the United States and New Zealand for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income was signed at Washington on March 16, 1948, by George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, and Walter Nash, P.C., Minister of Finance and Minister of Customs for New Zealand.

The provisions of the convention are similar in general to those contained in conventions now in force between the United States and Canada, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The convention provides that it shall be ratified, and that, upon the exchange of instruments of ratification, it shall become effective, as to United States tax, for the taxable years beginning on or after January 1 in the calendar year in which the exchange occurs, and, as to New Zealand tax, for the year of assessment beginning on April 1 next following the calendar year in which the exchange occurs.

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1948, p. 356.

New Egyptian Steamship Service to the United States

The Department of State announced on March 17 that it had received word from the American Embassy at Cairo of the inauguration of the new Khedivial Mail Line steamship service between Egypt and the United States.

After inaugural ceremonies were held at Alexandria, Egypt, aboard the S.S. *Khedive Ismail*, the vessel sailed on March 16, on its maiden voyage to New York. A second liner, *Mohamed Ali el Kabir*, will make its first voyage at a later date.

The Khedivial Line was hailed as "a new link between the Old World and the New" by Ahmed Abboud Pasha, managing director of the line, at the ceremonies. They were attended by leading Egyptian Government officials and United States representatives headed by United States Ambassador to Egypt, S. Pinkney Tuck. Abboud Pasha said that he hoped to be in New York to greet the *Khedive Ismail* on its arrival.

Plan for New Chilean Bond Service

[Released to the press March 25]

The Department is gratified by the announcement by the Government of Chile of the results of its negotiations with the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council (and related negotiations with British and Swiss protective organizations) looking to regularizing and increasing the payments on Chilean foreign bonds. Since 1935 Chile has been paying interest on Chilean foreign bonds at rates which varied annually with certain Chilean public revenues. The proposed plan will alter the bases of payment and substantially increase payments over present or prospective payments under the existing Chilean bond-adjustment law. Amounts involved are substantial (about 131 million dollars in United States dollar bonds and the equivalent of 122 million dollars in sterling and Swiss franc bonds).

The new plan is still subject to approval by the Chilean Congress.

Letters of Credence

Guatemala

The newly appointed Ambassador of Guatemala, Ismael Gonzalez Arevalo, presented his credentials to the President on March 15. For translation of the Ambassador's remarks and for the President's reply, see Department of State press release 203 of March 15, 1948.

Panama

The newly appointed Ambassador of Panama, Ernesto Jaen Guardia, presented his credentials to the President on March 19. For translation of the Ambassador's remarks and for the President's reply, see Department of State press release 219 of March 19, 1948.

Educational Exchange Program Under Fulbright Act

Announcement of the Fulbright Program in Burma and China

The Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Department of State announce a limited number of grants available for graduate study in Burma and China. The grants will be awarded under the provisions of Public Law 584, 79th Congress (the Fulbright act). All grants will be paid in Burmese and Chinese currency and may include payment of tuition and maintenance. Partial grants may be made to supplement benefits received under Public Law 346, 78th Congress ("G. I. Bill of Rights"), or grants from other sources. Candidates for these grants will be drawn from students in the United States wishing to go to Burma or China and from American students already in residence in Burma or China who wish to continue their studies. Travel grants will not be available for Chinese study, although allowed to Burma.

The Department of State and the Board of Foreign Scholarships on March 24 announced that Dr. Derk Bodde, University of Pennsylvania Sinologist, had been selected for the first award under the Fulbright act. The award will be for the purpose of enabling Dr. Bodde to engage in research leading to the annotation and translation into English of the second volume of Professor Fung Yu-lan's definitive *History of Chinese Philosophy* which up to this time has been available to scholars only in the original Chinese text. The first volume of this work has already been translated by Dr. Bodde.

The Board also announced opportunities in the interim China program for six American librarians to go to China to staff three library institutes to be established by the American Library Association in universities in Peiping, Soochow, and Canton for the purpose of exchanging professional information and acquainting additional Chinese librarians in western technical processes of librarianship, especially in regard to selection and cataloging of western books.

Persons wishing detailed information about these and other opportunities under the Fulbright act, as well as application blanks, should write to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y. (for graduate study abroad); the U.S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching in national elementary and secondary schools abroad); the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C. (for college teaching, professional research, and teaching in American elementary and secondary schools abroad).

April 11, 1948

Grants for Burma

[Released to the press March 31]

The Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Department of State announce a limited number of grants available for visiting professors and research scholars under the first-year Fulbright program approved for Burma. The grants will be awarded under the provisions of Public Law 584, 79th Congress (the Fulbright act). All grants will be paid in Burmese currency and may include salary, maintenance, and travel. Partial grants may be made in Burmese currency to supplement any financial assistance the candidate is receiving from his institution in this country or from other sources.

Eight grants will be awarded United States professors to teach at institutions of higher learning in Burma, in the following fields:

University of Rangoon :

- industrial chemistry
- hydroelectric engineering
- fresh-water biology
- economics

State Training College for Teachers, Rangoon :

- educational research
- educational psychology
- abnormal psychology
- physical education

Five grants will be awarded to citizens of the United States for post-doctoral research in connection with institutions of higher learning in Burma.

Application blanks and additional information concerning these awards will be available from the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C.

Student Ships Assigned

[Released to the press March 30]

The Department of State announced on March 30 that the *Marine Tiger* and the *Marine Jumper* have been assigned by the United States Maritime Commission at the request of the Department and numerous private organizations, to transport American and foreign students, teachers, and other academic personnel between the United States and Europe during the summer of 1948. Each vessel will make four special transatlantic round trips between June and September, calling on all sailings at British and French ports and on two sailings at Oslo.

Each of these former troop transports has room for 600 passengers. The number of staterooms is

limited, the majority of the accommodations being in dormitories and large compartments. Rates will vary from \$140 to \$200 one way, depending upon the class of accommodation and port of destination.

The Netherlands Government, through its Office for Foreign Student Relations, is also operating student ships, the *Kota-Inten* and the *Tabinta*, which will make one voyage each from Quebec to Rotterdam on June 18 and July 1, respectively. Each of these vessels has a capacity of 750. Early in September the *Volendam*, with a capacity of 1,500, will sail from Rotterdam for New York to provide return transportation for the students traveling to Europe on the two smaller ships. The cost of round-trip passage will be \$280.

The Institute of International Education, 2 West Forty-fifth Street, New York 19, N. Y., will administer the entire student-ship program. Requests for information, schedules, and application for passage on both the Dutch and the American vessels should be addressed to the Institute. American diplomatic missions in Europe will assist foreign students and teachers who wish to arrange passage for the United States on the ships.

The American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia will conduct a shipboard orientation program for passengers on the *Marine Jumper* and the *Marine Tiger*. This committee enjoyed conspicuous success in carrying out this kind of program on the ships last summer. There will be a similar program on the Dutch vessels, with the cooperation of the Friends.

The determination of priorities to be assigned applicants will be the responsibility of an executive committee composed of representatives of a number of the organizations sponsoring travel to Europe this summer. All organizations and individuals applying for passage on the student ships will be required to demonstrate that their purpose is formal study, attendance at conferences, or participation in cultural or reconstruction projects.

Statement by Assistant Secretary Allen

The action of the Maritime Commission in assigning two vessels for facilitation of educational travel between the United States and Europe next summer is very gratifying to the Department. By enabling several thousands of young Americans to visit Europe for a summer's study, this project will make a definite contribution toward the furthering of good will and amity among the free peoples of the world. I regard the assignment of these ships for such a purpose as an outstanding example of the way in which Government is able to supplement and encourage the initiative of private organizations in carrying on educational exchange with other nations.

Educational Exchange Program Agreement With the Philippines Signed

[Released to the press March 24]

The Republic of the Philippines and the United States on March 24 signed an agreement for the program of educational exchanges authorized by the Fulbright act. The agreement is the third to be signed by the United States. Programs under the act have already been started with China and Burma.¹

The agreement was signed by Vice President and, concurrently, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Elpidio Quirino, and American Ambassador Emmet O'Neal. The agreement, similar to those signed with China and Burma, is authorized by the Fulbright act which provides that Philippine currency resulting from the sale of American surplus property may be used in the country of sale for educational exchanges with the United States. Under this agreement, in consideration for certain surplus properties transferred by the United States to the Philippine Government, the Philippines is to make available the equivalent of two million dollars for education and research. The program will be administered by a foundation whose Board of Directors will include five Americans and four Filipinos. The United States Ambassador, Emmet O'Neal, will be honorary chairman, and James Lawrence Meader, the Chief Public-Affairs Officer of the American Embassy in Manila, will serve as chairman.

The purposes of the Fulbright act include the financing of "studies, research, instruction, and other educational activities of or for citizens of the United States of America in schools and institutions of higher learning located in the Philippines, or of the citizens of the Philippines in United States schools and institutions of higher learning located outside the continental United States . . . including payment for transportation, tuition, maintenance and other expenses incident to scholastic activities; or furnishing transportation for citizens of the Philippines who desire to attend United States schools and institutions of higher learning in the continental United States . . . whose attendance will not deprive citizens of the United States of America of an opportunity to attend such schools and institutions."

Programs under this act will, it is expected, greatly augment those set up by the Philippine Rehabilitation Act by making available American specialists to cooperate with Filipino educators in rebuilding and strengthening the educational system and services. A limited number of Filipino educators and students may have transportation to the United States paid under the new agreement, provided that they have already been accepted by United States institutions of higher

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 21, 1948, p. 388.

learning and that all other necessary funds are assured from other sources.

Grants to American scholars for research and educational projects in the Philippines will act as a stimulus to cultural rehabilitation, it is believed, in addition to giving Filipino scholars the benefit of practical training with American specialists.

Address on Freedom of Information

On March 25 William Benton, Chairman of the U. S. Delegation to the Conference on Freedom of Information at Geneva, made an address at the opening plenary session on freedom of information and the press. For the text of this address, see Department of State press release 231 of March 25, 1948.

Chilean Lawyer Visits U.S.

Dr. Moises Poblete-Troncoso, professor of labor legislation and director of the Institute of Social

and Economic Sciences, University of Chile, arrived in Washington March 16, accompanied by his wife, for a four months' visit under the travel-grant program of the Department of State. Dr. Poblete-Troncoso's visit is being made at the request of the Library of Congress for the purpose of serving as consultant in social legislation.

John N. Andrews Appointed to Board of Foreign Scholarships

The Department of State announced on April 2 that the President has appointed Col. John N. Andrews to the Board of Foreign Scholarships under the Fulbright act. Colonel Andrews, the personal representative of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs since 1946, will fill the unexpired term of Gen. Omar N. Bradley who represented veterans on the Board until his appointment as Chief of Staff.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appeal for Restoration of Funds for Efficient Conduct of Foreign Relations

STATEMENT BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL¹

Secretary of State

Two months ago, I appeared before the House Appropriations Subcommittee to present the 1949 budget request of the Department of State. It was stated at that time that the budgetary estimates of the Department did not include requests for funds which could be eliminated without actually impairing the conduct of foreign relations. There has been no reason to change that view.

World conditions with which the Department is concerned have in recent weeks deteriorated, rather than improved, as is well known to you. Also there are the still unresolved problems of Germany, Japan, and Korea. And the United Nations demands increasing attention and support as its problems multiply.

It is against this background that I ask you to consider the appropriations which are being requested today.

Our most important request at this time is for the restoration of \$4,050,000 for the Department service. A reduction of this extent requires the discharge of 780 employees before June 30—one

out of every six members of the staff—the discharge of even a larger number if the action is delayed beyond that date.

This cut, I think, would impair major activities and cripple supporting activities. The year 1949, undoubtedly to be a critical one in world affairs, would find us definitely weakened because of budget limitations.

During the past 14 months, the size of the Department staff, including the information program, has been reduced by more than 1,300 employees. In the course of this 20-percent reduction, many of the duplications arising from the sudden absorption by the Department of five war agencies have been eliminated, and the organizational structure has been steadily improved.

We cannot eliminate those administrative and policy activities which function to support the work and the staff of the Foreign Service abroad.

¹ Made before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Mar. 23, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

Nor can we curtail our public-service activities—the issuance of passports and visas and the protection of American interests in foreign countries. Our United Nations Delegation and our delegations to other international organizations are to be maintained. The negotiation of technical agreements with other governments must continue. Curtailment of our economic-planning activities will mean a substantial decrease in the effectiveness of the Department at a time when economic matters are fundamental considerations in foreign policy. In the same manner, our planning and policy-making activities must be based on continuing intelligence activities.

Viewed organizationally, the picture is exactly the same.

The geographic offices, organized on a country basis, employ only 300 persons. These country desks are already taxed beyond their capacity, and reductions would be impossible.

The economic offices of the Department are engaged in work related to the European Recovery Program and the proposed China relief program. They are promoting a revival of world trade and furthering the establishment of a permanent International Trade Organization. They are engaged in many other activities related to postwar economic problems and the task of reconstructing a stable world economy.

Reduction of the United Nations Affairs staff is impossible without jeopardizing our interests in the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

The work of the intelligence offices increases in importance as direct sources of information are closed to us in eastern Europe.

The administrative offices of the Department are hardpressed to provide essential services to the public, the Department, the Foreign Service, and other agencies of the Government which participate in international relations. Sharply reduced in the last several years and hardest hit by last year's reduction-in-force program, these offices cannot absorb further cuts without drastic reductions in the services which they must render.

Second in importance only to the Department Service is a request for the restoration of the \$2,672,615 which has been cut from the estimates for the Foreign Service.

Such a reduction will require the discharge of about 500 employees of the Foreign Service. Most of the reduction would be applied to consular clerks and staffs engaged in observing and reporting political and economic developments around the world. The ability of the Foreign Service to meet its basic responsibilities would be impaired.

The legislative framework for the reorganization and improvement of the Foreign Service is contained in the Foreign Service Act of 1946. The Department has been working on plans for the implementation of this act for over a year.

By July 1947 the Congress had provided, in appropriations for 1948, the necessary funds to expand and develop the Foreign Service to the approved level, and considerable progress has been made in the last eight months toward the completion of this task. The request for 1949 did not contemplate any increase in the staff of the Foreign Service beyond 1948 levels. The small increase in salaries was requested solely to meet statutory promotions.

The 1949 Foreign Service budget as submitted by the President required that further improvements and further staff increases in particular places or for particular purposes must be financed through reductions and retrenchments in other places and in other programs. This is being done.

Maintenance of the Foreign Service representation allowances at the \$700,000 level which was appropriated for 1948 and requested for 1949 is also very much needed. Congress has recognized the necessity for representation funds in modern diplomatic relations. The funds previously appropriated to the Department for this purpose have been carefully controlled. A \$200,000 reduction in 1949 would impair an effective tool in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. I think that it would be an unwise economy, definitely against American interests.

Restoration is requested of the \$6,378,000 which has been cut from the estimates for the international information and education program.

The Department is prepared to carry out the full expansion plan in an efficient and economical manner, to the level contemplated by the Eightieth Congress in its approval of the Mundt-Smith act. The budgetary planning was based on negotiations and understandings with private press, publishing, radio, motion picture, and other private agencies.

There is also requested the restoration of \$1,400,000 to the appropriation "international contingencies". This appropriation is required to finance the expense of attendance at international conferences by officials of the Government.

Restoration of the reduction of \$1,200,000 in the program of cooperation with American republics is requested by the Department on its own behalf and on behalf of the 12 other Federal agencies which participate. This is a mutual program in which the American republics, as a group, contribute larger appropriations than we have requested for the United States share. The agricultural, scientific, economic, and public-health programs are practical programs which benefit the United States as well as the countries involved. These programs of the American republics represent a notable example of the mutual advantages to be gained from cooperative efforts within the Hemisphere.

Treaty Committee

(a) *Purpose.* To facilitate coordination of policy problems arising under the treaties of peace with Italy (including Trieste), Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania.

(b) *Functions.* The Committee performs the following functions:

(1) Identifies and evaluates present and emerging problems in respect to the peace treaties, of mutual concern to the geographic and functional offices in preparing policy recommendations. In performing this function the Committee serves as a medium for the interchange of information.

(2) Is responsible for coordinating U.S. policy regarding the execution of the peace treaties with the four southern European countries mentioned above.

(3) Gives guidance and facilitates clearance on instructions to the field on treaty matters.

(c) *Membership.* The Committee shall be composed of representatives of EUR, ITP, OFD, L, TRC, R, OIE, PA, and UNA. Representatives of the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force will be invited to consult on military matters.

(d) *Organization.* The officers are the Chairman (from EUR), the Executive Secretary (from ITP), and the Secretary (from S/S).

Addresses on Aid to Greece and Turkey

On March 25 George C. McGhee, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary and Coordinator for Aid to Greece and Turkey, made an address at Trenton, N.J., on Greek-Turkish aid; for text of this address see Department of State press release 240 of March 25, 1948.

On March 29, Loy W. Henderson, Director for Near Eastern and African Affairs, made an address on aid to Greece before the Order of Ahepa in Washington; for the text of this address, see Department of State press release 255 of March 29, 1948.

Address on European Recovery Program

On March 30, Assistant Secretary Thorp made an address on European aid before Wisconsin's second conference on the United Nations held in Milwaukee; for the text of this address, see Department of State press release 252 of March 30, 1948.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmation

On March 23, 1948, the Senate confirmed the nomination of North Winship to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Union of South Africa.

April 11, 1948

U.S. and Afghanistan To Raise Legations to Embassy Status

[Released to the press March 18]

The Governments of the United States and Afghanistan have agreed to raise their respective Legations to Embassy status, effective upon a date to be mutually determined. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established on May 4, 1935, when the first American Minister presented his credentials to the King of Afghanistan. The first Afghan Minister to the United States was received by the President on June 4, 1943.

In the early years of United States-Afghanistan relations, the American Minister to Iran, resident at Tehran, was concurrently accredited to Afghanistan. On June 6, 1942, an American Legation was opened in Kabul. The present step reflects the continued growth of close and cordial relations between the two countries.

Corrections

In the BULLETIN of March 14, 1948, page 360, first column, first line of the article on the Caribbean Commission, read "signed on March 4" instead of "signed on March 5" the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 231) authorizing membership by the United States in the Caribbean Commission and the instrument approving the agreement for the establishment of the Caribbean Commission.

In the BULLETIN of April 4, 1948, page 453, second column, the next to the last paragraph should read as follows:

"It is proposed that such arrangement as may be agreed to by the Powers concerned should be submitted to the Security Council for its approval in view of the special responsibilities assumed by the Council in connection with the Free Territory of Trieste."

—Continued from page 467

are fully respected and that every contracting State has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines;

"(g) Avoid discrimination between contracting States;

"(h) Promote safety of flight in international air navigation;

"(i) Promote generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics."

The groundwork for achieving the aims and objectives of the Organization has been carefully laid. By supporting Icao's work, the United States and other nations of the world will derive the maximum benefit from the continued development of international civil aviation.

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The Department of State

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UNITED NATIONS MARITIME CONFERENCE

by John Martin Cates, Jr.

The United Nations Maritime Conference met in Geneva, February 19 to March 6, 1948, at the invitation of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. In a little over two weeks it had concluded a convention establishing the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization to be known as Imco, had adopted a draft agreement of relationship with the United Nations, and had established a Preparatory Committee to serve as an interim body for preparation for the first Assembly.¹ The major share of the credit for this accomplishment is due to the president of the Conference, Dr. J. J. Oyevaar of the Netherlands, who, with firmness and tact, kept the Conference at its task until the job was accomplished.

The establishment of Imco upon the ratification of the convention by 21 states will complete the organization of those specialized agencies believed by the United Nations to be necessary to deal with technical and economic problems existing or expected to arise in the fields of transport and communication.

The delegates to the Conference benefited greatly from the experience of several Allied wartime shipping agencies and two successive postwar organizations, the United Maritime Consultative Council (Umcc) and the Provisional Maritime Consultative Council (Pmcc).² The Umcc, at a conference in Washington in October 1946, had prepared the so-called "Washington Draft", a proposed convention which, with the express approval of the Economic and Social Council, served as the basic working document for the Maritime Conference.

The representatives of the 32 Governments and 4 observers³ who convened in Geneva approached the problems before the Conference with unusual directness. By the end of the first full day's session the Conference had brought to light the three basic questions before it:

(1) Should a separate maritime organization be established, or should a commission of the United Nations deal with maritime problems as they arise?

(2) Should the scope of the organization be limited to a narrower scope than the Washington Draft to include only technical matters, or should the scope be broadened beyond that of the Washington Draft to include matters of private shipping economics?

(3) How should a balance be obtained in the Council between the ship-providing nations and the ship-using nations?

The United States position on the general problem of whether there should be a separate maritime organization was set forth by Garrison Norton, Assistant Secretary of State and chairman of the United States Delegation,⁴ in the opening session of the Conference as follows:

The United States favored the creation of an intergovernmental maritime organization in order that there might be a shipping organization to participate on an equal basis with aviation, telecommunication, and meteorological organizations in the coordination of such matters as safety of life at sea; to supply continuity of effort necessary for effective intergovernmental cooperation in shipping in place of the present practice of sporadic diplomatic conferences; to establish the principle that certain shipping problems should, as a general rule, be handled through normal commercial processes without unnecessary governmental interference; to facilitate the handling of shipping problems by governmental and industry personnel experienced in shipping matters; to contribute to world peace by the establishment of a forum where differences of opinion on shipping questions could be discussed and resolved by persons familiar with the problems. The United States position was that an organization established on the basis of the Washington Draft would achieve these ends.

¹The convention and the final act are contained in U.N. docs. E/Conf. 4/61 and E/Conf. 4/62 of Mar. 6, 1948. See pp. 499 ff.

²BULLETIN of Jan. 25, 1948, p. 99, and Feb. 1, 1948, p. 131.

³The Governments represented by Delegations were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America. Governments represented by observers: Cuba, Ecuador, Iran, Union of South Africa. In addition the following organizations were represented by observers: International Civil Aviation Organization, International Labor Office, International Meteorological Organization, International Telecommunication Union, World Health Organization, International Chamber of Commerce, International Cooperative Alliance, International Law Association, International Transport Workers Federation.

⁴For membership on the U. S. Delegation, see BULLETIN of Feb. 29, 1948, p. 286.

After several days of general discussion by the full Conference, a working group, which came to be known as the Main Working Party, was set up under the chairmanship of the president of the Conference, consisting of representatives of the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, China, France, India, Ireland, Norway, Poland, United Kingdom, and United States. This group, after meeting for several days in closed sessions and then alternately with the full Conference, was able to develop the majority of the proposals which became the basis of the final convention.

The first major issue as to whether shipping problems should be handled by an independent maritime organization or by a commission of the United Nations was raised by Australia and New Zealand, which opposed the establishment of a separate maritime organization, preferring that, in the interests of coordination and economy, maritime problems be dealt with by commissions of the United Nations. Australia and New Zealand were alone in their support of this proposal, and the Conference, although not actually voting upon this matter until almost its final session, proceeded in its discussions on the assumption that there should be a separate organization. One of the most effective arguments against placing shipping matters under a commission of the United Nations was made by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Representative of India and a former chairman of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, who stated that in the light of his experience he did not believe United Nations commissions were so organized as to be able to carry out the functions proposed for the Maritime Organization. Further, he believed the International Trade Organization (Ito) would be too burdened by other matters to take up the special problems arising in the shipping industry.

The second major issue was raised by the Scandinavian countries and Finland by the proposal that Imco be established as a technical organization only, and that matters of discrimination and unfair restrictive practices, that is, commercial practices, be left to the United Nations or to the proposed Ito.

This proposal, which would have meant an organization of narrower scope than that proposed in the Washington Draft, which had been agreed to by the Scandinavians at the Washington Umcc conference in 1947, launched a long and thorough debate on the advisability of defining the terms "discrimination" and "unfair" or "restrictive" practices; the proposed scope of the International Trade Organization; ship-operating subsidies; bilateral agreements to divide tonnage; the definition of "technical matters"; shipping conferences; the need to guard against the new organization's being so constituted as to prevent

newcomers to the field from developing their own merchant marines; and related matters in the field of shipping economies.

After lengthy discussion the Main Working Party drew up article 1 (b) of the convention as it now stands and a proposed article 1 (c) which would have provided that the Organization should consider any shipping problems of an international character involving matters of general principle, including unfair practices of private shipping concerns, that might be referred to the Organization by member governments, or by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The proposed language of article 1 (c) gave rise to a discussion as to the possibility of Imco's going further than Ito, or building up a body of doctrine in conflict with that of Ito, with regard to matters of unfair practices. This discussion resulted in two counterproposals: one, a Scandinavian proposal which substituted for the proposed article 1(c) new language which would provide that Imco could consider unfair restrictive practices referred to it by Ito, and the other, a United States proposal which would clarify the procedures expected to be followed in matters of unfair practices by providing that Imco should recommend that those matters capable of settlement by the normal processes of international shipping should be so settled, and that matters concerning unfair restrictive practices of private shipping concerns should be considered by Imco only after the parties failed to reach an adjustment between themselves. Further, the United States view was that when and if Imco did take jurisdiction, such matters should be considered in the light of the applicable principles and precedents established by the specialized agencies having responsibility in the field of business practices. This reference was to the Ito.

In making its proposal the United States stated that its desire was first, to avoid setting up a debating society on all kinds of shipping problems, preferring rather to focus the attention of the Organization on the essentials, and secondly, a desire to avoid building up a body of doctrine in conflict with that of other international organizations.

The discussion of these counterproposals led finally to the adoption by the Conference of a compromise proposed by the United Kingdom in language substantially the same as that in article 1 (c) and (d) of the final convention, the only delegations voting against this compromise being the Scandinavian bloc and Finland. The withdrawal by the United States of its proposal and its support of the United Kingdom proposal in the interests of conciliation and cooperation were effective not only in having the United Kingdom proposal adopted but also in establishing an atmosphere of cooperative endeavor on the part of the delegates which prevailed throughout the Conference and

which was instrumental in gaining agreement on several other difficult points.

As a result of the adoption of article 1 of the convention, the Organization will have jurisdiction over questions which any member may raise relating to technical matters of all kinds affecting shipping engaged in international trade, including safety; the encouragement of the removal of discriminatory action and unnecessary restrictions by governments; and consideration of matters concerning unfair restrictive practices by shipping concerns. The Organization may also consider other shipping matters referred to it by the United Nations or any specialized agencies. The probable alternative to the inclusion of these purposes was that some international body other than Imco would have assumed jurisdiction over any problems involving shipping economics raised directly or through one of the bodies of the United Nations.

The question as to whether the granting of subsidies should be viewed as an unfair practice was fully discussed, but the sense of the Conference was that this question would have to be determined in each instance by the Organization after it had come into existence. Certain delegations were of the opinion that the test should be whether a subsidy was designed to restrict trade or to aid in the development of whatever shipping was considered necessary for the economic development and security of the nation concerned. To record the sense of the Conference, there was added to article 1 (b), which relates to the removal of discriminatory action and unnecessary restrictions by governments, the following proviso:

“assistance and encouragement given by a Government for the development of its national shipping and for purposes of security does not in itself constitute discrimination, provided that such assistance and encouragement is not based on measures designed to restrict the freedom of shipping of all flags to take part in international trade;”

A proposal to define further this concept in the Conference was defeated.

The third major point, the composition of the Council, was settled by the adoption of the language which now appears in articles 17 and 18 of the convention and by agreement upon the composition of the first Council as set forth in appendix I to the convention.

The Conference departed substantially from the make-up of the Council as set out in the Washington Draft, final agreement being on the basis of an Argentine proposal of a division of members in groups of six, six, and four. This arrangement was proposed in place of the Washington Draft concept of a Council divided into representatives of eight nations with the largest interest in the provisions of shipping services—four nations with the largest interest in international trade and four

electd with regard to the desirability of adequate geographical representation. The Argentine proposal, as finally adopted in article 17 of the convention, provided that six members should represent governments “with the largest interest in providing international shipping services”; six should represent “other nations with the largest interest in international seaborne trade”; and of the four remaining, two should represent governments “having a substantial interest in providing international shipping services”, and two should represent governments “having a substantial interest in international seaborne trade”.

It was apparent that until some agreement was reached as to which nations would be represented on the Council, the Conference would make little progress on this important article. Accordingly, a working group in an all-night session developed a list of 12 countries to make up groups (a) and (b) under article 17 as well as a procedure for the selection of the Council as subsequently provided in article 18 of the convention.

The six nations chosen as having the largest interest in providing international shipping services were determined by the Working Party to be Greece, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, and United States; and the six Governments with the largest interest in international seaborne trade were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, and India.

The motivating purpose behind this distribution of Council seats was to maintain a balance between ship-providing nations and ship-using nations. The next step was to work out procedures for choosing such nations. Having no definite formula before it, the Working Party chose the original 12 on the basis of tonnage figures and the expert knowledge of the various delegates present. In order that this balance might be maintained in the future, the Working Party further proposed that the Council itself should determine, for purposes of membership on the Council, those governments with the largest interest in providing international shipping services, those having a substantial interest in providing such services, and those having the largest interest in international seaborne trade. The Assembly then would elect two nations from among those nominated by the Council as having “a substantial interest in providing” shipping services and two nations to represent those “having a substantial interest in international seaborne trade”.

When these proposals were placed before the Conference, discussion was directed toward the necessity for geographic distribution, alleged undemocratic processes followed in choosing the Council, and what was referred to as the “veto power” of the Council. It was evident, however, that regardless of selection procedures, not all nations represented at the Conference would be able to obtain seats on the Council. Recognition of this

fact was made by the Delegate of Brazil who, in one of the most effective speeches of the Conference, pointed out the fact of the limited number of seats on the Council and the fact that Brazil itself was not included among the first 12 nations selected, but expressed the willingness of Brazil to cooperate in this attempt to reach a compromise, with the hope that Brazil's importance to world trade might be recognized when the four remaining members of the Council were chosen. This conciliatory proposal by the Representative of Brazil had much the same effect as the earlier move by the United States Delegate in accepting a compromise proposal on the functions of the Organization.

Acceptance of the final language on the Council was aided also by the realization of the majority of delegates that the interests of the older ship-owning nations, the "common carriers", deserved the amount of protection afforded by the election procedures and by the referral procedure (referred to in debate as the "veto power" of the Council) provided in article 16 (h), at least during the formative years of the Organization. The final vote on the adoption of articles 17 and 18 was 21 in favor and 4 opposed.

Failure to include Panama among the 12 original members of the Council and as a member of the Main Working Party was cited by the Delegate of Panama as evidence that the Conference was systematically overlooking the interests of Panama and as the reason for Panama's formal withdrawal from the Conference.

Following agreement on this third major issue, the Conference was divided for discussion and drafting purposes into three additional working parties, Maritime Safety, Legal Questions, and Relationship With the United Nations. These groups, together with the Main Working Party and a subsequently appointed drafting committee, worked out the language as finally adopted for the balance of the convention.

So far as the final language differs from the Washington Draft, the following points deserve notice:

The membership provision (part III) was amended to provide that those states not members of the United Nations, but which were invited to the Conference, might become original members of the Organization. Provision was also made for nonvoting associate members.

The Maritime Safety Committee (part VII) was given enlarged functions and its own secretary. The chief change in the functions of the Maritime Safety Committee was that it should "provide machinery for performing any duties assigned to it by the Convention, or by the Assembly, or any duty within the scope of this Article which may be assigned to it by any other intergovernmental instrument". This language was in-

tended to allow the Safety Committee to assume the administration of any functions which might be given to it under the new convention on safety of life at sea to be drawn up by the Safety of Life at Sea Conference meeting in London on April 23, 1948.

The headquarters of the Organization (article 44) will be established in London, although by a two-thirds majority vote the site may be changed. This decision was a compromise between the United States position that the headquarters site should not be frozen into the basic convention and the wish of the majority of the delegates that the headquarters be located in London and that the decision be made at this Conference.

The privileges and immunities (part XIII) to be accorded the Organization are to be those provided by the so-called "general convention on the privileges and immunities of the specialized agencies" approved by the United Nations General Assembly on November 21, 1947. Pending the adoption of this general convention by the various governments, the members shall take into account, as far as possible, the standard clauses thereof. Imco is the first organization to be set up subsequent to the conclusion of this general convention by the United Nations. The adoption of the above provision was in accordance with a recommendation by the United Nations General Assembly that the constitutional instruments of specialized agencies thereafter established should not contain detailed provisions relating to the privileges and immunities to be accorded to them but should provide that such privileges and immunities be governed by the said general convention.

Authority was given the Organization (article 49) to take over from any other international organizations such resources and obligations as might be transferred by international agreement or by mutually acceptable arrangements, and also to assume any administrative functions within its scope which, under the terms of any international instrument, have been entrusted to a particular government. This provision will permit a centralizing of functions relating to maritime matters which, under numerous conventions and in the absence of any maritime organization, have been entrusted to various governments.

Twenty-one ratifications are required by article 60 to bring the convention into force as contrasted to 16 required by the Washington Draft.

The problem of an interim organization was met by a resolution, set out in annex A to the final act of the Conference, establishing a Preparatory Committee consisting of representatives of the 12 states chosen as original members of the Council. This Committee is to be responsible for convening the first session of the Imco Assembly; for the preparation of proposals to be placed before this first session with regard to the internal or-

ganization of Imco; for a scale of contributions and an annex to the general convention on the privileges and immunities of the specialized agencies; and for the negotiation of an agreement of relationship with the United Nations.

Lastly, two resolutions were adopted, annexes B and C of the final act of the Conference, with the purpose of tying in the results of the Maritime Conference with the Safety of Life at Sea Conference which was to convene in the following month. Specifically, the first recommended that the safety conference draft provisions in its final acts which would take into account the duties and functions relating to maritime safety accorded to Imco, and the second directed that the safety conference be informed that part VII of the Imco convention, which establishes the Maritime Safety Committee, was drafted in the light of consideration by the Maritime Conference of the report of the Committee of Experts on the coordination of safety of life at sea and in the air. This Expert Committee had been convened at the request of the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) to consider this problem of coordination and report its results to Ecosoc and to the safety conference. It is hoped that the forthcoming safety conference will be the last *ad hoc* diplomatic conference on this subject and that thereafter the assemblies of Imco will perform the functions formerly carried out by the safety conferences. These resolutions are directed at bringing about that desirable end.

The final vote on the convention was 21 in favor, 1 opposed, 7 abstentions, and 3 absences.⁵ The Scandinavian countries in abstaining stated that their instructions were to approve only an organization technical in nature, and therefore, they must obtain the concurrence of their governments before signing. For the same reason they must abstain from voting. The objection of the Chinese Delegate was to the articles relating to the Council; Egypt's abstention was for the same reason.

To date 20 states have signed the convention: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, India, Ireland,

Italy, Lebanon, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States.

Following the termination of the Conference, the Preparatory Committee held a special meeting at which it was decided that a representative of Canada should serve as chairman; that the first regular meeting of the committee would be held at Lake Success in October 1948; that all interim secretariat functions should be performed on behalf of the Preparatory Committee by the Secretariat of the United Nations.

The success of the Conference clearly demonstrates the achievements in international cooperation possible under a specialized agency when the delegates are familiar with technical matters under discussion, as well as with the related political problems, and are sincerely devoted to the cause of international cooperation. Prior to the convening of the Conference, doubts were voiced as to whether a maritime organization could be established, so divergent were certain national views. However, during the Conference there was apparent not only a sincere desire to reach an agreement on an Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization but also a willingness to work out compromises recognizing opposing points of view in order to make an agreement possible. The success of the Maritime Conference in concluding, in less than two and one-half weeks, a workable agreement in such a controversial field, evidences the atmosphere of conciliation and cooperation which pervaded the Conference as well as the determination of the delegates to reach agreement.

The Imco convention provides an organization representing shipping interests which can act with the other international organizations in the transport and communications field to effect the coordination necessary in matters of safety procedures at and over the sea, and the planning necessary to work out the effective integration of transport systems throughout the world.

Convention of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization⁶

The States parties to the present Convention hereby establish the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (hereinafter referred to as "the Organization").

PART I

Purposes of the Organization

Article 1

The purposes of the Organization are:

(a) to provide machinery for co-operation among Governments in the field of governmental regulation and prac-

tices relating to technical matters of all kinds affecting shipping engaged in international trade, and to encourage the general adoption of the highest practicable standards in matters concerning maritime safety and efficiency of navigation;

(b) to encourage the removal of discriminatory action and unnecessary restrictions by Governments affecting shipping engaged in international trade so as to promote the availability of shipping services to the commerce of the world without discrimination; assistance and encour-

⁵ Voting in favor of the convention: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, India, Ireland,

Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States. Against: China. Abstentions: Denmark, Egypt, Lebanon, Norway, New Zealand, Pakistan, and Sweden. Absentees: Czechoslovakia, Panama, and Peru.

⁶ U.N. doc. E/Conf. 4/61 of Mar. 6, 1948.

agement given by a Government for the development of its national shipping and for purposes of security does not in itself constitute discrimination, provided that such assistance and encouragement is not based on measures designed to restrict the freedom of shipping of all flags to take part in international trade;

(c) to provide for the consideration by the Organization of matters concerning unfair restrictive practices by shipping concerns in accordance with Part II;

(d) to provide for the consideration by the Organization of any matters concerning shipping that may be referred to it by any organ or Specialized Agency of the United Nations;

(e) to provide for the exchange of information among Governments on matters under consideration by the Organization.

PART II

Functions

Article 2

The functions of the Organization shall be consultative and advisory.

Article 3

In order to achieve the purposes set out in Part I, the functions of the Organization shall be:—

(a) subject to the provisions of Article 4, to consider and make recommendations upon matters arising under Article 1 (a), (b) and (c) that may be remitted to it by Members, by any organ or Specialized Agency of the United Nations or by any other intergovernmental organization or upon matters referred to it under Article 1(d);

(b) to provide for the drafting of conventions, agreements, or other suitable instruments, and to recommend these to Governments and to intergovernmental organizations, and to convene such conferences as may be necessary;

(c) to provide machinery for consultation among Members and the exchange of information among Governments.

Article 4

In those matters which appear to the Organization capable of settlement through the normal processes of international shipping business the Organization shall so recommend. When, in the opinion of the Organization, any matter concerning unfair restrictive practices by shipping concerns is incapable of settlement through the normal processes of international shipping business, or has in fact so proved, and provided it shall first have been the subject of direct negotiations between the Members concerned, the Organization shall, at the request of one of those Members, consider the matter.

PART III

Membership

Article 5

Membership in the Organization shall be open to all States, subject to the provisions of Part III.

Article 6

Members of the United Nations may become Members of the Organization by becoming parties to the Convention in accordance with the provisions of Article 57.

Article 7

States not Members of the United Nations which have been invited to send representatives to the United Nations Maritime Conference convened in Geneva on the

19th February 1948, may become Members by becoming parties to the Convention in accordance with the provisions of Article 57.

Article 8

Any State not entitled to become a Member under Article 6 or 7 may apply through the Secretary-General of the Organization to become a Member and shall be admitted as a Member upon its becoming a party to the Convention in accordance with the provisions of Article 57 provided that, upon the recommendation of the Council, its application has been approved by two-thirds of the Members other than Associate Members.

Article 9

Any territory or group of territories to which the Convention has been made applicable under Article 58, by the Member having responsibility for its international relations or by the United Nations, may become an Associate Member of the Organization by notification in writing given by such Member or by the United Nations, as the case may be, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 10

An Associate Member shall have the rights and obligations of a Member under the Convention except that it shall not have the right to vote in the Assembly or be eligible for membership on the Council or on the Maritime Safety Committee and subject to this the word "Member" in the Convention shall be deemed to include Associate Member unless the context otherwise requires.

Article 11

No State or territory may become or remain a Member of the Organization contrary to a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

PART IV

Organs

Article 12

The Organization shall consist of an Assembly, a Council, a Maritime Safety Committee, and such subsidiary organs as the Organization may at any time consider necessary; and a Secretariat.

PART V

The Assembly

Article 13

The Assembly shall consist of all the Members.

Article 14

Regular sessions of the Assembly shall take place once every two years. Extraordinary sessions shall be convened after a notice of sixty days whenever one-third of the Members give notice to the Secretary-General that they desire a session to be arranged, or at any time if deemed necessary by the Council, after a notice of sixty days.

Article 15

A majority of the Members other than Associate Members shall constitute a quorum for the meetings of the Assembly.

Article 16

The functions of the Assembly shall be:

(a) to elect at each regular session from among its Members, other than Associate Members, its President

and two Vice Presidents who shall hold office until the next regular session;

(b) to determine its own rules of procedure except as otherwise provided in the Convention;

(c) to establish any temporary or, upon recommendation of the Council, permanent subsidiary bodies it may consider to be necessary;

(d) to elect the Members to be represented on the Council, as provided in Article 17, and on the Maritime Safety Committee as provided in Article 28;

(e) to receive and consider the reports of the Council, and to decide upon any question referred to it by the Council;

(f) to vote the budget and determine the financial arrangements of the Organization, in accordance with Part IX;

(g) to review the expenditures and approve the accounts of the Organization;

(h) to perform the functions of the Organization, provided that in matters relating to Article 3 (a) and (b), the Assembly shall refer such matters to the Council for formulation by it of any recommendations or instruments thereon; provided further that any recommendations or instruments submitted to the Assembly by the Council and not accepted by the Assembly shall be referred back to the Council for further consideration with such observations as the Assembly may make;

(i) to recommend to Members for adoption regulations concerning maritime safety, or amendments to such regulations, which have been referred to it by the Maritime Safety Committee through the Council;

(j) to refer to the Council for consideration or decision any matters within the scope of the Organization, except that the function of making recommendations under paragraph (i) of this Article shall not be delegated.

PART VI

The Council

Article 17

The Council shall consist of sixteen Members and shall be composed as follows:

(a) six shall be governments of the nations with the largest interest in providing international shipping services;

(b) six shall be governments of other nations with the largest interest in international seaborne trade;

(c) two shall be elected by the Assembly from among the governments of nations having a substantial interest in providing international shipping services, and

(d) two shall be elected by the Assembly from among the governments of nations having a substantial interest in international seaborne trade.

In accordance with the principles set forth in this Article the first Council shall be constituted as provided in Appendix I to the present Convention.

Article 18

Except as provided in Appendix I to the present Convention, the Council shall determine for the purpose of Article 17 (a), the Members, governments of nations with the largest interest in providing international shipping services, and shall also determine, for the purpose of Article 17 (c), the Members, governments of nations having a substantial interest in providing such services. Such determinations shall be made by a majority vote of the Council including the concurring votes of a majority of the Members represented on the Council under Article 17 (a) and (c). The Council shall further determine for the purpose of Article 17 (b), the Members, governments of nations with the largest interest in international seaborne trade. Each Council shall make these determinations at a reasonable time before each regular session of the Assembly.

April 18, 1948

Article 19

Members represented on the Council in accordance with Article 17 shall hold office until the end of the next regular session of the Assembly. Members shall be eligible for re-election.

Article 20

(a) The Council shall elect its Chairman and adopt its own rules of procedure except as otherwise provided in the Convention.

(b) Twelve members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Council shall meet upon one month's notice as often as may be necessary for the efficient discharge of its duties upon the summons of its Chairman or upon request by not less than four of its members. It shall meet at such places as may be convenient.

Article 21

The Council shall invite any Member to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 22

(a) The Council shall receive the recommendations and reports of the Maritime Safety Committee and shall transmit them to the Assembly and, when the Assembly is not in session, to the Members for information, together with the comments and recommendations of the Council.

(b) Matters within the scope of Article 29 shall be considered by the Council only after obtaining the views of the Maritime Safety Committee thereon.

Article 23

The Council, with the approval of the Assembly, shall appoint the Secretary-General. The Council shall also make provision for the appointment of such other personnel as may be necessary, and determine the terms and conditions of service of the Secretary-General and other personnel, which terms and conditions shall conform as far as possible with those of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

Article 24

The Council shall make a report to the Assembly at each regular session on the work of the Organization since the previous regular session of the Assembly.

Article 25

The Council shall submit to the Assembly the budget estimates and the financial statements of the Organization, together with its comments and recommendations.

Article 26

The Council may enter into agreements or arrangements covering the relationship of the Organization with other organizations, as provided for in Part XII. Such agreements or arrangements shall be subject to approval by the Assembly.

Article 27

Between sessions of the Assembly, the Council shall perform all the functions of the Organization, except the function of making recommendations under Article 16 (i).

PART VII

Maritime Safety Committee

Article 28

(a) The Maritime Safety Committee shall consist of fourteen Members elected by the Assembly from the

Members, governments of those nations having an important interest in maritime safety, of which not less than eight shall be the largest ship-owning nations, and the remainder shall be elected so as to ensure adequate representation of Members, governments of other nations with an important interest in maritime safety, such as nations interested in the supply of large numbers of crews or in the carriage of large numbers of berthed and unberthed passengers, and of major geographical areas.

(b) Members shall be elected for a term of four years and shall be eligible for re-election.

Article 29

(a) The Maritime Safety Committee shall have the duty of considering any matter within the scope of the Organization and concerned with aids to navigation, construction and equipment of vessels, manning from a safety standpoint, rules for the prevention of collisions, handling of dangerous cargoes, maritime safety procedures and requirements, hydrographic information, log-books and navigational records, marine casualty investigation, salvage and rescue, and any other matters directly affecting maritime safety.

(b) The Maritime Safety Committee shall provide machinery for performing any duties assigned to it by the Convention, or by the Assembly, or any duties within the scope of this Article which may be assigned to it by any other intergovernmental instrument.

(c) Having regard to the provisions of Part XII, the Maritime Safety Committee shall have the duty of maintaining such close relationship with other intergovernmental bodies concerned with transport and communications as may further the object of the Organization in promoting maritime safety and facilitate the co-ordination of activities in the fields of shipping, aviation, telecommunications and meteorology with respect to safety and rescue.

Article 30

The Maritime Safety Committee, through the Council, shall:

(a) submit to the Assembly at its regular sessions proposals made by Members for safety regulations or for amendments to existing safety regulations, together with its comments or recommendations thereon;

(b) report to the Assembly on the work of the Maritime Safety Committee since the previous regular session of the Assembly.

Article 31

The Maritime Safety Committee shall meet once a year and at other times upon request of any five of its members. It shall elect its officers once a year and shall adopt its own rules of procedure. A majority of its members shall constitute a quorum.

Article 32

The Maritime Safety Committee shall invite any Member to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

PART VIII

The Secretariat

Article 33

The Secretariat shall comprise the Secretary-General, a Secretary of the Maritime Safety Committee and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be the chief administrative officer of the

Organization, and shall, subject to the provisions of Article 23, appoint the above-mentioned personnel.

Article 34

The Secretariat shall maintain all such records as may be necessary for the efficient discharge of the functions of the Organization and shall prepare, collect and circulate the papers, documents, agenda, minutes and information that may be required for the work of the Assembly, the Council, the Maritime Safety Committee, and such subsidiary organs as the Organization may establish.

Article 35

The Secretary-General shall prepare and submit to the Council the financial statements for each year and the budget estimates on a biennial basis, with the estimates for each year shown separately.

Article 36

The Secretary-General shall keep Members informed with respect to the activities of the Organization. Each Member may appoint one or more representatives for the purpose of communication with the Secretary-General.

Article 37

In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials. Each Member on its part undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 38

The Secretary-General shall perform such other tasks as may be assigned to him by the Convention, the Assembly, the Council and the Maritime Safety Committee.

PART IX

Finances

Article 39

Each member shall bear the salary, travel and other expenses of its own delegation to the Assembly and of its representatives on the Council, the Maritime Safety Committee, other committees and subsidiary bodies.

Article 40

The Council shall consider the financial statements and budget estimates prepared by the Secretary-General and submit them to the Assembly with its comments and recommendations.

Article 41

(a) Subject to any agreement between the Organization and the United Nations, the Assembly shall review and approve the budget estimates.

(b) The Assembly shall apportion the expenses among the Members in accordance with a scale to be fixed by it after consideration of the proposals of the Council thereon.

Article 42

Any Member which fails to discharge its financial obligation to the Organization within one year from the date on which it is due, shall have no vote in the Assembly, the Council, or the Maritime Safety Committee unless the Assembly, at its discretion, waives this provision.

PART X

Voting

Article 43

The following provisions shall apply to voting in the Assembly, the Council and the Maritime Safety Committee:

(a) Each Member shall have one vote.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in the Convention or in any international agreement which confers functions on the Assembly, the Council, or the Maritime Safety Committee, decisions of these organs shall be by a majority vote of the Members present and voting and, for decisions where a two-thirds majority vote is required, by a two-thirds majority vote of those present.

(c) For the purpose of the Convention, the phrase "Members present and voting" means "Members present and casting an affirmative or negative vote". Members which abstain from voting shall be considered as not voting.

PART XI

Headquarters of the Organization

Article 44

(a) The headquarters of the Organization shall be established in London.

(b) The Assembly may by a two-thirds majority vote change the site of the headquarters if necessary.

(c) The Assembly may hold sessions in any place other than the headquarters if the Council deems it necessary.

PART XII

Relationship with the United Nations and other Organizations

Article 45

The Organization shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations as the Specialized Agency in the field of shipping. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations under Article 63 of the Charter of the United Nations, which agreement shall be concluded as provided in Article 26.

Article 46

The Organization shall co-operate with any Specialized Agency of the United Nations in matters which may be the common concern of the Organization and of such Specialized Agency, and shall consider such matters and act with respect to them in accord with such Specialized Agency.

Article 47

The Organization may, on matters within its scope, co-operate with other inter-governmental organizations which are not Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, but whose interests and activities are related to the purposes of the Organization.

Article 48

The Organization may, on matters within its scope, make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organizations.

Article 49

Subject to approval by a two-thirds majority vote of the Assembly, the Organization may take over from any other international organizations, governmental or non-

governmental, such functions, resources and obligations within the scope of the Organization as may be transferred to the Organization by international agreements or by mutually acceptable arrangements entered into between competent authorities of the respective organizations. Similarly, the Organization may take over any administrative functions which are within its scope and which have been entrusted to a government under the terms of any international instrument.

PART XIII

Legal Capacity, Privileges and Immunities

Article 50

The legal capacity, privileges and immunities to be accorded to, or in connection with, the Organization, shall be derived from and governed by the General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 21st November, 1947, subject to such modifications as may be set forth in the final (or revised) text of the Annex approved by the Organization in accordance with Sections 36 and 38 of the said General Convention.

Article 51

Pending its accession to the said General Convention in respect of the Organization, each Member undertakes to apply the provisions of Appendix II to the present Convention.

PART XIV

Amendments

Article 52

Texts of proposed amendments to the Convention shall be communicated by the Secretary-General to Members at least six months in advance of their consideration by the Assembly. Amendments shall be adopted by a two-thirds majority vote of the Assembly, including the concurring votes of a majority of the Members represented on the Council. Twelve months after its acceptance by two-thirds of the Members of the Organization, other than Associate Members, each amendment shall come into force for all Members except those which, before it comes into force, make a declaration that they do not accept the amendment. The Assembly may by a two-thirds majority vote determine at the time of its adoption that an amendment is of such a nature that any Member which has made such a declaration and which does not accept the amendment within a period of twelve months after the amendment comes into force shall, upon the expiration of this period, cease to be a party to the Convention.

Article 53

Any amendment adopted under Article 52 shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who will immediately forward a copy of the amendment to all Members.

Article 54

A declaration or acceptance under Article 52 shall be made by the communication of an instrument to the Secretary-General for deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General will notify Members of the receipt of any such instrument and of the date when the amendment enters into force.

PART XV

Interpretation

Article 55

Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation or application of the Convention shall be referred for set-

tlement to the Assembly, or shall be settled in such other manner as the parties to the dispute agree. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Council or the Maritime Safety Committee from settling any such question or dispute that may arise during the exercise of their functions.

Article 56

Any legal question which cannot be settled as provided in Article 55 shall be referred by the Organization to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter of the United Nations.

PART XVI

Miscellaneous Provisions

Article 57. Signature and Acceptance

Subject to the provisions of Part III the present Convention shall remain open for signature or acceptance and States may become parties to the Convention by:

- (a) Signature without reservation as to acceptance;
- (b) Signature subject to acceptance followed by acceptance; or
- (c) Acceptance.

Acceptance shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 58. Territories

(a) Members may make a declaration at any time that their participation in the Convention includes all or a group or a single one of the territories for whose international relations they are responsible.

(b) The Convention does not apply to territories for whose international relations Members are responsible unless a declaration to that effect has been made on their behalf under the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Article.

(c) A declaration made under paragraph (a) of this Article shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and a copy of it will be forwarded by him to all States invited to the United Nations Maritime Conference and to such other States as may have become Members.

(d) In cases where under a trusteeship agreement the United Nations is the administering authority, the United Nations may accept the Convention on behalf of one, several, or all of the trust territories in accordance with the procedure set forth in Article 57.

Article 59. Withdrawal

(a) Any Member may withdraw from the Organization by written notification given to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who will immediately inform the other Members and the Secretary-General of the Organization of such notification. Notification of withdrawal may be given at any time after the expiration of twelve months from the date on which the Convention has come into force. The withdrawal shall take effect upon the expiration of twelve months from the date on which such written notification is received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

(b) The application of the Convention to a territory or group of territories under Article 58 may at any time be terminated by written notification given to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Member responsible for its international relations or, in the case of a trust territory of which the United Nations is the administering authority, by the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations will immediately inform all Members and the Secretary-General of the

Organization of such notification. The notification shall take effect upon the expiration of twelve months from the date on which it is received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

PART XVII

Entry Into Force

Article 60

The present Convention shall enter into force on the date when 21 States of which 7 shall each have a total tonnage of not less than 1,000,000 gross tons of shipping, have become parties to the Convention in accordance with Article 57.

Article 61

The Secretary-General of the United Nations will inform all States invited to the United Nations Maritime Conference and such other States as may have become Members, of the date when each State becomes party to the Convention, and also of the date on which the Convention enters into force.

Article 62

The present Convention, of which the English, French and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who will transmit certified copies thereof to each of the States invited to the United Nations Maritime Conference and to such other States as may have become Members.

Article 63

The United Nations is authorized to effect registration of the Convention as soon as it comes into force.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned being duly authorized by their respective Governments for that purpose have signed the present Convention.

[List of countries follows.]

APPENDIX I

(Referred to in Article 17)

Composition of the First Council

In accordance with the principles set forth in Article 17 the first Council shall be constituted as follows:

(a) The six Members under Article 17 (a) being

Greece	Sweden
Netherlands	United Kingdom
Norway	United States

(b) The six Members under Article 17 (b) being

Argentina	Canada
Australia	France
Belgium	India

(c) Two Members to be elected by the Assembly under Article 17 (c) from a panel nominated by the six Members named in paragraph (a) of this Appendix.

(d) Two Members elected by the Assembly under Article 17 (d) from among the Members having a substantial interest in international seaborne trade.

APPENDIX II

(Referred to in Article 51)

Legal Capacity, Privileges and Immunities

The following provisions on legal capacity, privileges and immunities shall be applied by Members to, or in connection with, the Organization pending their accession

to the General Convention on Privileges and Immunities of Specialized Agencies in respect of the Organization.

Section 1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as is necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes and the exercise of its functions.

Section 2. (a) The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes and the exercise of its functions.

(b) Representatives of Members including alternates and advisers, and officials and employees of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

Section 3. In applying the provisions of Sections 1 and 2 of this Appendix, the Members shall take into account as far as possible the standard clauses of the General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies.

Annexes of the Final Act of the United Nations Maritime Conference ⁷

ANNEX A

United Nations Maritime Conference

A RESOLUTION ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

The United Nations Maritime Conference convened on 19 February 1948 in Geneva by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations;

Having agreed that an international organization to be known as the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization shall be established, and

Having agreed upon a Convention for the Organization, *Hereby resolves* that a Preparatory Committee should be established,

And resolves, further, that:

1. The Preparatory Committee of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization shall consist of representatives of the following twelve States: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, India, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, and United States of America.

2. The functions of the Preparatory Committee shall be:

(a) to convene the first session of the Assembly of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization within three months from the date on which the Convention of the Organization comes into force;

(b) to prepare and submit to the Governments represented at the United Nations Maritime Conference, and to any other Governments which have signed or accepted the Convention, at least six weeks before the first session of the Assembly of the Organization, the provisional agenda for that session and necessary documents and recommendations relating thereto, including:

(i) proposals for the implementation of the functions of the Organization and a budget for the first two years of the Organization,

(ii) draft rules of procedure,

(iii) draft financial and staff regulations;

(c) to suggest a scale of contributions by members to the budget of the Organization;

(d) to prepare a draft annex to the General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies in accordance with Part B of the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 21 November 1947 relating to this subject;

(e) to enter into negotiations with the United Nations with a view to the preparation of an agreement as contemplated in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations and in Article 45 of the Convention, using as a basis the draft agreement approved by the United Nations Maritime Conference.

In carrying out the functions of this section due consideration shall be given to the deliberations and decisions of the United Nations Maritime Conference.

3. The first meeting of the Preparatory Committee shall be held in Geneva immediately after the conclusion of this Conference.

4. The Preparatory Committee shall elect a Chairman and adopt its own Rules of Procedure.

5. The expenses of the Preparatory Committee other than those of the Members of the Committee shall be met from funds which Governments may advance to the Committee or from funds which may be loaned by the United Nations. The Preparatory Committee shall explore the feasibility of obtaining a loan from United Nations and, if mutually acceptable, may enter into a loan agreement. The obligation under any such loan would be considered by the Governments represented at the Conference as a first claim for repayment by the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization within the first two years of its existence. In the event of advances of funds to the Preparatory Committee from Governments, such advances may be set off against the contributions of the Governments concerned to the Organization.

6. The Preparatory Committee may enter into agreement with the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the possible provision of personnel and other secretarial services under mutually satisfactory arrangements.

7. The Preparatory Committee shall cease to exist upon resolution of the First Session of the Assembly of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

ANNEX B

United Nations Maritime Conference

A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE SAFETY OF LIFE AT SEA CONFERENCE

WHEREAS The United Nations Maritime Conference has approved a convention for the establishment of an Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization whose scope includes matters relating to maritime safety, and

WHEREAS The conference for the purpose of revising the Convention on Safety of Life at Sea of 1929, will be held in London in April 1948, and

WHEREAS The matters to be considered by the Safety of Life at Sea Conference fall within the field of responsibilities covered by the International Maritime Consultative Organization Convention,

The United Nations Maritime Conference

Recommends That the Safety of Life at Sea Conference examine the convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization with a view to drafting provisions in its final acts which will take into account the duties and functions relating to maritime safety which have been accorded to the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

(Continued on page 523)

⁷The text of the final act and the annexes are included in U.N. doc. E/Conf./4/62 of Mar. 6, 1948.

FIRST MEETING OF THE LEGAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

by G. Nathan Calkins, Jr.

No better place could have been found for the first meeting of the Legal Committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization than the city of Brussels in early September. This ancient city, combining as it does the charm of the old world with the modern approach of the new, lent just the right atmosphere for substantial accomplishment. Every representative of the 29 countries taking part in the September meeting will long remember with warmth the kindness and attention which were shown the delegates by our Belgian hosts.

Although this was the first meeting of the ICAO Legal Committee, an organization had existed for many years known as the CITEJA¹ which had been charged with the development of private international air law, a function now assumed by the Legal Committee. Perhaps the most famous achievement of the CITEJA is the convention, signed at Warsaw in 1929, dealing with the limitation of liability of international air carriers to passengers and shippers.

The CITEJA, however, was not part of, nor directly connected with, any international technical aviation organization, and after the Chicago conference of 1944 it was felt by many member states that this organizational separation of the CITEJA from ICAO was not conducive to the most rapid attainment of practical results. It was, therefore, the desire of the various states comprising ICAO to bring into that organization the CITEJA work, with the intention of combining the benefits which the CITEJA meetings had offered with the broader program of the Legal Committee of ICAO, which will deal with public as well as private international air law problems. This merger was accomplished in effect by the adoption of a resolution by the First Assembly of ICAO in May 1947 creating the new Legal Committee and the allied resolution of dissolution adopted by the CITEJA.

Prior to the assembly resolution there had been much discussion in United States Government

circles, and presumably in government circles abroad, as to the relationship of the proposed Legal Committee to the International Civil Aviation Organization. Possible models were the Air Transport Committee and Air Navigation Committee, which had been functioning for more than a year under the Interim Council of the Provisional Civil Aviation Organization established under the terms of the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation, drawn up at Chicago in 1944. These committees had met in Montreal over extended periods during the year 1946-47, and the product of their labors was subject to Council review, criticism, and change.

Among the lawyers who had strongly supported the incorporation of the CITEJA into ICAO, considerable doubt existed as to the wisdom of following the example established by the Air Navigation and the Air Transport Committees. Some authorities interested in the organizational setup of the Council of ICAO, however, were strongly of the opinion that the Legal Committee of ICAO should be under the jurisdiction of the Council to the same extent as the Air Navigation and Air Transport Committees, and it may become necessary for an Assembly of ICAO to clarify the matter further. In the view of a large group of the lawyers, the situation of the Legal Committee appeared to differ fundamentally from that of the other two committees. Primarily, the representation of the various countries on the Legal Committee was basically unlike that of the technical committees, since many of the representatives of the Legal Committee (like the CITEJA before it) are likely to be private practitioners, judges, or teachers actively engaged in pursuits unconnected with government. These men can spare only a limited amount of time from their private endeavors, and it would not be possible to adopt the principle of extended committee sessions, which, it is believed, would logically result from close supervision by the Council, without changing the basic composition of the Legal Committee from that of CITEJA and employing government lawyers exclusively, whose time would be completely at the disposition of their govern-

¹ Comité Internationale Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens, or International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts.

ments. Nations who could afford sending specialists to one or two international conferences a year could not afford to hire similar talent on a permanent basis. It was, therefore, believed that such a change would materially weaken the Legal Committee and diminish the possibility of obtaining wide-spread adoption of new conventions on private air law.

On the other hand, it was recognized that the committee, which is to depend upon the Organization for its secretariat and other "housekeeping" aid, could not be wholly independent and meet when and where it chose. Such independence would necessarily lead to administrative chaos. It was therefore fully recognized that the time and place of meetings of the committee would have to be subject to the veto power of the Council so that the business of the Organization could proceed in an orderly manner. Furthermore, if the advantages of coordination and close liaison, which the incorporation of the CITEJA activities into ICAO was designed to bring about, were to be obtained, it would be necessary for the Council to have, if not control, at least a strong guiding influence on the work program of the Legal Committee.

The resolution of the First Assembly of ICAO which brought the Legal Committee into being also incorporated its constitution. A further resolution prescribed the procedure to be followed for approval of draft conventions. Neither the constitution nor the draft convention resolution

²The pertinent provisions of the constitution and resolution may be summarized as follows:

"I. The Legal Committee (hereinafter called 'the Committee') is a permanent Committee of the Organization constituted by the Assembly.

"II. The objects of the Committee shall be:

"(a) to study and prepare draft conventions in connection with international air law with a view to their adoption by the greatest possible number of States;

"(b) to provide, if so requested, by or through the Council or the Assembly, advice on legal matters of special importance to the Organization, including public and private air law and the interpretation and amendment of the Convention;

"(c) to collaborate with other international organizations charged with the unification and codification of international law."

"IV. Every draft convention (and report thereon) prepared by the Committee in exercise of its functions under paragraph II (a) shall be transmitted to the Contracting States through the Council. They may also be transmitted to other international organizations concerned. Advice and reports concerning matters referred to in paragraph II (b) shall be transmitted to the body of the Organization seeking advice."

"1. That any final draft convention approved by the Legal Committee of the Organization shall be transmitted as provided by the Constitution of that Committee, to the Contracting States and to such other States and inter-

settled the relationship of the Legal Committee to the Council and other agencies of the Organization but they did enumerate the objectives of the committee and the manner in which draft conventions should be processed.²

It has been necessary to go into a considerable amount of background detail in order to present the picture of the organizational problems which confronted the Legal Committee at its first meeting. Although the question of the relationship of the Legal Committee to the Council and the Organization was directly raised only once,³ the members of the Legal Committee were fully aware of the problem. While the rules of procedure, as drawn up by the Legal Committee, do not completely solve the problem in theory, it is believed they represent an eminently fair and workable compromise solution.

Generally, the rules do not depart markedly from the usual organizational rules for any working group. The membership of the Committee is comprised of individuals rather than member states, as is the case with the Air Transport and Air Navigation Committees, and each such individual must be a legal expert designated by his government. Each government may designate as many such experts as it chooses. On the other hand, no individual can represent more than one contracting state. Although the membership is composed of individuals, the voting is by countries, each country having one vote.

national organizations as may be determined by the Council;

"2. That any such draft convention shall either (a) be placed upon the agenda of the first annual meeting of the Assembly of the Organization convened after the expiration of a period of not less than four months following the transmission of the draft convention as provided in paragraph 1, or (b), in special circumstances, be submitted to an extraordinary meeting of the Assembly or a conference of Contracting States convened for that purpose by the Organization;

"3. That in matters relating to international air law Non-contracting States and international organizations shall be invited to participate in meetings of the Assembly or any conference to the greatest extent consistent with the general policy of the Organization;

"4. That, if agreement is reached, the Assembly or conference shall approve the draft and thereafter the Convention shall be open for signature and ratification or adherence by Contracting States and for adherence by such other States as may be determined by the Assembly or conference;

"5. That, in the meetings of the Legal Committee at which a draft convention is considered and approved, Non-contracting States and international organizations, as may be determined by the Council, shall have the right to participate (without the right to vote) to the full extent provided in the Rules of Procedure of the Legal Committee."

³The United States Delegation announced that the United States Government would seek to have the question of the relationship of the Legal Committee to the Council and the Organization placed on the agenda of the Second Assembly.

Provision is made for observers to take part in the deliberations of the committee, but without the right to vote and with a rather unique provision relating to presentation of motions, resolutions, and amendments. Observers will have such rights if their motion, resolution, or amendment is seconded by two members of different contracting states.

The officers of the committee are to be a chairman and one or two vice chairmen, each of whom is to be elected at the annual session of the committee. No such officer can be elected to hold the same position for two consecutive terms, although a former vice chairman may be elected chairman and *vice versa*. Since the committee relies entirely upon the secretariat of the Organization for its secretarial help and the management of its meetings, it is provided that the members of the secretariat of the Organization, who have been designated for that purpose by the Secretary General of the Organization, shall constitute the secretariat of the committee and of its subcommittees.

The question of the time at which the annual meeting is to be held by the committee gave rise to considerable discussion. It was apparent to the conferees at Brussels that an annual meeting held at the same time and place as the annual Assembly of the Organization would be subject to some disadvantages. In the first place, for many committee members there would be the necessity for participating in the more general work of the Organization rather than in the specialized work of the committee. This would mean that committee projects would not advance so rapidly in a meeting held in conjunction with the Assembly as in one which was entirely separate.

Secondly, there was the undesirable feature of nonconformity with the other committees of ICAO, which are not in session during an Assembly. Despite these disadvantages there appeared to be more to be gained from the point of view of committee organization and functioning, by holding the annual meeting in conjunction with the Assembly than there was to be lost. It was considered that the annual Assembly offered the best opportunity for obtaining representation by the greatest number of states. Moreover, by commencing its sessions three or four days earlier than the Assembly sessions and possibly continuing them after the Assembly ended, some committee work could be accomplished.

Most of the representatives to the Legal Committee would be serving as representatives for their respective countries on either the Legal Commission of the Assembly or on some other commission of the Assembly. However, there might be times during Assembly sessions when the work of the commission would not be so severe as to prevent the Legal Committee from meeting.

As a result of these considerations, it was decided to hold the formal annual meeting of the

committee in conjunction with the annual session of the Assembly of the Organization. However, it was fully recognized that other sessions of the committee would probably be requisite, and, to this end, provision is made for additional sessions to be held as determined by the committee. This determination, however, is subject to the approval of the Council of the Organization as to its time and place. A resolution of the Legal Committee adopted at Brussels points out that the month of September is generally the most convenient for the committee members.

Recognizing the special relationship of the Legal Committee to the Council in connection with requests for legal advice on urgent matters as set forth in paragraph II(b) of the committee's constitution, the rules of procedure also provide that special sessions must be called by the chairman of the committee to provide such advice when so requested by the Council.

The rules of procedure adopted by the Legal Committee include the usual regulations with respect to the establishment of permanent or temporary subcommittees, the membership of such committees and the establishment of special subcommittees in off-sessions of the committee. The members of the subcommittees are appointed to serve until the next annual session of the Legal Committee. The chairmen of the subcommittees are to be chosen by the subcommittees themselves. Unlike the case of the full committee, the officers of subcommittees may succeed themselves, and there is no limitation on this right. The meetings of the subcommittees are to be held after consultation, so far as practical, with the chairman of the Legal Committee. However, if the proposed meeting involves any expense to the Organization as such, it is to be subject to the approval of the Council.

It is with respect to the establishment and maintenance of its work program that the Legal Committee has placed itself most fully under the jurisdiction of the Council. By article X the program of work must include any subject proposed by the Assembly, by the Council, or by the committee itself. It may also include other subjects proposed by individual contracting states or noncontracting states and international organizations which have been invited to participate in deliberations of the committee. The subjects for committee consideration are to be placed on its agenda in an order of priority, which is to be established so far as is practicable in accordance with any recommendation of the Assembly or the Council of the Organization. While the language of this provision is phrased in terms of independent cooperation, it is certain that any subject urgently recommended by the Council to be placed on the agenda will be so placed and considered by the committee. Again, in article XII, the committee or the subcommittee charged with a subject is to determine the most

appropriate procedure for dealing with the subject at hand, taking into account as far as is practicable any time limits which may be recommended by the Assembly or the Council of the Organization.

Another indication of the subordination of the committee to the desires of the Council is the provision contained in article XIV relating to the handling of special requests under paragraph II(b) of the committee constitution. These special requests, if referred to the committee while it is in session, must be handled at that time. Special requests made while the committee is not in session must be referred by the chairman to any existing subcommittee dealing with the general subject matter or, if no such subcommittee is in existence, then to a special committee named in accordance with article VIII for report to the next session of the committee.

There is one respect, however, in which the Legal Committee did not subordinate itself in its rules to the Council. That relates to the question of special advice requested by the Assembly. Here the rules provide that the opinion or document requested by the Assembly shall be transmitted directly to that body rather than through the Council. However, as a means of keeping the Council informed and of permitting the Council to make recommendations for possible changes in the documents submitted by the Legal Committee, provision has been made for the transmission to the Council of a copy of such document at the same time it is transmitted to the Assembly.

As a tribute to the working methods of the CITEJA, the rules of procedure provide, in addition to subcommittees, for the appointment of "rapporteurs" when necessary and desirable.

The foregoing comments indicate generally the outline of the rules of procedure adopted by the Legal Committee at Brussels.⁴ Although they go a long way toward placing the committee at the disposition of the Council, it is apparent from the rules that a certain amount of independence has been provided for. To the extent that compromise between two incompatible positions is possible in respect to the working of the Legal Committee these rules represent such a compromise. It is believed that this is a workable solution and will foster the development of conventions on private international air law better than either the plan of complete independence followed by CITEJA on the one hand or the establishment of a full-time committee of the Council on the other.

Earlier in this article mention was made of the outstanding accomplishment of the Legal Committee in the preparation of a draft convention on the international recognition of rights in aircraft. This subject had been under consideration by the CITEJA since 1931. The question with which the draft deals is perhaps one of the most highly technical and involved that has been studied by an

international air law committee to date, but the very reasons which make the subject so complex are the ones which make such a convention necessary. At the present time the law on conflicts of law of the various countries relating to the recognition of a status in an aircraft of foreign registry is highly divergent. Some countries recognize that a security interest validly created under the law of the state of registry of the aircraft and constituting a lien or charge on the aircraft is a valid charge. Other countries do not recognize that any such status can be created in aircraft, due to the fact that they are considered "movables". Security interests in movables generally are considered contrary to the public policy of many countries following the Roman law. Between these two points of view there are possibilities of many variations, with the result that international financing of aircraft has been rendered difficult and uncertain.

Since the Chicago Aviation Conference was held in 1944, the United States Government has been one of the leaders in the attempt to reconcile the differences and conflicting points of view of the various states and to come to an agreement on a workable convention. It was believed that the advantages which would accrue to American aviation interests through such a convention would be twofold: (1) it would permit United States airlines operating internationally to obtain credit and financing for the purchase of new equipment; and (2) it would facilitate the financing by foreign operators of American equipment by opening the way for them to obtain credits from private sources.

However, the convention in order to be workable would have to provide a reasonable measure of security for those who advance the necessary capital. Without such reasonable security, it is probable that sufficient money to finance fleets of aircraft would be difficult to obtain. A convention which did not recognize this problem and meet it realistically would be of little practical value.

Basically it appeared that a convention must provide for six principal measures of protection for secured interests in aircraft. In the first place, no liens of any substantial amount should be permitted to be placed ahead of the secured lender's claim after his claim has been duly recorded. This means in effect that all hidden privileges should be reduced to an absolute minimum and that contracting countries must agree not to place other claims such as tax claims ahead of the secured interest on foreign aircraft.

The second requisite for a valid convention relates to what is known as "fleet-mortgage doctrine". That doctrine provides in brief for the

⁴The rules of procedure as adopted at Brussels may be found in appendix "A" (ICAO doc. 4607-LC/43) to the report of the Legal Committee to the Second Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO doc. 4629-LC/65).

joint liability of each aircraft in the fleet for the entire loan made to the operating airline. Each aircraft of the fleet being financed therefore constitutes security for the entire amount of the loan rather than merely for the proportionate part of the debt attributable to it. A rough analogy from everyday business life is the joint liability of co-signers of a note. Each co-signer is liable for the face amount of the note, although obviously the lender cannot collect from all co-signers together more than the amount due. The same is true of the fleet mortgage. Each individual airplane is answerable for the total amount of the loan on the entire fleet to the extent of the unpaid balance.

The importance of the fleet-mortgage principle to the financing of international airlines cannot be overemphasized. Conservative financial interests are extremely reluctant to lend large sums of money secured by individual aircraft because of the operational hazards and the obsolescence factors involved in aircraft generally and because of the limited market for single luxury-type transport airplanes. If a fleet of aircraft is made security for the loan, however, the lender will be in a better position to be paid in full. In case of insolvency or bankruptcy of the airline, the aircraft may be disposed of either singly or as a fleet, whichever will bring the most money. If one of the aircraft is lost at sea or in foreign territory, the remaining planes will still constitute security for the loan. These factors tend to overcome the obsolescence disadvantages, and consequently, under the fleet-mortgage doctrine, bankers have been willing to lend up to 80 percent of the purchase price on fleets, whereas the amounts they have been willing to lend on individual aircraft have been considerably less.

Since most airlines do not have the ready cash available to pay for more than 20 percent of the original cost of a fleet of aircraft at the time of acquisition, the importance of this doctrine becomes apparent. In many cases its recognition would mean the difference between obtaining a fleet of aircraft or doing without.

A third desirable feature of any international convention dealing with rights in aircraft is the elimination of what the French term *la purge*. This doctrine, in brief, is that upon the judicial sale of an aircraft, the purchaser at the sale will receive an unencumbered title, despite the fact that the sale may have been made at the behest of a junior lienor or even a general creditor. The purchaser would not be required to assume prior secured interests or to take the aircraft subject to such liens, and the prior security holder would have to look to the proceeds of the sale for repayment.

Ordinarily under the "purge" doctrine, if the chattel is encumbered by a lien prior to that of the attaching creditor, the holder of the prior lien will be paid in full before the attaching creditor

is paid anything on his claim. However, where the amount of the first secured lien is relatively high, the sale price may not be sufficient to cover it, with the result that the first lien holder would neither be paid in full nor continue to hold his security. In order to protect his interests in such cases, the holder of a substantial first lien might well be forced to participate at the sale and bid in the property. When the sale is held in a foreign country, the burden on the secured creditor may become substantial, and the cost of protecting the lien out of all proportion to the income he would derive from interest on his loan. To eliminate this undesirable situation, the American position was that the convention should provide for all judicial sales to be made subject to prior recorded charges.

There were also two corollary advantages to be obtained by the elimination of the "purge" from the convention. It was recognized that the inability to vest an unencumbered title in a purchaser at a judicial sale would have a strong dampening effect on foreign attachments of airline aircraft. Since even a secured lender relies in large part on the general credit of the airline as a going concern, the disruption of its operating schedules through foreign attachments would constitute a real menace to the certainty of repayment. A flat prohibition against foreign attachment by junior lienors might possibly have been the most satisfactory solution, but if that were not possible, the next best solution is the elimination of the "purge" doctrine.

A fourth requisite for a workable convention is that all presently known security devices validly created under the law of the aircraft's registry be recognized and protected abroad under the convention. Such devices fall into two basic categories, first, the true mortgage type, where the title to the aircraft is in the airline, the bank holding merely a mortgage or a lien interest; and, secondly, the title type, where the bank holds the property in the airplane as title-holder, leasing or permitting the airline to use and operate the airplane so long as installments on its loan are being repaid.

The desirability of permitting the use of all types of security devices and the flexibility which a provision of this nature would afford are fairly evident. In the past, banks have made a small number of loans to airlines, utilizing a special form of the title-type security known as the "equipment trust". In the absence of settled international law on the subject, this device has the advantage of affording maximum protection of the bank's security interest, since the ownership of the aircraft is in the bank, and since rights of ownership are generally recognized abroad. However, there are certain disabilities to this type of financing. For example, the right of the airline to continue to operate the aircraft during the

leasehold period and to obtain the aircraft at the end of the term is not one which is certain to be recognized abroad. Thus, conjuring up a situation which admittedly would not arise with great frequency, in the event of financial difficulties of the bank, the borrowing airline would be at the mercy of creditors of the bank who might attach the aircraft abroad as an asset belonging to the bank. Looking at it again from the bank's point of view, the equipment trust is also subject to certain disabilities, for in some countries operational risks fall on the title-holder of the airplane as well as on the operator. In such instances the bank would assume a distinct risk of liability for catastrophes caused local inhabitants by an airplane it had financed. It may well be that because of risks of this nature, banks may prefer to utilize the straight mortgage type of financing, once that device is generally recognized abroad. However, during the transition period of ratification of the convention, it may be necessary to use equipment trust financing, so as to obtain the limited protection in nonmember states. The foregoing considerations indicate that the utmost flexibility in financing devices is highly desirable.

The fifth major point believed necessary to be covered by the convention in order to afford a workable basis for international financing involves spare parts. It is obvious that there would be little attraction in lending money on spare parts to be located in foreign countries unless the lenders were assured that their security interest was adequately protected. In certain past financing arrangements, where the fleet of aircraft purchased was not large, the value of spare parts has exceeded more than 25 percent of the total of the financing cost. Since spare parts must be procured at the time of the purchase of the aircraft they are to serve, the ready cash with which to pay for the parts at that time becomes a matter of extreme importance. Indeed, the ability to obtain cash for spare parts might be the determining factor in whether or not the financing could be arranged and the new fleet purchased.

The sixth requirement for a workable convention is that the machinery for recording liens both on aircraft and spare parts must be simple. If, in order to perfect a lien, it is necessary to translate long documents and have them filed at numerous foreign points, the clerical and professional work involved may well be prohibitive. The American objective, therefore, was to obtain some system whereby recordation of security devices covering both airplanes and spare parts could be effected with the minimum of difficulty and legal help.

While the foregoing requisites for conservative financing of aircraft through secured loans are possible of achievement within the framework of United States law, representatives of foreign countries were not at first inclined to view them with

favor. Concepts which are familiar to American lawyers and bankers were completely unfamiliar to foreign lawyers who appear to have an aversion to the detailed corporate indentures so common in American financing.

The principal objection which was voiced by the lawyers of other nations was to the fleet-mortgage principle. This objection appeared to stem from a fear that persons residing in their countries and injured by a foreign airplane would have no recourse against the assets of the airline concerned if recognition were given to the prior liens of secured creditors. Since under the fleet-mortgage principle each aircraft is burdened with an encumbrance many times the value of the aircraft, the effect is to separate the risk of the operation from the capital which gives it birth. For this reason, the delegate of Norway at the meeting of the First Assembly of ICAO in May of 1947 strongly objected to the recognition of the fleet-mortgage principle beyond 80 percent of an amount proportionate to the total amount loaned as the weight of the aircraft bears to the total weight of the fleet. By this "apportionment", provision would be made for the involuntary creditors at home. Obviously, the apportionment doctrine eliminated much of the value of the fleet mortgage as a security device.

The foreign lawyers also objected to the recognition of a variety of types of security devices, many of which were completely unknown to them. These, of course, included the equipment trust, the conditional sale, and the hire-purchase agreement. Such devices in many countries, even though they may be known, are not enforced because they are deemed to be contrary to the general public policy of the country. Even mortgages, which appear to be more generously treated than other financing methods in this respect, are not recognized in many countries abroad.

In regard to spare parts, there had been almost unanimous objection to the doctrine that such parts should receive protection different from that afforded other chattels by the domestic law of the territory where they were kept. This position stems from the traditional view that chattels maintained in the territory of a country are subject to the protection of the laws of that country and consequently should be governed entirely by those laws. Many foreign countries do not recognize mortgages or other liens on movable chattels located on their soil.

Prior to the Brussels meeting of the Legal Committee of ICAO, the tremendous gulf which lay between the point of view of many foreign lawyers and that of the United States was evident to all parties. Deep differences of national approach had to be resolved, old prejudices forgotten, and new methods devised which would bring about substantial compromise and achievement. It is obvious that some compromises would have to be made in the United States

position. The fears voiced by foreign representatives had their root in national commercial customs of far longer standing than ours, and even if that had not been so, it would hardly be possible to have lasting agreement on matters which had been so highly controversial if the viewpoint of one country were the sole one represented. Consequently, in the draft convention proposed by the Brussels meeting of the Legal Committee there are many compromises and no small number of legal novelties.

The large majority of the Legal Committee was finally won over to the recognition of all types of security devices when these were presented in a form which separated them into their various vital constituent parts. Thus when the proposal was made that each contracting state undertake to recognize (1) rights of property in aircraft, (2) rights to acquire aircraft by purchase coupled with possession of the aircraft, (3) rights to the possession of aircraft under leases of six months or more, and (4) mortgages, hypothecs, and similar rights, the committee members perceived what was involved more clearly than they would have been able to do if the rights had been presented to them under the familiar names of conditional sale, equipment trust, hire-purchase agreement, and chattel mortgage. Since it is believed that these four categories of rights represent the constituent parts of every recognized security interest now known, the United States position would appear to be fully covered by the terms of article I.

The draft convention is also substantially satisfactory in the treatment accorded the fleet mortgage. As has been stated before, the basic objection to the fleet-mortgage doctrine on the part of other countries was the fact that under that doctrine the commercial risks of the enterprise are separated completely from the capital which sets it in motion. The effect of this separation may be to cause injustice to those involuntary creditors who had in no way intended to deal with the airline. For the main part they will be victims of aircraft accidents or accidents involving surface vehicles operated by the airline concerned. Unless they have a right of recourse against the property of the airline or some equivalent thereof in their country, it is very probable that they will not be able adequately to protect their interests. The American Delegation recognized the fairness of this point of view, and consequently no pains were spared to obtain a satisfactory compromise.

With respect to contract or other voluntary creditors, the position appeared entirely different. Here the creditor has ample opportunity to judge the credit position of the airline prior to entering into negotiations and it was felt that this was a matter where in all justice the creditor should assume the risk.

What is believed to be an eminently fair compromise was finally worked out. No limitation

was provided on the undertaking of contracting states to recognize fleet mortgages in suits by contract or other "voluntary" claimants. Indeed, it was provided in article V, paragraph 4, that no judicial sale could be effected unless all charges having priority over the claim of the existing creditor are covered by the proceeds of the sale or assumed by the purchaser. This minimum-bid provision means in the case of a fleet mortgage that the bid must be equal to the entire outstanding liability on the fleet before the sale can be effected at all. An exception to this doctrine is made, however, in the case of the "involuntary" creditor.

In article V, paragraph 5, if suit is brought by a person injured by the operation of one of a fleet of aircraft, an amount no greater than 80 percent of the sale price of the aircraft taken in execution may be claimed by the secured creditor unless there was adequate and effective insurance on the aircraft causing the damage. Each contracting state is at liberty to fix by law the minimum amount of insurance necessary to meet this provision. However, in the absence of a special enactment by that country, adequate insurance will be taken to mean insurance in the amount of the new purchase price of the aircraft which is seized.

The result of this compromise should be to afford complete protection for the secured lender and at the same time guarantee a measure of protection for involuntary creditors on domestic territory. It offers the distinct advantage of certainty to the money lender for he can readily obtain a covenant from the airline to keep its aircraft insured to the minimum extent required by the convention. So long as the required insurance is kept in effect the fleet mortgage is entirely safe, and the aircraft under it virtually beyond reach of foreign creditors.

Again, in connection with the doctrine of purge, a distinct compromise was necessary. The position of the American Delegation urging the rejection of the purge and the adoption of the doctrine that all judicial sales be made subject to prior secured interests was not concurred in by the foreign delegations. For the main part the abolition of the doctrine would completely change their national laws in respect of one class of chattel, and it was universally felt by the foreign delegates that such unique treatment of aircraft could not be justified to their home legislatures.

As a compromise, however, article V, paragraph 4, previously referred to in connection with the fleet mortgage, was inserted; it calls for a minimum bid equal to or better than the total amount of prior secured claims before the aircraft may be sold. This in effect accomplishes exactly the same thing that abolition of the doctrine of purge would accomplish so far as multiple-financed aircraft are concerned. In the case of aircraft secured by a fleet mortgage, it will be necessary for the purchaser of any one aircraft at a judicial sale to bid

and pay a price equal to the total outstanding debt. Since that amount in most cases will be many times the value of the aircraft attached, it is obvious that few such sales will take place. While it is true that in the case of mortgages or other liens on single aircraft, the security holder is in a more disadvantageous position than he would be under the doctrine urged by the American Delegation, nevertheless, it is believed that the result will be substantially adequate.

The subject of recognition of security rights in spare parts located in foreign countries also called for a substantial compromise. The position taken by the American Delegation was that spare parts should be treated in the same manner as aircraft, so far as the recognition and protection of security interests are concerned. It was argued that there was no greater reason for affording a contract creditor recourse against spare parts than against the aircraft, and that the spare parts themselves would rarely if ever cause damage to a foreign claimant. No occasion could therefore arise where the public interest required such parts to be made available for attachment by local creditors.

This argument, however, was not completely convincing to the other delegations. It was pointed out that there are various types of claims which, although contractual in nature, are traditionally granted liens by operation of law, as for example, the claim of a landlord for arrears in rent. Employees are usually accorded prior liens against the goods of their employer. Such employees in the large majority of cases would be natives of the country where the parts are located. Moreover, it is also possible that the spare parts themselves might cause damage.

As a result, a compromise solution was finally reached applying the apportionment doctrine to spare parts. The machinery whereby this is set up is contained in article VIII of the proposed draft. It provides that the minimum bid for which the spare parts may be sold shall be two thirds of the value of the parts, as determined by experts appointed by the authority responsible for the sale. Upon their sale, the court (or other authority responsible for the sale) may refuse to recognize the claim of the secured creditor in an amount in excess of two thirds of the proceeds. As a consequence, the maximum security which a lender can count on as to spare parts located in a foreign jurisdiction would be two thirds of the current value of the parts.

The draft convention is believed satisfactory with respect to the ease with which valid liens can be created. Recording in countries foreign to the registry of the aircraft is not necessary. In the case of spare parts a sign must be posted on the premises setting forth the fact that the spare parts are subject to a secured interest, the name and address of the holder of such interest, and

the record where such interest is recorded. This obligation, however, should not prove to be an onerous burden. Further recording is not required by the convention for the replacement of stocks of spare parts and this may be accomplished without diminishing the security of the lender in the stockpile.

In another connection the convention would appear to be entirely satisfactory to the American position. Preferred claims as set forth in article III have been limited to compensation due for salvage of the aircraft and extraordinary expenses indispensable for preservation of the aircraft. It was the consensus of the committee that these expenses would never exceed relatively minor sums.

In the treatment of priority claims a rather novel approach was included at the request of the United Kingdom Delegation. These claims were made subject to recording as ordinary secured claims upon the expiration of their priority at the end of three months. In this way the holder of a preferred claim may record his claim and enjoy the benefits of a secured creditor from the date of recordation. Of course, this would not mean that a claim so recorded would be prior to other secured claims previously recorded, but it would outrank all mortgages and other liens which were recorded subsequently.

By article III, paragraph 7, the contracting states are enjoined from admitting or recognizing any right other than the priority rights set forth in article III which would displace recorded secured rights. In this connection it should be noted that the paragraph containing this prohibition was originally placed in article IV. During the last day of the Conference, this paragraph was moved up into article III as paragraph 7 in order to avoid a cross reference between article IV and article III. The effect of this removal is greater than at first meets the eye, for under the terms of article IX the provisions of article III must be applied by contracting states to all aircraft, including domestic aircraft operating on home soil.

The result of article III (7), read in conjunction with article IX, is that a contracting state is prohibited from placing tax liens and other charges ahead of recorded mortgages, even though the aircraft stays at home and the secured creditor is a national and resident of such contracting state. There is nothing to indicate in the Conference proceeding that this result was intended, and it will be a simple matter to correct. It will be necessary to correct it, however, since it is understood that the constitutions of a number of countries prohibit the enactment of any law which deprives the state of its right to place tax liens ahead of all other charges with respect to domestic chattels.

(Continued on page 523)

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Request for a Special Session of the General Assembly on Palestine¹

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN²

U.S. Representative in the Security Council

The time appears suitable to offer to the Security Council resolutions to carry out part II of the paper representing the views of four of the permanent members (S/P.V.270, 19 March 1948, page 7), as follows:³

As a result of the consultations of the permanent members regarding the situation with respect to Palestine, they find and report that a continuation of the infiltration into Palestine, by land and by sea, of groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence would aggravate still further the situation, and recommend

“(a) that the Security Council should make it clear to the parties and governments concerned that the Security Council is determined not to permit the existence of a threat to international peace in Palestine, and

“(b) that the Security Council should take further action by all means available to it to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine.”

The statement made by the President of the United States on March 25 indicates the urgent necessity of exerting every effort in the Security Council to arrange a truce between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine.

Such a truce should be based on two fundamental considerations:

First, it is absolutely essential that violence and bloodshed in Palestine cease. This is demanded by humanitarian considerations. We must pre-

vent anarchy. It is required to keep international peace. Cessation of hostilities is imperative.

Second, both the Jews and Arabs of Palestine must be prepared to accept truce arrangements which would not prejudice the claims of either group. The truce should include suspension of political as well as military activity.

My Government considers it essential that representatives of the Jewish Agency and of the Arab Higher Committee be called upon to state their views on the necessary arrangements for a truce. Such representatives should, of course, be fully authorized to enter into definitive truce arrangements with the Council.

To provide for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the basis for a truce, Mr. President, I have submitted for the consideration of the Council the following resolution.⁴

The Security Council,

In the exercise of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Notes the increasing violence and disorder in Palestine and believes that it is of the utmost urgency that an immediate truce be effected in Palestine;

Calls upon the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Arab Higher Committee to make representatives available to the Security Council for the purpose of arranging a truce between the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine, and emphasizes the heavy responsibility which would fall upon any party failing to observe such a truce,

Calls upon Arab and Jewish armed groups in Palestine to cease acts of violence immediately.

It is the view of my Government that the immediate cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a truce in Palestine are the most urgent objectives. We believe that the Council should also proceed as promptly as possible to the consideration of the additional conclusions and recommendations concerning Palestine. I alluded to these in my statement to the Council at its 271st meeting on Friday, March 19.

¹ U.N. doc. A/530, Apr. 7, 1948. Note by the Secretary-General, acting under provisions of rules 7 and 9 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, has, by telegram dated Apr. 1, 1948, summoned the second special session of the Assembly to meet at Flushing Meadows, N.Y., on Apr. 16, 1948. Provisional agenda for the second special session of the General Assembly is contained in U.N. doc. A/531, Apr. 7, 1948.

² Made on Mar. 30, 1948, in the Security Council and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

³ U.N. doc. S/714, Apr. 7, 1948.

⁴ U.N. doc. S/704 of Mar. 30, 1948. Adopted unanimously by the Security Council at its 277th meeting on Apr. 1, 1948.

In this connection, we feel that the first step which should be taken by the Security Council is to request the Secretary-General to convoke a special session of the General Assembly. Accordingly I have been requested by my Government to submit for the consideration of the Council the following resolution:⁵

The Security Council,

Having on 9 December 1947, received the resolution of the General Assembly concerning Palestine dated 29 November 1947 and

Having taken note of the United Nations Palestine Commission's First and Second Monthly Progress Reports and First Special Report on the problem of security, and

Having on 5 March 1948, called on the permanent members of the Council to consult, and

Having taken note of the reports made concerning these consultations,

Requests the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 20 of the United Nations Charter, to convoke a special session of the General Assembly

to consider further the question of the future government of Palestine.

It will be noted that this resolution does not mention trusteeship. The United States adheres to the view I stated in the Security Council on March 19, and which was reaffirmed by the Secretary of State on March 20 and again by the President of the United States on March 25, that a temporary trusteeship should be established to maintain the peace. This trusteeship would be without prejudice to the character of the final political settlement in Palestine. We believe that a trusteeship is essential to establish order, without which a peaceful solution of this problem cannot be found or put into effect.

The exigencies of the time limits confronting the Security Council require prompt decision and issue of the call for a Special Session. This should not be delayed by debate over details of the temporary trusteeship. The United States is ready to offer and consider with other members of the Security Council proposals regarding such details while the necessary notice period is running.

Calling for a Truce in Palestine

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN⁶

U.S. Representative in the Security Council

MR. PRESIDENT: I have only a few words to say. The pending matter is document S/704, that is to say the draft resolution introduced by the Representative of the United States of America at the 275th meeting of the Security Council calling for a truce in Palestine, and I invite the Security Council to return to the subject. In so doing I would just call attention to the simple eternal truth that the objective of this resolution is to save human life. If there is any other objective equal to that I do not know what it is. All these long speeches and this argument and reargument about legalistic claims, about history, and about who is at fault and who more at fault are as nothing compared to that objective for which the Security Council has the primary responsibility—that is, to save human life.

The resolution is couched in the language of the Charter which deals with that matter, and I would read it because I think that the record at this moment ought to be made clear:

"The Security Council, in the exercise of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,"—that is to say, it is acting under that provision and that responsibility—

"Notes the increasing violence and disorder in Palestine and believes that it is of the utmost

urgency that an immediate truce be effected in Palestine;

"Calls upon the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Arab Higher Committee to make representatives available to the Security Council for the purpose of arranging a truce"—not for the purpose apparently indicated in the speeches which have been made here today, but—

"a truce between the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine; and emphasizes the heavy responsibility which would fall upon any party failing to observe such a truce;

"Calls upon Arab and Jewish armed groups in Palestine to cease acts of violence immediately."

This calls for a standstill; this calls for a cessation of hostilities; this calls for the stopping of the slaughter, the civil disobedience, the destruction of property, and the anarchy which exists in a territory that is under a mandate. Just remember that this is not a free territory. It does not belong to anybody. If you search out the title to it, I think you will find that it has a legal position as a result of the war.

⁵ U.N. doc. S/705 of Mar. 30, 1948.

⁶ Made on Mar. 30, 1948, in the Security Council and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

This is a mandatory property under a mandatory administrator. Events are occurring there which are a shame to humanity, and it is up to the Security Council, of all organizations in the world, to put a stop to them.

This resolution, if passed, would impose an obligation under the Charter upon every member of the United Nations to carry out the decision made in this resolution. Our position would be somewhat different after the adoption of a resolution like this from what it is under a recommendation made by the General Assembly.

There is no mystery about the word *truce*. It requires two things above all others: one is the cessation of hostilities and the other is the cessation of provocation. And it is that part of the duty of the Security Council that is indicated in the third paragraph of the resolution, which reads as follows:

"Calls upon the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Arab Higher Committee to make representatives available to the Security Council for the purpose of arranging a truce between the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine . . ."

No such effective change in the military aspect of this matter could be had without arranging the terms of the truce, that is, reaching an agreement between the parties which are now violating the peace. Now this standstill idea is not new. It was recognized when the United Nations Charter was made, and it was recognized largely at the instigation of those who represented the Jews in Palestine. Article 80 which deals with a trusteeship or a mandatory, is contained in chapter XII, international trusteeship system. It reads as follows:

"1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded—that is for how long: until such agreements have been concluded—

"nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

I understand that this article was suggested at San Francisco by the Zionists in order to assure continued recognition of their national home in Palestine. But the text equally protects the rights of Arabs to maintain the continuity of the unity of Palestine in their civil and religious rights in the territory protected by the mandate.

I find that the following statement from the Summary Report of the Tenth Meeting of Committee II/4, held on May 24, 1945, at San Francisco was attributed to the United States Representative. The United States Representative stated that this article meant

"that all rights, whatever they may be, remain exactly the same as they exist—that they are neither increased nor diminished by the adoption of this Charter. Any change is left as a matter of subsequent agreements . . ."

With this country under a mandatory power, who has a right to use force there? Nobody but the mandatory authority. And if men, women, and children are being slaughtered, buildings are being blown up, and public services discontinued and ruined and the possibility of complete anarchy created, who has a right and who has an obligation there?

In the first place, the mandatory power has come to us and said, "We are unable to handle that. The condition is such that we cannot handle it." That is one of the reasons why we found, as a group of permanent members of the Security Council, that we could not implement the General Assembly resolution at this time by peaceful means. It was not because these people on both sides did not have individually the characteristics that would make them competent for self-government. They do have that intelligence, culture, and high aim necessary to produce good government anywhere. That is not the trouble. The trouble is this blood feud that is on at this time and that causes more and more death and desolation. The object of this resolution is to put a stop to that. It is in full harmony with the spirit of article 80, which recognizes that so long as there is a mandate there—which we believe will exist until May 15—so long as that responsibility is fixed, is settled on the United Kingdom, no other country or people has a right to use military force in Palestine. Until an agreement is entered into which transmits this responsibility from the United Kingdom to its successor, or until an agreement is made with the United Nations, the Security Council has the responsibility of trying to maintain order and peace in Palestine.

I sincerely hope therefore that this resolution will be passed by a large majority.

Paul G. Hoffman To Be ECA Administrator

On April 7, 1948, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Paul G. Hoffman to be Administrator for Economic Cooperation.

Discussion in the Security Council of the Czechoslovak Question

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

U.S. Representative in the Security Council

At an earlier meeting on this matter I raised the question with reference to the participation of the representative of the new Czechoslovak regime in this proceeding.

It has been a consistent practice which is firmly rooted in the Charter, for a state nonmember of the Security Council against whom charges were made or whose interests appear to be specially affected in a matter before the Council, to petition for permission to take part in the proceedings. Such request has invariably been granted. It is quite obvious that the current proceeding is of grave concern for the Czechoslovak Government.

It was for that reason that I suggested informally the invitation of the Czechoslovak Representative to the Council table. However, thus far this Representative has not found it advisable to request, in accordance with the established procedure, permission to participate. On the contrary, I am told that in a statement to the press he indicated that his Government did not wish to participate in the proceedings because the proceedings related to matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Czechoslovakia.

Now, members of the Council will recall that it has been alleged that a police regime has been established in Czechoslovakia with foreign assistance. The complaint was validly placed on the Council agenda by a vote of a large majority of Council members. One of the aims of the Council proceedings is to establish whether or not the matter before the Council is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Czechoslovakia as is alleged by the Czechoslovak Representative in statements made outside of the Council.

We can not help but wonder what causes the new Czechoslovak Government to be so reluctant about requesting an opportunity to be heard by this Council. Can it be that the Czechoslovak Government is afraid of participating in an open debate? Is it apprehensive that its case will not stand up before world opinion following open and free debate in this Council? This strange reluctance stands in stark contrast to the active participation in the past of the old democratic Czechoslovak Government in international conferences. In the League, the Czechoslovak Government spoke with authority based on its democratic institutions at home and on its adherence to justice in its foreign policies. Members of the Council will also recall the contribution which the Czechoslovak Delegation under the leadership of the late

Jan Masaryk made at the San Francisco conference. In summary, I can only say that the reluctance of the present Czechoslovak regime to request a hearing certainly has not instilled in my delegation a feeling that this regime has a strong case to present.

I feel that the Council, in view of the seriousness of the charges which have been made before it, should proceed in the most impartial manner. I think the Council should go on record as inviting the Representative of this new Czechoslovak regime to appear before us in order that he may state his Government's side of the case and in order that he may be available to answer questions which we may wish to put before him. For my part, I have a number of questions which I desire to direct to him. In an earlier statement during this case, I gave the Council an indication of the nature of some of these questions which I would like to ask. I am therefore presenting a resolution on this point to the Council reading as follows:²

The Government of Czechoslovakia is invited to participate without vote in the discussion of the Czechoslovak question now under consideration by the Security Council, and the Secretary-General is instructed to notify the Czechoslovak Representative to the United Nations accordingly.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Port Limón, Costa Rica, was officially closed on March 31, 1948.

The American Consulate at Cebu, Republic of the Philippines, was opened to the public on April 5, 1948.

The American Consulate at Palermo, Italy, has been raised to the rank of Consulate General, effective April 8, 1948.

Confirmations

On April 7, 1948, the Senate confirmed the following nominations: Lincoln MacVeagh to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Portugal and Felix Cole to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ceylon.

¹ Made on Apr. 6, 1948, in the Security Council and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

² Adopted by the Security Council at its 278th meeting on Apr. 6, 1948. U.N. doc. S/711, Apr. 6, 1948.

Freedom of Information Throughout World Insures Peace

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM BENTON¹

Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the Freedom of Information Conference

Our conference at Geneva, as was to be expected, is sharply divided. The Soviet Union, with the small states which echo its views, daily proclaims that the state, the Communist dictatorship, is the source of all good, the purveyor of all freedom—by decree. On the other side are ranged the representatives of those countries whose people yet dare freely to express their opinions and to call themselves rational, self-governing men. These hold that freedom of information means primarily freedom from the state, or from any monopoly whatever, public or private.

The free are thus face to face with those whose ideology drives them toward the destruction of freedom. This is the stark reality. It is more clearly illuminated with each passing day at the Geneva conference.

There are nevertheless ludicrous as well as grave aspects to this cleavage. To hide the most complete censorship and thought dictation known to history, the Soviet propagandists have erected elaborate Potemkin villages of freedom along the route of international scrutiny. They have built gilded facades labeled "freedom from exploitation by monopoly capitalism". They have created monumental stage sets labeled "true freedom of expression".

I find it not at all ludicrous that around the clock and in several dozen languages Soviet propagandists appropriate, degrade, and bastardize the words which are the hard-earned and world-accepted currency of free men. Liberty, equality, fraternity, independence, justice, freedom, democracy. For these, brave men have died at the hands of tyrants for thousands of years.

Now the U. S. S. R. insists with a thousand amplified voices that repression is freedom, and that true freedom elsewhere in the world is slavery; they insist that the police state is democracy, and that democracy in other countries is dictatorship by monopoly capitalists. They assert that aggression is peace and liberation, and that true liberation is aggression; that complete state control of man's thought and expression is freedom of expression; and that true freedom of expression among free men is dictatorship.

The age-old trick of the propagandists, from the day of the Sophists to the day of Dr. Goebbels,

has been to confuse and confound the listener by labeling black as white and white as black. Its latest manifestation is this official attempt to deprecate the word currency of free men, to drive the sound currency of clear meanings from the market place of ideas.

Thus it became apparent from the earliest days of the conference that the Soviet Union is in Geneva primarily to create propaganda that, they hope, will further undermine freedom of expression in the world.

Day after day, in each of the committees of the conference, the delegates have been obliged to listen to harangues upon the evils of the American press, the British press, and others throughout the world. We have had thrown back at us admissions of guilt of all of the defects in the operation of a free press that have been unearthed by our own scholars, our own statesmen, and our own press itself in an effort to remedy them.

We readily admit the imperfections of our own free press. We seek always to correct them, and it is a continuous job. Nevertheless, it becomes boring to have these defects brought up, time after time, as reasons for abolishing freedom of expression. We refuse to burn down the palaces of freedom merely in order to smoke out the rats. Hector McNeil, Chief of the British Delegation, after sitting through endless hours of attacks of this kind, during the course of an impressive address turned to the Soviet Representative and remarked: "If I wanted I could in this speech have pointed to the inconsistencies, the variations, the treacherous, and the unjustifiable changes in the views and the news given publication by the authoritarian presses of Soviet Russia and of eastern Europe. If I have not attacked it, it is not because I lack ammunition."

Similarly, the United States Delegation does not lack ammunition for attack of that kind. We could provide chapter and verse on how the Soviet press and radio, domestically within the Soviet Union and internationally through its world-wide broadcasting and its controlled publications, selects, distorts, and perverts the news, especially news about the non-Communist world. With respect to the United States, all Soviet organs have for many months, day in and day out, hammered out variations on a series of simple themes: The United States is imperialistic and militaristic; the United States is undemocratic and reactionary;

¹Delivered before the Anglo-American Press Club in Paris, France, on Apr. 7, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

the United States is culturally backward; the United States is on the verge of a catastrophic depression from which it is trying to extricate itself by imperialistic adventures.

If the United States refuses loans and favors to other nations, it is portrayed as rich and selfish. If it makes loans or grants favors, it is seeking to enslave foreign peoples. If it takes a firm position on any issue, it is militaristic and imperialistic. If it yields, this is evidence of the inner decay of capitalism.

I have a file of Tass Agency reports of the Geneva conference. If an American or British or French news agency here were to be guilty of such shockingly one-sided, malicious reporting, the enraged readers would put it out of business. But not Tass. The Tass News Agency is the official distorter of the Soviet Government.

There are two reasons why we have not used our ammunition about this deliberate incitement to hatred. One reason is that we are not at Geneva to make propaganda. We are there to do all that we can to reduce barriers to the flow of information among men and nations. The second reason is that nations which believe in freedom of information tend to lack skill in propaganda, except as efforts to spread the truth over a period of years is the best propaganda. We are deeply wedded to fact and fair argument. Our social, political, and moral patterns would not permit us to use the Soviet type of propaganda. We make a mistake when we try it.

But in spite of the diversionary propaganda attacks that have impeded the work of the conference, real progress has been made. Issues and the meaning of words have been clarified; we know now more precisely what it may be possible to accomplish.

In my opening speech at the conference I expressed doubt that unanimous agreement would be possible. I indicated that in some areas it was not desirable even to seek unanimous agreement.

These doubts are now shared, I believe, by the great majority of the delegates at the conference. The unbridgeable crevasses divide free peoples from states who claim to be the people who have been more fully exposed. As the chairman of one of the delegations at Geneva remarked to me, if free nations reach any agreement with the Soviet bloc on any resolution or convention on freedom of information, it will be because the U.S.S.R. and ourselves do not share a common understanding of the words used.

What we can achieve in Geneva, as I now see it, is general agreement—agreement by countries not hostile to freedom—on an international convention guaranteeing greater access to news, greater freedom in its transmission from country to country, and freedom within states to receive news. Several countries—Great Britain, France, and others, as well as the United States—have pro-

posed conventions aimed at these objectives. We of the United States are pressing hard for this goal, and I am hopeful that one or more conventions will be adopted that will be strong and meaningful.

The second thing we hope to achieve at the conference is general agreement upon sending the conference's recommendations and agreements not only to the Economic and Social Council but directly to governments, and immediately to appeal to them and to private groups for implementation and at once.

A final major objective of the American Delegation at the conference is to secure agreement upon the establishment of continuing machinery in the United Nations that will keep world attention focused on the vital subject of freedom of expression within and among nations.

The continuing machinery we envisage would extend the life of the U.N. Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and direct it to study and report on barriers to the free flow of information, the extent to which freedom of information is actually accorded to the peoples of the world, the adequacy of the news available to them.

These are our hopes and expectations in terms of specific objectives. Looking back upon the last two weeks in Geneva, however, it seems to me that never have the official representatives of nations in conference assembled probed so deeply into the ultimate causes of war. This may surprise you.

But consider that freedom of expression is the father and protector of all other freedoms enjoyed by a free society of happy men.

Consider that freedom of expression is the basis of democratic self-government wherever in the world men have attained it.

Consider that in the Soviet Union and its satellite states ruling groups hold freedom of expression to be more dangerous than cancer or atomic power.

Consider that the extinction of freedom of expression wherever in the world it exists is avowedly and observedly a primary aim of Soviet policy.

Consider finally that the United Nations, instinctively seeking to rout out the causes of war, has called together representatives of the people of the world in a conference at Geneva to discuss ways and means of promoting a free flow of information.

Consider these things, gentlemen, and perhaps you will agree that in our conference at Geneva we are hacking away at the taproot of war.

There was a time, perhaps, when love of glory, or prospect of gain, or ideological fanaticism caused powerful rulers to embark upon wars of aggression. But not today, when the front lines are the city boulevards, and no prospect of gain could possibly be imagined, even by a fanatic, to offset the colossal cost of modern war. Fear—stark, elemental fear—is today the chief threat to peace.

Today we must concede that fear is rampant and it is not inappropriate to ask why this is so. We are only three years removed from the most devastating war in history. The enemies of the victorious Allies are crushed. No people in the world have the desire to fight again. And yet, fear has seized the world.

Fear on the part of whom?

Fear on the part of what?

Fear is by its nature infectious and self-compounding. The Soviet Union and its satellites profess to be fearful of the West. The western powers doubt and fear the intentions of the Soviets. No nation escapes this universal infection. Actions based on fear set off a cycle of greater fears and ever more antagonistic actions.

And what is the source and the focus of this world-wide infection? I say without hesitation that its greatest single continuing source is the policy of the Soviet Union toward freedom of information. I do not say that the only thing the world has to fear is fear itself, because I will not presume to analyze the motives of the Soviet Government or of any other government. I will not presume to analyze the mixture of ideological evangelism, or of lust for power; or of the desire for national security, or of so-called historic national aspirations.

But I will presume to say flatly that, had it not been the policy of the Soviet Government to deny the Russian people the right to express themselves and to communicate freely with other peoples, and to deny the right of other peoples to communicate with them, the world would not now find itself in the grip of such an acute fear psychosis.

At the war's end, no foreign danger to the U.S.S.R. even remotely appeared on the horizon. The American, British, French, Chinese, and other Allied peoples, grateful to the Russian people for their tremendous effort in helping to defeat the common enemy, had poured out their treasure, their confidence, and their admiration to their ally. Yet the Soviet Government would not permit contact between their people and those in other countries who enjoy freedom. The Russian people have not been permitted to learn for themselves the nature and intentions of other peoples, or the achievements and ways of life of other peoples. Higher went the barriers insulating Soviet citizens from contact with the outside. Turned on was the campaign of hatred against foreign countries. Set into motion was a foreign policy of expansionism that has resulted in the seizure and control of neighboring states which might serve as buffers against free peoples. Revived was the old Comintern in new dress to press revolution and Communist control in all parts of the world, to preach everywhere that repression is freedom and that

this bogus freedom is the wave of the future. Each new people brought under domination became a new frontier for which a new buffer had to be provided. You will all recall the land monopolist who wanted nothing except the land next to his.

Such actions, of course, have deep roots and trace back through a long historical development. It is impossible to place the blame for a tragic historic sequence unequivocally on a single factor or a single group of men. The West, too, is obviously not without its responsibility in the weaving of this pattern of history.

But, the alarm felt by free peoples in the face of the process I have described has been excoriated by Soviet spokesmen at Lake Success, at UNESCO meetings, and now at Geneva, as "warmongering". The efforts of the free press of the world to record this process have been dubbed "dissemination of information harmful to good relations among states".

I do not know what was in the minds of all those members of the United Nations who cooperated to set up at Lake Success the Subcommission on Freedom of Information. Neither do I know what was in the minds of those who voted to call the Conference on Freedom of Information and of the Press that is now meeting in Geneva. But I am sure that either by conviction or by instinct they knew that unless freedom of information should be established throughout the world—this freedom carrying inevitably with it all other freedoms, including democratic self-government—there can be no just and lasting peace.

The debate and the tactical moves at Geneva thus far offer no hope that the Soviet Union and its satellites can now be persuaded to let down the bars to the free flow of information, and thus to remove the main source of contagious fear. The Geneva conference does offer a substantial promise that the free nations of the world will agree, both by resolution and by compact, to reinforce the freedoms they now enjoy. Above all, this conference will help to make clear to men everywhere the nature of the issues involved. Thus it will help to lay a firmer foundation for the freedom to which the world must and will ultimately come, and meanwhile, we trust and hope, will erect a standard to which all honest men can repair.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

Fred W. Ramsey as Foreign Liquidation Commissioner and Major General Philip E. Brown as Deputy Foreign Liquidation Commissioner, effective April 1, 1948.

Violations of Interzonal Boundaries of the Free Territory of Trieste

TEXT OF NOTE FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN OFFICE ¹

April 6, 1948

The Embassy of the U.S.A. presents its compliments to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia and under instructions of the Secretary of State of the United States has the honor urgently to bring to the Minister's attention a series of incidents constituting flagrant violations of the interzonal boundaries of the Free Territory of Trieste on the part of the Yugoslav occupational forces.

On March 29 at 12:15 o'clock the personnel of the British observation post situated approximately 3,000 yards southeast of Basovizza and 300 yards inside the British-U.S. zone of the Free Territory of Trieste were fired upon from the zone occupied by Yugoslav forces. Two members of the Yugoslav Military Government police (*Difesa Popolari*) were seen to fire a number of rifle shots aimed at the above-mentioned post.

This, however, was not the first instance in which members of the Yugoslav occupation forces and of the Yugoslav Military Government police have fired on members of the Anglo-American zone of the Free Territory of Trieste. On December 12, 1947, Yugoslav troops opened fire in this same area

shooting over the heads of the Venezia Giulia police who were stationed in the British-U.S. zone. Again, on March 22, 1948, two members of the Venezia Giulia police force who were patrolling the railway line which runs from St. Antonio to the border of the two zones were fired upon by members of the Yugoslav forces, and one of them was wounded.

The Government of the United States most firmly protests against this series of violations of the interzonal boundaries of the Free Territory of Trieste by Yugoslav occupation forces and against these provocative acts toward personnel of the British-American zone in the performance of their duty. The Government of the United States trusts and expects that the Yugoslav Government will promptly issue the necessary instructions to its responsible representative to the end that there will be no repetitions of such incidents which seriously endanger the lives of members of the British-U.S. forces and the Venezia Giulia police in the discharge of their responsibilities in the area of the Free Territory of Trieste under British-American administration.

The Embassy avails itself [etc.]

U.S. Proposes Discussion of Protocol for Return of Free Territory of Trieste

NOTE FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR ²

April 9, 1948.

The Acting Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Italian Ambassador, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of His Excellency's note of March 22, 1948, regarding the proposal of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty.

While no reply has yet been received from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it is the view of the United States Government that, should the Soviet Government agree to the proposal, a preliminary meeting of the representatives of the powers principally concerned

might be convened in Paris early in May to negotiate a draft of the necessary protocol to the Treaty of Peace with Italy. The United States Government feels that in the interest of terminating the present unsettled situation in the Free Territory of Trieste and restoring peace and stability in the area, early action by the interested powers is required. The Government of the United States would be glad to have the views of the Italian Government regarding this suggested procedure.

¹ Delivered on Apr. 6, 1948, and released to the press on Apr. 7.

² Delivered on Apr. 9, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

April 9, 1948.

The Acting Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to refer to the United States Government's communication of March 20, 1948, in which it was proposed that the Soviet Government agree to early consideration, jointly with the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Italy, of the negotiation of a protocol to the Treaty of Peace with Italy to provide for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty. As His Excellency is aware, similar communications were addressed by the Governments of France and the United Kingdom to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and by the Governments of France, the United

Kingdom and the United States to the Government of Italy.

The Italian Government has now replied favorably, and should the Soviet Government also look with favor on the proposal, it is the view of the United States Government that a preliminary meeting of representatives of the powers principally concerned might be convened in Paris early in May to negotiate a draft of the necessary protocol to the Italian Treaty. The United States Government feels that in the interest of terminating the present unsettled situation in the Free Territory of Trieste and restoring peace and stability in the area, early action by the interested powers is required. The United States Government would be grateful therefore for an early expression of the views of the Soviet Government.

International Joint Commission Meets To Discuss Canadian Boundary Waters

[Released to the press April 8]

At its regular meeting in Washington on April 7, the International Joint Commission (on boundary waters, United States and Canada) appointed the Engineering Boards which will conduct investigations under the two references which the Governments of Canada and of the United States made to the International Joint Commission on January 12, 1948.⁴ These studies will concern numerous streams in the vicinity of the international boundary from the Continental Divide on the west to and including the basin of the Red River of the North on the east.

Later that same day the Engineering Boards, all members of which were in Washington, held an organizational meeting and established operating procedures and outlined steps to make the necessary investigations and reports to the Commission.

Since the matters referred by the two Governments to the International Joint Commission fall in two separate areas, two Boards with identical membership were established, one to be known as the International Waterton-Belly Rivers Engineering Board and the other as the International Souris-Red Rivers Engineering Board.

The initial steps in each of the two references will be to investigate and report upon the water requirements arising out of the existing dams and other works or projects located in the waters which

are of common interest and to ascertain whether further uses of these waters within their respective boundaries by Canada and the United States would be practical in the public interest from the points of view of the two Governments. The division of the flows of the St. Mary and Milk Rivers, as now provided by treaty, will not be affected by this work.

The members of the Boards are:

CANADA

Chairman—Victor Meek, Department of Mines and Resources

A. L. Stevenson, Department of Agriculture

T. M. Patterson, Department of Mines and Resources

UNITED STATES

Chairman—J. W. Dixon, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior

Maj. Gen. R. C. Crawford, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army

C. G. Paulsen, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior

Visit of Prince Charles, Regent of Belgium

On April 4, 1948, Prince Charles, Regent of Belgium, arrived in Washington for a visit in the United States. He was a guest at the White House on April 7 and at the Blair House on April 8 and 9. During his stay in Washington he visited Arlington National Cemetery, Mount Vernon, and Annapolis, and also made an inspection of the installations of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

³ Delivered on Apr. 9, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

⁴ BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1948, p. 151.

Moreover, it is doubtful that such a provision would be any more acceptable to the taxing authorities of other countries.

The delegates to the Chicago Civil Aviation Conference of 1944 recommended the holding of an international conference which, in giving consideration to drafts of conventions adopted by the CITEJA in 1931, relating to the recognition and international protection of rights in aircraft, would have for its purpose the adoption of a suitable convention on this subject. Prior to the meeting of the Legal Committee of ICAO at Brussels in September 1937 the Government of the United States instructed the heads of its diplomatic missions to inform the governments to which they were accredited of the great importance which this Government attaches to the wide-spread adoption of a convention on the recognition of rights in aircraft in which there would be incorporated certain basic principles deemed to be of the utmost importance in financing the sale of aircraft. From contacts that have been made with the industry in this country, it has been found that it favors this Government's views as to the importance of bringing about the adoption of a convention on this subject.

The draft convention prepared by the Legal Committee at Brussels will be on the agenda of the Second Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) which is scheduled to meet on the first of June 1948. Although the governments to be represented at the sessions of the Assembly will be free to submit proposals in regard to the Brussels draft, it is to be hoped that, in view of the very careful and detailed consideration which has been given to this subject over a long period at various international meetings, the Assembly will adopt and have opened for signature a convention in substantially the form in which the present draft was drawn up by the Legal Committee at Brussels.⁵ Any development which might necessitate a re-submission of the entire project to the various governments for further study would be regrettable and would tend to discourage any efforts toward the adoption of a suitable convention over an indefinite period.

Maritime Conference—Continued from page 505

ANNEX C

United Nations Maritime Conference

A RESOLUTION BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION RELATING TO THE REPORT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS ON CO-ORDINATION OF SAFETY AT SEA AND IN THE AIR

WHEREAS Part VII of the Convention of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization places upon the Maritime Safety Committee the duty of co-ordinating its activities with those of other intergovernmental bodies in the field of transport and communications having an interest in maritime safety, and

WHEREAS A special Preparatory Committee of Experts, representing intergovernmental organizations in the fields of aviation, meteorology, shipping and telecommunications, has recently met in London to consider principles for the co-ordination of activities in those four fields,

WHEREAS The report of the Preparatory Committee (circulated to the Conference as Document E/CONF. 4/8) will be considered at the forthcoming conference to revise the Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, to be held in London in April 1948.

RESOLVES That this Conference direct its President to inform the Conference on Safety of Life at Sea that the Conclusions contained in paragraph 21 of the Report of the Preparatory Committee of Experts were taken into consideration by this Conference when drafting Part VII of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization Convention which establishes the Maritime Safety Committee.

[Here follows Annex D: Draft Agreement on Relationship Between the United Nations and the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization.]

PUBLICATIONS

Soviet Supply Protocols Made Public

[Released to the press April 9]

The Department of State released to the public on April 9 the texts of four protocols which formed the basis of United States, British, and Canadian material assistance to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the war against the Axis. The document, Department of State publication 2759, European Series 22, entitled *Soviet Supply Protocols*, may be obtained in pamphlet form from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at 35 cents a copy.

The *Soviet Supply Protocols*, while indicating the quantities of supplies which the United States committed itself to provide, does not indicate the extent to which materials were actually delivered to the Soviet Union. United States offerings were reduced under the terms of the protocols by Soviet selections to accord with available shipping. Additional requests of the Soviet Government for urgently needed items were met wherever possible by additions to protocol schedules or by substitution for scheduled items. Shipping failures and resultant production curtailment and, in the third and fourth protocols, shipments in excess of protocol commitments, were factors which caused variance with original protocol plans. Information covering the supplies actually delivered to the Soviet Union during the war period may be found in the *Twenty-First Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations* and other publications of the United States Government.

⁵The full text of the draft convention as approved by the Legal Committee at Brussels on Sept. 25, 1947, may be found in Appendix "C" (ICAO doc. 4627-LC/63) to the report of the Legal Committee to the Second Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO doc. 4629-LC/65).

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DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS: A New Monthly Periodical

The first issue of *Documents and State Papers*, a new official monthly periodical of the Department of State, was released on April 16. It contains a specially prepared policy paper surveying Allied policy in the Japanese reeducation program, the basic directive to SCAP for the occupation of Japan, and a translation of the Constitution of the Italian Republic.

The need for a periodical to provide an additional source for documentary data has long been recognized. Rapidly changing developments in international affairs have made it necessary to document this Government's position more fully and adequately.

The weekly DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN will continue to carry current official announcements, articles, and statements on principal international developments. *Documents and State Papers* will include documentary reports and texts, specially prepared policy papers, texts of treaties and international agreements, basic background studies, and selected official documents and statements. Such subjects as United States occupation policies, participation in the United Nations, international conferences, foreign economic policies, and treaty developments, as well as general aspects of foreign policy, will be treated.

Under the direction of E. Wilder Spaulding, Chief of the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, Angelo Eagon will be Editor of *Documents and State Papers* and will continue as Editor of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN.

Documents and State Papers may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Subscription \$3.00 a year; single copy 30¢.)

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The Department of State

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

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF TEXTILES IN THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

by Stanley Nehmer and Marguerite C. Crimmins

To achieve the objective of creating a permanently peaceful, democratic state in Japan, it is necessary to establish in that country a self-supporting economy. Japan must import many raw materials and at least one fifth of her food to survive; and in order to pay for those imports, she must redevelop her international trade. The most important industries to rehabilitate in Japan, with an objective of enabling the Japanese to be self-supporting, are the textile industries. This article is designed to point up the significance of the textile industries in the domestic economy and in the foreign trade of Japan.

PREWAR SIGNIFICANCE OF JAPAN'S TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Contribution to Production and Employment

During the prewar period, the textile industries were among the more important segments of the Japanese economy. In 1928, textiles accounted for 40 percent of the total value of Japan's factory production and absorbed 52 percent of all industrial labor. This high proportion of value of production and employment was not maintained, however, over the next decade. Changes in the character of the Japanese economy, which involved the rapid expansion of the war-supporting metal, machinery, and chemicals industries, were responsible for the decline in the relative importance of the textile industries although they still ranked among Japan's major industries. By 1936, textiles accounted for 29 percent of the total value of factory production and about 38 percent of total industrial employment.

Measured by both of the above criteria, in 1928 the cotton and silk industries were the largest and most active ones, while wool ranked third and rayon had not yet been developed significantly. By 1936 such changes as the decline in the price of silk and the further development of cotton, wool, and rayon caused a shift in the relative importance of the various textiles. Chart 1 summarizes the contribution of each of the textile industries in 1928 and 1936.

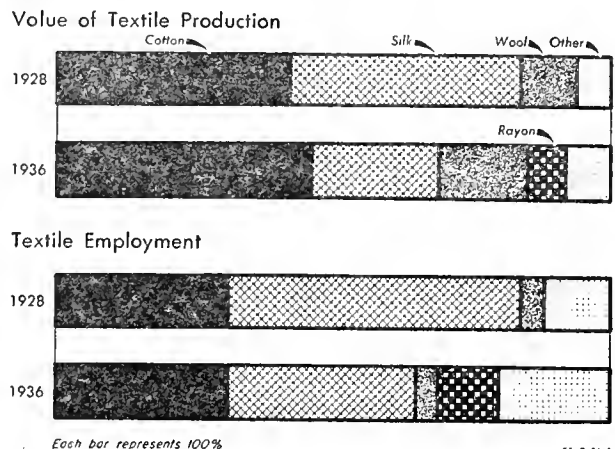
Contribution to Trade

Important as the textile industries were to the internal economy of Japan, they had equal or greater significance in Japan's foreign trade. In 1930 the value of exports of all textile raw materials and products amounted to 501 million dollars, or 55 percent of the value of Japan's total exports. In the same year the cost of imports of textile raw materials and products totaled 271 million dollars, or 27 percent of the cost of Japan's total imports. By 1936 the textile industry contributed somewhat less to Japan's total foreign trade; textile exports accounted for 485 million dollars, or 48 percent of Japan's total exports, and textile imports of 349 million dollars represented 33 percent of total imports.

Each of the branches of the textile industry differed with respect to its net contribution to Japan's foreign exchange. Silk, a native product of Japan, required no imported raw materials in its manufacture. The entire value of exported silk, therefore, was an addition to Japan's foreign exchange. Cotton, wool, and rayon textiles, on the other hand, required heavy raw-material imports

Chart 1

COMPARATIVE POSITION OF JAPAN'S TEXTILE INDUSTRIES, 1928-36



Each bar represents 100%

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since no cotton or wool was grown in Japan and because sufficient good-quality rayon pulp was not available. Since the cost of raw cotton and wool absorbed a large percentage of the value of the finished product, cotton and wool textile exports were not such good sources of foreign exchange as were silk exports. In fact, in the period 1928-36 the value of identifiable cotton and wool exports did not cover the cost of raw cotton and wool imports. The reason for this "deficit", of course, was that Japanese domestic consumption of cotton and wool absorbed a large proportion of these two imports. With restricted domestic consumption, however, both of these branches of the textile industry could yield a net addition to the foreign-exchange account. In the case of imported pulp for rayon, its cost does not absorb such a large proportion of the value of the finished product as do raw cotton and wool, and since the value added by manufacture in the rayon industry is relatively large, the rayon industry can pay its own way more easily than either the cotton or wool industries and can probably make a net contribution to Japan's foreign-exchange position.

Raw Silk Trade. Japan's silk industry encountered serious difficulties during the 1930's. Exports of raw silk fluctuated between 470,000 bales in 1930 and 553,000 bales in 1935, and then declined to 386,000 bales in 1939. The price of raw silk dropped from \$5.07 a pound in 1928 to a low of \$1.30 in 1934 and then rose gradually to a peak of \$2.79 in 1940. Some of the factors responsible for the falling value of Japan's raw-silk exports were Japan's devaluation of the yen, which appears to have had no prolonged effect on increasing silk exports; a declining market after 1935 in the United States, which had absorbed an average of 95 percent of Japan's raw-silk exports in 1928-32, because of growing competition from rayon; and the world-wide depression, which affected the foregoing factors and generally unstabilized the world silk market. Consequently, the contribution which raw silk made to Japan's foreign exchange dropped severely during this period. In 1928 exports of raw and waste silk totaled 350 million dollars, but by 1936 this figure had fallen to 142 million dollars. Even so, in the latter year raw-silk exports still played a major role in Japan's foreign trade, contributing 11 percent of the value of all exports.

Cotton Trade. Of Japan's cotton textiles, cotton piece goods was the most outstanding item in Japan's export trade. In 1928 exports of cotton piece goods totaled 189 million dollars and in 1936 amounted to 151 million dollars. These same exports contributed 17 percent of the value of total

Japanese exports in 1930 and 15 percent in 1936.

Rayon and Wool Trade. Rayon and wool exports were much smaller in magnitude than either cotton or silk exports, but both grew in importance in the 1928-36 period. Exports of rayon yarn and piece goods were valued at approximately 22 million dollars in 1930 and 56 million dollars in 1936. More wool piece goods were imported than exported up until 1932 and the same was true of wool yarn until 1933. In the latter year exports of these two wool products were valued at 7 million dollars. This figure rose to 22 million dollars by 1936.

Japanese Trade Practices. Complaints concerning Japanese competition arose from many quarters during the 1930's. Most of these took the form of charges that Japan was "dumping", that it was exploiting its labor, that it devalued the yen in order to gain a competitive advantage in international trade, that the Japanese Government assisted its export industries with subsidies, and that Japanese manufacturers imitated American goods.

In 1935 the U.S. Tariff Commission in an investigation of complaints against Japanese trade practices found that virtually no valid basis existed for most of the various charges.¹ It discovered that instead of selling goods abroad at less than cost ("dumping"), the Japanese were actually making "unprecedented profits" on those goods; that there was no significant change in the real wages of industrial workers in Japan from the end of 1931 to the end of 1934, the period during which Japan greatly expanded its foreign trade; and that the devaluation of the yen was dictated largely by forces over which the Japanese Government had no control, although the degree of devaluation was probably influenced by trade considerations.

Indeed, there is considerable evidence that although the Japanese did not engage in the many practices charged, other markets raised barriers against Japanese goods. The British Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organizations reported that

"In June 1936 cotton piece goods exported from Japan were subjected to restrictive measures in 56 out of 106 markets which are distinguished in Japanese export statistics. . . . In 40 of these cases the restriction took the form of a quantitative limitation, while in the other 16 cases restriction took the form of a tariff preference in favor of Japan's principal competitor—the United Kingdom. The quantity of trade affected by the restrictions was about 67 percent of total Japanese piece goods exports in 1935."²

Quotas generally seem to have had greater effect than tariffs in restricting Japanese exports, but despite these barriers, Japan exported approximately 2.9 billion square yards of cotton piece goods during each of 1935 and 1936, which were all-time peak years for export of these goods.

¹ U.S. Tariff Commission, *Japan's Competitive Position in International Trade*, May 1935, part II, pp. 52-68.

² Quoted in International Labour Office, *The World Textile Industry*, 1937, vol. I, p. 181; from Manchester Chamber of Commerce, *Monthly Record*, no. 9, Sept. 30, 1936, p. 369.

STATUS UNDER THE OCCUPATION

Policies of the Allied occupation of Japan have molded to a significant degree the postwar status of the Japanese textile industry. Action by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) toward rehabilitating the Japanese textile industry has been the result of the implementation of Allied occupation objectives as set forth in the Potsdam declaration and subsequent Far Eastern Commission (FEC) policy decisions.

It was early recognized that the occupation of Japan would entail large financial outlays by the United States to sustain the Japanese people in order to prevent disease and unrest which would endanger the security of the occupation forces. As a measure to keep to a minimum the United States financial outlays, it was decided to rehabilitate Japanese textile industries as rapidly as possible. This decision was dictated not only by the prewar experience of Japan's textile industries, but also by a number of other favorable factors. The world shortage of textiles, stemming from the economic dislocations caused by the war, provided a ready market for Japan's output. Stocks of raw cotton and wool were more readily available than some of the other raw-material imports necessary for the manufacture of commodities for export; and stocks of raw silk, an entirely indigenous product, were immediately available for export. Finally, effort was directed toward the textile industries too, because they were not war-supporting industries.

Steps Toward Rehabilitation

The first step in Allied policy toward this end was the sending of a fact-finding mission to Japan in January 1946 to appraise the capabilities of the Japanese textile industry. The Textile Mission consisted of Representatives of China, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States.³ The Textile Mission found that Japan's textile industries had suffered great devastation during the war, not only from bomb damage, but also from the organized scrapping of textile machinery by the Japanese Government, and had emerged with about one third of their prewar capacity. Most of the spindles, looms, reeling basins, et cetera, that remained needed rehabilitation to be operable. Despite their seriously impaired productive capacity, however, the textile industries appeared to be the major crutches upon which the broken Japanese economy would have to lean heavily, particularly in the early postwar years.

The conclusions of the Textile Mission supported the hypothesis held in Washington that of all Japan's textile industries the cotton-textile industry could be most easily rehabilitated. The existence in the United States of large Government-held stocks of raw cotton made this step feasible. In February 1946, the War Department, the U. S. Commercial Company (USCC), the Com-

modity Credit Corporation (CCC), and the Department of State, as a concurring agency, entered into an agreement under which about 900,000 bales of raw cotton, held by CCC, was sent to Japan during the ensuing year and a half for manufacture. At least 60 percent of the finished yarn and piece goods was to be sold by the USCC and the proceeds applied to the cost of the raw cotton. Under the agreement the balance of the textiles could be used for domestic consumption, but the need to maximize foreign-exchange receipts to pay for food and other essential imports resulted in the decision that a smaller quantity would be retained than allowed in the contract. Under an extension of this agreement executed in July 1947 an additional 350,000 bales of raw cotton and spinnable cotton waste was supplied Japan from the United States.

In addition, SCAP-negotiated agreements with India and Egypt have provided for Japanese imports of 170,000 bales of Indian cotton and 5,000 bales of Egyptian cotton. From July 1946, when raw-cotton imports were first reflected in increased cotton-yarn production, through September 1947, Japan produced 330,500,000 pounds of cotton yarn, part of which was woven by the latter date into 705,800,000 square yards of cloth.⁴

With the encouragement of the United States Government and SCAP, the Japanese Government and the textile industries formulated plans for the rehabilitation of the industries. On December 30, 1946, SCAP granted the cotton-spinning industry permission to borrow 600 million yen for rehabilitation purposes.⁵ On February 7, 1947, SCAP authorized the rebuilding of the cotton-textile industry to the level of four million spindles;⁶ and on April 4, 1947, SCAP authorized the rebuilding of rayon capacity to a level of 150,000 metric tons annually.⁷

SCAP encouraged raw-silk production in the belief that large quantities could be sold, especially to the United States, although in smaller quantities than in the prewar period. During 1946 and 1947, however, it became clear that competition from synthetic fibers and high prices for raw silk had reduced the raw-silk market even more than had been anticipated, although it appeared that the market for Japanese-produced silk fabric had perhaps been underestimated. In July 1947, SCAP authorized the release of 10,000 bales of raw silk a month to Japanese weavers for manufacture into silk fabric for export.

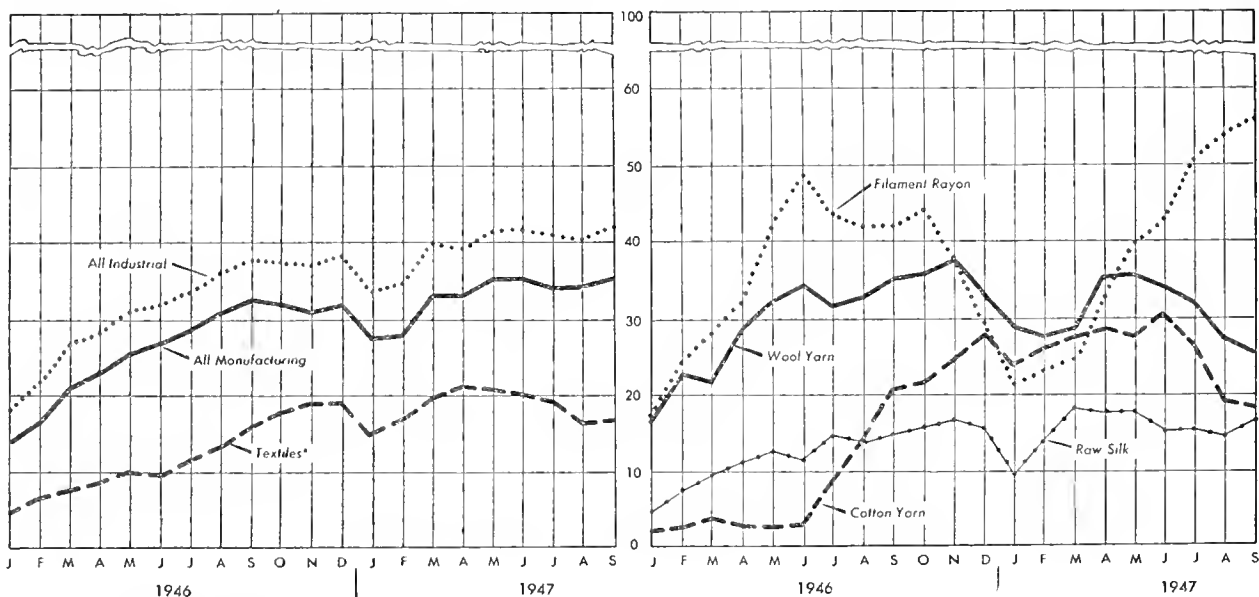
³ *The Textile Mission to Japan*, Report to the War Department and to the Department of State, January-March 1946 (Department of State publication 2619).

⁴ SCAP report to Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, Washington; radio no. Z28684, Nov. 13, 1947.

⁵ SCAPIN 1427 (Memorandum for the Japanese Government).

⁶ SCAPIN 1512.

⁷ SCAPIN 1600.



*Includes only raw silk, cotton, wool and spun silk yarn, and cotton, wool, and rayon woven goods

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In August 1947 SCAP released a program for the rehabilitation of the woolen industry. This program envisaged the rebuilding of the industry's capacity to a level of 733,000 worsted spindles and 815 woolen cards and the consumption of 665,000 bales of wool annually.⁸

FEC Policies

Certain policy decisions by the Far Eastern Commission have created a framework within which the textile industry must function. One such decision, issued January 23, 1947, determined "that the peaceful needs of the Japanese people should be defined as being substantially the standard of living prevailing in Japan during the period of 1930-34". Although this policy does not fix a specific maximum level for any particular industry, with reference to the textile industry this policy might be taken to mean that domestic consumption of textiles in peacetime Japan should average not more than about 8.7 pounds per capita, the average 1930-34 consumption. However, this level is far above present levels and is unattainable at the present time owing to the low level of textile production and the need to maximize exports.

Another FEC policy decision, issued February 27, 1947,⁹ established the policy on grounds of the

world-wide shortage of textiles that Japanese use of textiles through December 31, 1947, should not exceed an annual per-capita consumption of two and a half pounds for all household textiles and clothing, with specified additional amounts available for workers and farmers and others at the discretion of SCAP. Actual consumption in 1947, however, has averaged less than this level—perhaps two pounds per capita. Although this policy decision is no longer operative due to the passage of time, it is nearly certain that Japanese domestic consumption during 1948 will not exceed two and a half pounds per capita and will probably be less than two pounds.

Postwar Textile Output

Despite serious efforts by the Japanese Government and encouragement from SCAP, in August 1947 the monthly index of textile production was below the average for all manufacturing groups, although textile output has increased more rapidly than that of some other industries. The index of factory production¹⁰ for January 1946 stood at 13.5 (1930-34=100) while textiles during the same month registered only 4.5. In this month the overall index of industrial production was 17.7. By April 1947 the textile group had reached 21.0, its postwar peak, compared with 32.8 for the manufacturing group as a whole and 39.0 for over-all industrial production. Since April, however, the textile index has dropped considerably owing to reduced availability of cotton. Chart 2 summarizes the production indexes for cotton, silk, rayon, and wool since the end of the war.

⁸ SCAP, *A Program for the Japanese Woolen Industry*, Aug. 25, 1947.

⁹ BULLETIN of Mar. 30, 1947, p. 574. See also a correction in BULLETIN of May 25, 1947, p. 1041.

¹⁰ SCAP, *Japanese Economic Statistics*, Bulletin No. 13, September 1947, pp. 7-9.

The major reasons for low textile production lie not so much in the slow rehabilitation of productive capacity as in the means for putting present capacity into operation. In each of the textile industries more machinery is in operable condition than is actually in operation. Shortages of raw materials, labor, and fuel have presented the most serious problems in the effort to increase textile production. Trade and credit difficulties have resulted in such an inadequate and uneven flow of raw cotton, wool, and rayon pulp that production schedules have been disrupted. Many textile workers who moved to rural areas as a result of urban bombings during the war have been reluctant to leave those areas, where food is comparatively ample, to work in industrial communities where there are serious food shortages. Power lags, which become particularly serious during the dry season (one fourth of the year), have forced certain textile mills to close down one or more days a week. Aggravating these operational difficulties, the general problem of inflation and uncertainties concerning financial issues have militated against investment and thus against increased production in the textile industry.

Textiles in Japan's Postwar Trade

Although the textile industries have not reestablished their prewar position relative to the other industries in Japan since the surrender, a major portion of Japanese foreign trade has been textiles. In 1946, one third of the value of Japan's imports consisted of textile raw materials, almost all of which was raw cotton. Textiles, mostly raw silk, represented over two thirds of Japan's total exports. It should be noted, however, that almost all of the raw silk exported in 1946 was on consignment to the Uscc and more than two thirds of this silk remained unsold at the end of 1946.

It was not before 1947 that the raw cotton imported in 1946 was available for export, and trade statistics for the first eight months of 1947 are somewhat more realistic as a pattern of Japanese postwar trade. Textile raw-material imports during this period amounted to 31 million dollars, almost all of which was spent for raw cotton, or approximately 9 percent of total imports.¹¹ Textile exports, on the other hand, accounted for 94 million dollars, or 77 percent, of total exports;¹² of total textile exports, cotton yarn and piece goods contributed 74 million dollars, or 79 percent; raw silk and silk piece goods, 11 million dollars, or 12 percent; rayon yarn and piece goods and wool yarn and piece goods, approximately 3 million dollars apiece, or 3 percent each. It is apparent from these figures that silk exports suffered a great decline between 1946 and 1947 and that cotton exports had become much more significant. If silk-fabric exports expand in the future, as seems very likely, this relation between silk and cotton exports—the major textile-export items in

Japan's prewar trade—may be less far apart in the future.

Until August 15, 1947, trade with Japan was conducted almost entirely on a government-to-government basis. The Japanese Government Board of Trade, *Boeki Cho*, was the nominal principal on the Japanese side of all export and all import transactions. In practically every such transaction the buyer from or seller to Japan was a foreign government or government corporation (the U. S. Commercial Company in the case of exports to the United States) or private firms specifically designated by their governments to carry on trade with Japan. Private businessmen were invited to Japan for the first time under the occupation in the summer of 1947 with August 15 as the opening date. Beginning September 1, *Boeki Cho* was authorized to enter into sales contracts with private foreign traders in Japan for the export of practically all types of Japanese goods currently being produced for export, with the exceptions of cotton textiles, raw silk, and the 1947 tea crop. With reference to cotton textiles, the U. S. Commercial Company's sales policy was to sell only to governments in order to keep sales on a large-scale basis, to keep selling expenses low, and to avoid the problem of discriminating among competing private firms in foreign countries. Raw silk was not at first offered to private buyers because the Uscc had given certain price guaranties to the silk trade in the United States, and price and sales policies to be followed by *Boeki Cho* had to be carefully coordinated with those of Uscc. When this coordination was accomplished, raw silk was added to the list of commodities which could be purchased by private foreign traders in Japan.

Restrictions on the entry of businessmen into Japan were relaxed in February 1948 so as to provide for longer stays in Japan and for semi-permanent residence.¹³ It is hoped that these changes in SCAP regulations will increase substantially the number of foreign traders in Japan and lead directly to an expanded volume of foreign trade. It is assumed, for example, that many American and foreign firms specializing in the textile trade will consider establishing offices or agencies in Japan through which they can arrange to secure Japanese textiles to fill the needs of their customers. Eventually Japanese nationals will be permitted to travel abroad for commercial purposes and the marketing of textiles will undoubtedly be a fruitful commercial activity for such travelers. In the meantime, however, it

¹¹ SCAP, Economic and Scientific Section, *Report on Japanese Trade for the Far Eastern Commission*, Dec. 5, 1947.

¹² It is reported that for all of 1947, textiles represented 56 percent of Japan's exports.

¹³ BULLETIN of Feb. 22, 1948, p. 254.

will be necessary for foreign textile merchants to market Japanese production.

A change in trade procedure occurred at the end of 1947 when the USCC terminated its Japanese program. Its responsibility for the sale of raw silk, silk piece goods, cotton yarn, and cotton piece goods in the United States was transferred to a newly established "SCAP Foreign Trade New York Office" under the supervision of a SCAP representative who also acts as an agent of *Boeki Cho*. This office will be maintained only until private trade channels have been opened up sufficiently to assure a maximizing of Japanese export proceeds without such an agency. The office is empowered to negotiate contracts with American dealers for Japanese commodities, in addition to the ones mentioned above, although American dealers and foreign traders will be able to buy goods in Japan on the same terms and at the same prices as those quoted by the New York office. The office also maintains a showroom, makes Japanese trade information available to the United States market, and supplies United States market information to SCAP and *Boeki Cho*.

THE FUTURE UNDER THE OCCUPATION: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The significance of textiles in the Japanese economy makes the rehabilitation of Japan's textile industries essential to a self-supporting economy, and consequently, to the successful achievement of the aims of the occupation and a minimization of the costs to the United States and its Allies of supporting Japan. The rehabilitation of the Japanese textile industries is dependent partly upon the solution or amelioration of Japan's domestic economic problems, partly upon United States and Allied policies, and partly upon the world conditions of supply and demand for textile raw materials and finished products. The extent to which these industries are rehabilitated will be a factor in determining the post-occupation status of the Japanese economy and the contribution which Japan can make to the rehabilitation of the world economy.

Japan's internal economic problems, such as the availability of trained labor and of fuel and power for textile mills, are affected by occupation policy even though it is not within the purview of the Allied occupation to engage in the operations of Japanese industry. For example, the availability of labor can be correlated with the availability of food in urban areas; the adequacy of food, in turn, is determined partly by the amount of United States outlays, partly by the volume of Japanese exports to pay for food imports, and partly by world food supplies.

As long as the occupation continues and the Japanese are not permitted to participate freely in world trade, Allied policies will affect the procurement of textile raw materials and the mar-

keting of finished textiles. Even the most favorable Allied policies toward the rehabilitation of the Japanese textile industries, however, cannot solve the problems of world shortages of raw materials or market antipathy toward the products Japan is trying to sell.

Cotton

The cotton-textile industry, which may be expected to continue to provide a large share of Japan's exports, is the one which is most seriously confronted with raw material and market problems. The policies of the United States Government and FEC do not restrict Japanese raw-cotton imports to American sources, but provide for procurement from all world sources. Although, as noted above, Japan has received raw cotton from India, the development of the Indian cotton-spinning industry and internal political difficulties may preclude the procurement of as large quantities from India and Pakistan as before the war.

The procurement of United States raw cotton has had the effect of requiring Japan to export cotton textiles for dollars. Although the contract with the Ccc does not require textiles to be sold for dollars, its requirement that it receive the dollar value of textiles manufactured from Ccc cotton at the time of delivery, has meant that *Boeki Cho* cannot sell for currencies other than dollars unless an equivalent sum in dollars is available from some other source. For a number of months the acute shortage of cotton textiles led nondollar countries to make sufficient dollars available to buy about half of the exportable cotton textiles produced with the first Ccc cotton. The growing shortage of dollars, accumulating stocks in Japan, and a less urgent world demand for cotton textiles open the possibility of Japanese cotton goods entering the United States. Because of the present tariff structure, however, it is doubtful whether the volume of cotton textiles which Japan could sell in the United States would be large enough to have an effect on the United States market which American producers supplied with their output of almost 10 billion square yards in 1947.

Silk

The Japanese silk industry has no raw-material problem, but, as noted, it has suffered from the failure of Japan's former markets, especially the United States, to import significant quantities of raw silk. No large increase in exports of raw silk is anticipated because of the greater popularity of nylon for hosiery, although silk fabrics have certain desirable qualities not found in fabrics made from synthetic fibers. Raw-silk exports will probably go almost entirely for fabric manufacture in the United States, France, and the United Kingdom, and it is believed that during the next few years Japanese-manufactured silk-fabric exports will increase substantially.

Wool

The Japanese woolen industry has both a raw-material and a market problem. The industry is almost wholly dependent upon imported wools which before the war came chiefly from Australia. A small quantity of Australian wool was shipped during the latter part of 1947 on a virtual cash dollar basis. At the beginning of 1948 the Australian Government announced that Australia would exchange raw wool for Japanese textiles and other products, in amounts depending upon the volume of Japanese goods which Australia is able to use. No details as to quantities of materials concerned have at present been announced.

Japan's major wool-textile markets before the war were China, Manchuria, Korea, and other Far Eastern countries. As long as present political and economic conditions in the Far East continue, Japan will have to look elsewhere for its wool textile export markets. It would appear that both raw material and market problems will limit the extent of rehabilitation of the Japanese wool industry.

Rayon

The Japanese rayon industry could probably sell its products without much difficulty in world markets today because of the current rayon short-

age. In order for Japan to manufacture rayon of suitable quality for export, however, rayon pulp must be imported since most domestic rayon pulp is of inferior quality. A world shortage of rayon pulp as well as credit difficulties have prevented significant rayon-pulp purchases. Internally, Japanese producers have faced the problem of securing coal for rayon production, a serious obstacle because of the coal shortage. A larger quantity of coal is required to produce a given quantity of rayon textiles than is required to produce a comparable quantity of cotton, wool, or silk textiles. As long as Japan suffers from an acute shortage of coal, it may be uneconomical to divert to the rayon industry coal which otherwise could be used by other branches of the textile industry (e.g., cotton) in production for export. In addition, certain essential chemicals—caustic soda and sulphuric acid—are produced in Japan only from imported raw materials and coal, and hence are also in short supply. Thus, the rehabilitation of the rayon industry will be determined by the availability of rayon pulp, coal, and chemicals.

It may take from five to ten years to solve the problems which are facing Japan's textile industries today. The significance of these industries to the Japanese economy and to United States and Allied policies make these problems of concern to us.

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SECOND SESSION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

By Helen G. Kelly

The Administrative Council of the International Telecommunication Union held its second session at Geneva, from January 20 to February 11, 1948. The Administrative Council, which was set up by the International Telecommunication Conference at Atlantic City in the autumn of 1947, constituted one of the outstanding innovations in the reorganization of the Union. Its particular purpose was to assure the continuity of the authority of the Union in the interval between plenipotentiary conferences, as well as to assure the coordination of the activities of the other permanent organs of the Union and of the Union with other international organizations such as the United Nations and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). The Telecommunication Conference elected the following 18 countries as members of the Council: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Egypt, France, Italy, Lebanon, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia.

¹The Council, at its first day's meeting, was presented with a difficult problem. The Soviet Administration, three days before the convening of the Council, sent a telegram to the Secretary General of the Union advising that its Representative was ill and would be unable to attend. The Soviet Administration requested that the Council session be deferred until March 1. Considering this problem as the first item on its agenda, the Council reached the conclusion that the meeting should not be postponed. It based its decision on the fact that by the time the Soviet Administration had notified the Secretary General most of the representatives had either arrived at Geneva or were en route thereto. Since many had come long distances, it was felt that the expenditure of funds was too great to allow a postponement. In addition, it was maintained that the members of the Council are countries and not individuals and that a second representative should be designated in the event that the first one is unable to attend.

No provision had been made in the convention for the appointment of an acting chairman, and the second problem confronting the Council was one of interpretation of the new convention. The Council finally elected by unanimous vote the United States Representative, Mr. de Wolf, as acting chairman. It included a provision in the rules of procedure that in the future, should a similar situation arise, the four vice chairmen would choose an acting chairman by agreement or by lot.

At its first session, an organizational meeting held at Atlantic City, the Council elected the following countries as vice chairmen: China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Francis Colt de Wolf, Chief of the Telecommunications Division of the Department of State, was designated by this Government as the Representative of the United States on the Council. In accordance with the provisions of the convention, the vice chairmen then chose the chairman of the Council by agreement among themselves and their unanimous choice was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Mr. Fortoushenko, the chairman of the Soviet Delegation to the three Atlantic City conferences, served as the Soviet Representative and hence as the chairman at this first session. The second session was scheduled to convene at Geneva on January 20, 1948.

At its second session the Council met daily except Sunday for three weeks and reached approximately 35 decisions, resolutions, and opinions which were consolidated into one document at the end of the session. These covered a wide field including practically every phase of the operation of the Union.

The members of the Council enumerated above were represented at the second session, with the exception of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.¹ The Polish, Turkish, and Colombian Representatives arrived late, and Brazil was represented by its Minister at Bern. The Chairman of the International Frequency Registration Board (IRRB) and the Director of the International Telephone Consultative Committee (CICR) sat as observers at the meetings of the Council as provided in the convention.

Mr. de Wolf was assisted at the second session by two advisers, Helen G. Kelly and John D. Tomlinson, both of the Department of State.

Among the more important administrative and financial decisions of the Council were the following:

1. The Council approved the budget for 1948 at the ceiling of 3,000,000 Swiss francs set by the At-

lantic City conferences. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Council was most economy-minded and viewed with disfavor any unnecessary expenditure of funds and particularly any attempt to exceed the ceiling mentioned above. The Budget Subcommittee, which undertook its task of the examination of the finances of the Union in a most serious and painstaking manner, presented a report which the Council adopted with very little discussion.

2. The original provision that the General Secretariat of the Union (formerly called the Bureau of the Union) should be transferred from Bern to Geneva during the current year was set aside because of the lack of funds. The Council agreed to this measure in order that it might remain within the budgetary limitations set at Atlantic City. The transfer of the General Secretariat will take place on January 1, 1949.

3. The Council agreed to the transfer of the International Telephone Consultative Committee (CCIT) secretariat and laboratories to Geneva during the course of 1948, the expense for moving being defrayed by the CCIT itself.

4. The Council agreed that as of January 1, 1949, the free distribution of the documents of the Union should be discontinued. This was made necessary by the provision of the new convention that French, English, and Spanish should be the working languages of the Union instead of only French as in the past. It was agreed that the accounting necessary by the General Secretariat would be too difficult since it would require the estimation of the costs involved in preparing documents in three different languages, where many of the expenses would be common to all three languages but in different proportion.

The agenda contained numerous items concerning various aspects of the relationship between the Union and the United Nations, as well as with other international organizations. Most of these items were deferred to the September meeting of the Council because of the lack of time. In the meantime, reports will be prepared by the Secretary General on many of these questions and final decisions will be reached at the September meeting. In general the attitude of the Council toward the United Nations was one of cooperation and friendliness. However, as at Atlantic City, there was evidenced a desire to remain autonomous. A lack of coordination between the Secretariat of the United Nations and the Secretariat of the Union was obvious, particularly in the failure of the United Nations Secretariat to bring to the attention of the Union Secretariat matters of direct concern to the Union. The Secretary General of the Union was directed by the Council to bring this matter to the attention of the Secretary-General

of the United Nations and to discuss it informally with the Director of the Transport and Communications Division of the United Nations Secretariat.

The Council also considered the question of ITC representation at international conferences (other than ITC conferences) in which the Union is interested. There was some thought that the Union could be represented by one of the officials of the General Secretariat or by a member of the Administrative Council. After discussion it was finally agreed that no one person could make decisions for the Union at such meetings but that it was desirable to have the Union represented by the Secretary General or a person designated by him who would supply information concerning the Union but who would go no further.

The Council approved the calling of the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference at Geneva on May 15, 1948.² In accordance with the decision of the Council, a telegram was sent to the signatories of the Atlantic City convention, requesting their approval of the calling of this Conference. The approval of a majority, as required before the Conference could be convened, was attained. It was decided that a preparatory group of experts would proceed to Geneva three weeks before the Conference convenes to prepare its agenda.

The Council also approved the calling of the Administrative Telephone and Telegraph Conference at Paris on May 1, 1949, by the French Government. In addition it approved a recommendation by the Provisional Frequency Board (PFB) of the Union for the convening of certain regional conferences to implement the decisions of the Atlantic City Radio Conference.

Various political questions arose and were forwarded to the Council while it was in session. The first was a request for an expression of opinion from the preparatory committee of experts of eight countries at Brussels preparing for the European Broadcasting Conference at Copenhagen. The Soviet Delegation to the Committee of Eight had requested a provision in the rules of procedure requiring unanimity in all decisions reached. The Council advised the Committee of Eight that, while the latter was free to adopt its own rules of procedure, the Council looked with disfavor on the adoption of a rule contrary to the long-established custom and spirit of the ITC.

The second resulted in the approval by the Council of the participation of the International Broadcasting Organization (OIB) in the forthcoming International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR) Conference at Stockholm.

The third was the report of the chairman of the Provisional Frequency Board (PFB), which outlined the progress of the Board up to date and included a statement on the divergence of views between the Soviet Delegation and the United

² This is the first conference to be called by the Union and not by an inviting government.

(Continued on page 555)

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

U.S. Regards Information to Security Council on Political Developments in Czechoslovakia Necessary

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

U.S. Representative in the Security Council

The Security Council has been considering the serious charges made before it both against the Soviet Union and the present Czechoslovak Government with respect to the recent events that have taken place in Czechoslovakia.

It is charged that the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, legally constituted by the parliamentary election of May 1946, has been undermined by a Communist minority which was encouraged and given promise of help by the representatives of the U.S.S.R.

It is said that the Communist coup was successful only because of the violence of a Soviet-supported Communist minority; because of the participation of Soviet representatives; and the threat of military force of the Soviet Union in readiness near the boundaries of Czechoslovakia. Soviet officials and military representatives are alleged to have taken part in meetings and demonstrations in Prague during the crisis. It was further alleged that Soviet officers participated in the arrest of non-Communist political leaders; that Soviet agents worked in the Ministry of Interior which controls the police and the security troops; and that Soviet agents were also among the armed militia in the streets of Prague.

Allegations were made in support of the charge that Czechoslovakia was subject to indirect aggression and political infiltration which led to the subversion of the parliamentary regime and to the establishment of a terroristic police rule under the present regime.

It is further charged that the political independence of Czechoslovakia, a member of the United Nations, has been violated by threat of use of force on the part of another member of the United Nations, the U.S.S.R., in violation of paragraph 4 of article 2 of the Charter, and that as a result a situation exists which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

It has been argued that these charges cannot be considered by the Security Council because of the provision contained in article 2 (7) of the Charter providing that the United Nations cannot intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. However, the charges are based on the allegation of an illegal

intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another state leading to the impairment of its political independence. Moreover, the restoration and maintenance of democratic institutions in liberated Europe, including Czechoslovakia, was made the subject of an international agreement concluded at Yalta by Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, and President Roosevelt in February 1945. Consequently, if the charges are true, article 2(7) could clearly not be a bar to Security Council jurisdiction over the Czechoslovak question. The taking of evidence is the way to settle whether the charges are a premeditated quota of slander, as charged by the Soviet Union.

In the charges before us we are not faced with an account of armed forces moving across the frontier from one state to another in pursuance of an aggressive purpose. In such case of a "use of force" the problem of evidence for all practical purposes would not arise. However, the charges before us are that a "threat of force" was used. The Security Council must determine whether "threat of force" was used or some other form of pressure or illegal interference was applied. All the facts in this case are not readily apparent, but the seriousness of the charges is such that the Security Council is bound to make every effort to "get at the facts".

The Chilean Government, which brought the Czechoslovak question before the Security Council originally, requested the Security Council to conduct an investigation. A proposal has now been submitted by the Chilean Government for the creation of a subcommittee to hear witnesses and report to the Security Council on the nature of their testimony. We believe that this might be a convenient method for the Security Council to understand the Czechoslovak situation. I assert that the United States is behind this proposition if it is made by a member of the Council.

What were the events that led up to the death of the Foreign Minister of that country and to the numerous resignations of Czechoslovak diplomatic representatives in the United States, Canada, Netherlands, Norway, France, and elsewhere? Is the death of Masaryk propaganda poison? Are these resignations deceit circulated abroad? Why is there present along the Czechoslovak frontier an unusually heavy frontier guard and what is the significance of the flight from that country of

¹Made in the Security Council on Apr. 12, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

numerous refugees and particularly political figures whose reputation and integrity were not thrown into question prior to the rise of the new regime?

Certain facts on the developments in Czechoslovakia itself are a matter of common knowledge. They have not been reviewed in detail here, however, and they should be. They constitute the framework of internal developments against which the charges of external interference must be considered.

The Czechoslovak Government crisis was precipitated by the unwillingness of Premier Gottwald and the Communist ministers to respect two majority decisions of the Cabinet with reference to the administration of the police power under the Communist Ministry of Interior. The latter was making arbitrary appointments of police officials in a process of extending Communist control. The 12 non-Communist ministers resigned in protest as an appropriate parliamentary response to a refusal of a Cabinet minority to abide by the wish of the Cabinet majority. The Communists seized upon this as an occasion for breaking the opposition, discrediting its leaders, and taking over full control of the Government. How was it possible that this minority party could successfully overthrow the elected Government of Czechoslovakia and establish in effect a police regime?

At the time of the crisis the Communist Party was already in control of the security police, the state broadcasting apparatus, and had also secured important influence in the armed forces. This control arose as a result of a series of circumstances, beginning with the signing of a friendship treaty between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. on December 12, 1943. This was an expression of a desire on the part of the Czechoslovak Government to maintain close relations with the Soviet Union in the genuine belief that Czechoslovakia, when liberated from German occupation, would be able to continue its democratic Government and institutions without intervention from her powerful neighbor. This treaty, in fact, included a clause stipulating nonintervention by either of the parties in the other's domestic affairs. It is perhaps significant to note that this treaty was one of a series of treaties signed between the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Poland, all of which contained this guaranty. Now I ask you, are these allegations based on newspaper reports, or are they based on solemn conventions? At the same time, the Czechoslovak leaders declared their willingness to include representatives of the Communist Party in a new Cabinet, although it had never before participated in any Czechoslovak Government. They showed more than good will to cooperate with the Soviet Union and with the Communists. In the negotiations that took place in 1945 in Moscow among Czechoslovak leaders with regard to the formation of a

new Cabinet, the Communists managed to secure the key posts of Interior, Information, Agriculture, and Education. In addition, the Communists had a stronghold in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Undersecretary of State and in the Ministry of National Defense, which was headed by General Ludvig Svoboda, a professional soldier who had led the first Czechoslovak brigade in the U.S.S.R. and whose pro-Soviet sentiments are well known. These key positions as a rule, according to the Czechoslovak parliamentary practice, went to the party that received the strongest support in the elections. We can only speculate on what basis the Communists obtained them during the Moscow discussion.

Control of key posts in the Government placed the Communists during the period immediately after Czechoslovak liberation in a dominant position entirely out of proportion to their popular support. Through the Ministry of Interior they controlled the police, which they soon reorganized into the National Security Corps based on the Soviet model. The Ministry of Information gave them control over the use of mass media of communication for propaganda purposes, and the Ministry of Agriculture placed them in a position to compel allegiance from agricultural workers and small peasants.

Moreover, it will be recalled that at the time of the liberation from the German occupation four fifths of the country was occupied by Soviet troops and remained so occupied for eight subsequent months.

Despite these advantages enjoyed by the Communist Party, 62 percent of the vote in the first postwar election went to the non-Communist parties. Nevertheless, in subsequent developments the Communists ignored the fact that they were a minority and attempted to discredit and undermine non-Communist parties such as the Slovak Democrats and the National Socialists.

The Communists had given sufficient evidence before the recent seizure of power that they could not and would not tolerate any political opposition, which they identified as treason to the state. This was brought out at the time of the coup by immediate formation of action committees, the sudden appearance of a well-disciplined and fully armed factory militia in Prague, and the swift and ruthless purge of the non-Communist leaders. These steps reveal a high degree of preparation, a high degree of organization, for seizure of power. It is a pattern designed to usurp control of a state. We should ascertain to what extent outside assistance contributed to this thorough preparation. It shows how impossible it is for those who believe in government through democratic processes and parliamentary methods to cooperate in good faith with the Communists. At the time of the coup the tension in Czechoslovakia was heightened by reports of Soviet intervention and of the

presence of a large number of Soviet agents in the country. It was at this time that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Zorin arrived in Prague. Shortly thereafter during the crisis there appeared on the streets of Prague special heavily armed police shock regiments. These regiments under the command of the Communist Minister of Interior were called out to patrol the streets and to search the headquarters of opposition parties. Great numbers of armed factory militia also appeared in Prague, marching in military formation, wearing red arm bands, and carrying the Soviet flag.

All the indications of the birth of a police state were evident: complete seizure of control over broadcasting facilities, elimination of non-Communist newspaper editors, suppression of a number of non-Communist periodicals, and the imposition of complete censorship. Since the *Putsch* no true opposition publications exist in Czechoslovakia. Virtually all journalists hitherto critical of the Communists have been purged. A large number of journalists have been expelled from the association of Czech journalists, among them Lev Sychrava, Delegate to the United Nations Commission on Freedom of Information and winner of a 1947 prize as the best Czech journalist.

All non-Communist parties were purged and a number of non-Communist functionaries were arrested.

"Action committees" were formed and given full administrative control over the duly constituted organs of the Republic. There was no existing basis in Czechoslovak law for any such act.

Yet according to reports available here very little overt opposition to the Communist coup was apparent. How are we to understand that the majority of the Czechoslovak people, known for their traditional adherence to democratic majority rule, acquiesced to the Communist minority? Could it be that the coup occurred because over the shoulder of the minority glared the face of a foreign power? Is it not significant that the minority was led by individuals indoctrinated by a foreign power who had been in close association with its authorities?

There are men of universally respected reputations who have for years been a part of Czechoslovak political life and who have now found it necessary for a second time in ten years to flee their homeland. They were present during the crisis and can perhaps shed some light on the question of how it was that totalitarian police-state methods were substituted for traditional Czech democratic procedure without any significant overt expression of protest on the part of the Czechoslovakian people.

As has been pointed out in the Security Council discussions, the Czechoslovak story assumes added significance when compared with developments that have taken place throughout eastern and cen-

tral Europe. In Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland, while details varied, the general pattern was the same. Like Czechoslovakia, all these countries have been occupied by the Soviet armies. The chief steps were the acquisition by the Communists of key posts in the Cabinet; control of the police; control of the armies; control of the media of mass communications; and finally control of or subversion of the judiciary. In none of these countries did the Communists enjoy popular support sufficient to warrant their commanding position in the government. In such countries where truly free elections were held they received as little as 17 percent of the total vote, and the largest vote they received was 38 percent.

There is a striking uniformity in techniques applied by the Communists in their fight against the majority. In all five countries they concentrated their propaganda barrage against one non-Communist party after another. The familiar pattern of accusation of conspiracy against the state and of hostility to the Soviet Union was used.

Let us think of the trial of the Bulgarian peasant leader, Petkov; the trial of Maniu of Rumania; the arrest of the popular peasant leader, Kovács, in Hungary; the trials of opposition leaders in Poland; and, finally, in Czechoslovakia the charges of conspiracy against Vladimir Krajina, one of the outstanding underground leaders in the resistance against the Germans.

The remarkably similar methods lead of course to remarkably similar results. In all five countries we are now confronted with regimes controlled unquestionably and totally by the Communist parties. The policies of these regimes would seem to follow without deviation the interests of the Soviet Union.

As was the case previously in the other four countries, the new Czechoslovak regime has now cast aside the entire substance of parliamentary practice. All effective opposition leaders are removed, the opposition journalists deprived of their freedom to write, the traditional autonomy of the 600-year-old Charles University of Prague brutally violated by the dismissal of its duly elected head followed by a purge of a substantial number of its professors.

The uniformity and the smooth operation of the pattern raises the logical question whether or not there is any coordination from a central point for the implementation of this pattern. Is it not significant that the top Communists in Hungary such as the Deputy Prime Minister, Rakosi, and the economic czar, Vas, Foreign Minister Pauker in Rumania, Prime Minister Dimitrov and Foreign Minister Kolarov of Bulgaria, and the entire leadership of Czechoslovakia, including Premier Gottwald, Cabinet Ministers Fierlinger, Kopecky, Nejedly, and the Secretary General of the Communist Party, Slansky, have all spent years of active work in Moscow and have been in close as-

sociation with both the Soviet Communist leaders as well as the Communist leaders in other countries and that some of them have even become Soviet citizens?

To complete the similarity of the patterns in all those countries, is it a mere coincidence as I pointed out on Tuesday that the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vyshinsky appeared in Bucharest at the crucial moment and another Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Zorin, was present in Prague at the time of the February coup?

What is the significance of the fact that after the Czechoslovak Government had indicated its readiness to participate in the Marshall Plan this decision was reversed as a result of a telephone call to Prague from Moscow where the Czechoslovak Prime Minister and Foreign Minister had been summoned? Is it not significant that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as well as the Communist Parties of other European countries, including all the countries of eastern Europe, joined with the Soviet Communist Party in the Cominform in October 1947? Is it also not significant that shortly thereafter the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia became more aggressive? The leading role of the Soviet Communist Party in the Cominform is a matter of common knowledge.

All of these circumstances lead to the basic question: Has the Government of Czechoslovakia been subverted with the assistance, direct or indirect, of an outside power? Has a threat of the use of force or of other pressure or interference by an outside power been directed against the political independence of Czechoslovakia? If the answer is in the affirmative then we are confronted with a situation which very definitely is outside of article 2(7) and concerns the Security Council.

We have heard many contradictory statements in the course of this discussion. The Council must ascertain the truth. It should never condemn nor approve blindly. This was a consideration in my previous proposal that the Council should invite the Representative of the new Czechoslovak Government to the table.²

This invitation has now been rejected.³ Why? The rejection is based on the thesis that article 2(7) applies. This, as I have said previously, is a matter for determination by this Council. The new Czech regime and the Soviet Union are attempting to decide that question for the Security Council, to dictate their unilateral and prejudiced opinion on this point to the Council. This is a high-handed and arbitrary way of behaving which would be surprising had it not come from these regimes. This refusal to participate does not give me a feeling of confidence that all is well. If these regimes had a clear conscience, surely they would seize eagerly the opportunity of presenting their side of the case to the Council. They would not oppose the Council's learning the facts by taking evidence. This refusal makes me feel more than

ever that it is important for the Security Council to get to the bottom of this situation.

We have also now been told that there are groups of men outside of Czechoslovakia who were leaders in the political life of this country prior to the coup. The Representative of Chile has made a suggestion for the creation by the Council of a subcommittee to hear the stories of these leaders who were in Czechoslovakia when the coup occurred and presumably should have firsthand knowledge of the events at that time and those which led up to the coup. My Government feels the Council would not be discharging fully its obligations if it did not hear these people. It feels that the creation of a sub-group to receive such testimony and to obtain other available information and to report back to the full Council on it is a convenient and feasible procedure.

We feel the subcommittee should consist of representatives of five states of the Council. In our view the terms of reference should be very simple. The subcommittee should be authorized to hear the testimony of these Czech political leaders and to report on this testimony to the Security Council.

My Government feels that it is essential that such information be obtained in order that the Council will be better able to decide what further steps should be taken on this matter. I should add that we would not consider the activity of such a sub-group to be in any way an investigation. The proposal before us has the full support of my Government.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 18, 1948, p. 517.

³ A letter dated Apr. 8, 1948, to the Secretary-General from Dr. Vladimir Houdek, Representative of Czechoslovakia to the U.N. (see U.N. doc. S/718 of Apr. 10, 1948), follows:

SIR: Referring to your letter dated April 6, 1948 and upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring the following to your attention:

The discussion of internal matters before the Security Council is in contradiction to the provisions of the Charter. Such matters are exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. The Czechoslovak Government therefore rejects with indignation the unfounded complaint which has been put before the Security Council.

Czechoslovakia has been and will remain a peace-loving state and wishes to maintain friendly relations with peace-loving nations on the basis of mutual respect in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The discussion on the changes in the composition of the Czechoslovak Government based on slanderous allegations has confirmed our conviction that it is only a pretext to stir up the hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and other states of Eastern Europe with which Czechoslovakia has strong bonds of friendship. Such action is in flagrant contradiction to one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations which is to promote friendly relations between nations in order to strengthen international peace and security.

Since the discussion of internal matters of Czechoslovakia in the Security Council is contrary to the basic principles of the Charter, inspired by the aim of protecting the sovereignty and independence of states, the Czechoslovak Government does not find it possible to take in any way part in such discussion.

U.S. Observers Invited to World Health Assembly

TEXT OF LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIM COMMISSION OF "WHO" TO THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COMMISSION

8 April 1948

SIR, Article 80 of the Constitution of the World Health Organization stipulates that that Act shall enter into force immediately 26 Member States of the United Nations have become parties to it. This number has, at the present date, been exceeded.

By Article 2 of the Arrangement establishing the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization, the Commission is required to convoke the first session of the World Health Assembly as soon as practicable and not later than six months after the date on which the Constitution of the Organization comes into force.

During its fifth session the Interim Commission, in view of the imminent entry into force of the Constitution fixed 24 June 1948 as the opening date for the first session of the World Health Assembly, and decided that it should be held in Geneva.

Accordingly, letters of convocation have now been sent to the Governments of the member States of the Organization, i.e., those which, in accordance with Article 79 of the Constitution have either signed that Act without reservation, or ratified their signatures and deposited the instruments of ratification with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

1. As the Government of your country has not yet accomplished the formalities required for membership by the above-mentioned article, it cannot at present be convoked under that provision. But, in view of the desirability of its presence at the Assembly, I have pleasure in inviting you to be good enough to appoint one or more observers to follow, in that capacity, the work of the session. I should be very grateful if you would furnish me as soon as possible with the names of the observers appointed.

May I remind you that the rôle of observer does not carry the right of taking part in the discussions or the voting. Furthermore, no provision has been made for reimbursement or expenses to this category.

2. However, it goes without saying that if your Government, as is greatly to be desired, should ratify and deposit the instrument of ratification before 24 June, it would be admitted to participation in the work of the Assembly in the capacity

of member, with all the concomitant advantages and prerogatives. In case this hypothesis should be confirmed by the event, and in order to obviate any delay, I should like you to be good enough to consider the present invitation as a convocation in due and proper form.

Thus, on the day when your Government's ratification has been received in the prescribed form, you will then proceed to the appointment of the delegation to represent your country at the Assembly, and will inform me as soon as possible in detail of its composition.

I take this opportunity to recall that each State convoked may be represented by not more than three delegates, one of whom should be appointed by the State concerned as chief delegate. The delegate or delegates should be chosen from among persons most qualified by their technical competence in the field of health, preferably representing their national health administrations. Alternates and advisers, whose numbers are not subject to limitation, may accompany delegates.

I should like to add that delegates should have full powers to carry out their functions in accordance with the Constitution of the World Health Organization. In particular, in application of Article 24 of the Constitution, they should be empowered to elect the 18 States entitled to designate a person to serve on the Executive Board. Moreover, should your country be elected, its delegation would be in a position to appoint its "delegate to the Board" without delay, since the Executive Board will meet while the Assembly is in session.

I also wish to remind you that the Executive Board should consist of persons technically qualified in the field of health, who may be accompanied by alternates and advisers.

With regard to the reimbursement of expenses to the various delegations, the Interim Commission has decided that the travelling expenses of only one delegate of each member State shall be defrayed by the Organization.

3. Documents dealing with the various tasks before the Assembly will be transmitted to you shortly.

I have [etc.]

BROCK CHISHOLM, M.D.
Executive Secretary

Department of State Bulletin

North American Broadcasting Engineers' Meeting

ARTICLE BY DONALD R. MACQUIVEY

At the First North American Broadcasting Engineers' Conference at Habana, Cuba, in 1937¹ two problems, suppression of interference and provision of adequate service, were the primary concern of those who negotiated the first North American regional broadcasting agreement (NARBA). Radio waves, of course, recognize no national boundaries. It is therefore absolutely essential, if the best use of the radio spectrum is to be realized, to agree internationally concerning the conditions under which these waves shall be transmitted.

The NARBA is an affirmation of international co-operation and an example of an international agreement that is really effective. Although problems have arisen under the NARBA, there is no doubt that the agreement works, and it works to the mutual benefit of all countries concerned. An advantage to one country in one particular instance is compensated by an advantage to another in another instance. The sum of all advantages exceeds by far the disadvantages experienced, as the objective is not to take from one and give to another but rather to determine how each can obtain the greatest service while interfering as little as possible with service in other countries.

Those in the United States Government concerned with the operation of the NARBA have many rather definite views on how it could be improved, as do similarly placed persons in other North American countries. Some of those views were first expressed at the Second North American Regional Broadcasting Conference held at Washington, D.C., in February 1946 to consider what should be done because of the impending expiration of the 1937 treaty. Persons attending that conference found that they had neither the time nor the necessary data to rewrite the treaty completely, and so they agreed to extend the old treaty by means of what is called the "interim agreement", *modus vivendi*.²

The interim agreement incorporated some of the desired modifications, but of principal interest here is the provision that the governments concerned would circulate their more complete proposals and that a group of radio engineers would meet at Habana on November 1, 1947. Eight United States Government representatives and 10 industry advisers attended under the chairmanship of George E. Sterling of the Federal Communications Com-

mission, the Meeting of Technicians on the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement. Technical aspects of the proposals from the various countries were discussed and a number of agreements reached.

Unfortunately many of the international interference and service-expansion problems are not purely matters of finding the best technical engineering solution. After all, radio broadcasting is a means to an end, not the end in itself. If, for example, each among a number of political parties, as in Cuba, wants to sponsor its own station, the problem of finding radio-spectrum space is much more acute than would be the case if there were fewer stations, each prepared to serve all.

Another question with mixed policy and engineering aspects is the question of use of clear channels—those spots in the broadcast frequency band assigned almost exclusively to each of a few high-power stations. Many considerations not strictly of an engineering character must be taken into account in determining how best to provide broadcasting service to persons in sparsely populated areas. From a purely engineering standpoint, without much consideration being given to the economics of the problem, it would be possible to render such service either by means of a few clear-channel stations or by means of a larger number of stations on the same frequency, each serving its own smaller region. An essentially nonengineering question related to this problem is whether or not clear-channel stations should be located in or near large cities and carry programs and advertising of purely local interest. There are many details of these clear-channel problems and the complexity and need to hear all controversial views have been two of the principal reasons why the Federal Communications Commission has conducted extensive hearings on the subject. A decision in the matter is essential before any substantial amount of preparation for the next North American regional broadcasting conference can be completed. Until this and related decisions are reached, it will be impossible to determine the potential interference to or from foreign stations on the same or adjacent channels to stations in this service.

¹Treaty Series 962.

²Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1533.

Suffice it to say that these matters could not be discussed at Habana without prejudice to future Federal Communications Commission decisions. The delegation was limited not only to discussion of the technical aspects of the proposals presented but also, within that limitation, it could discuss only those technical questions which had little or no bearing on the major questions yet to be decided at home. This situation resulted in much discussion and delay because the Mexican Delegation was authorized to discuss much broader policy matters than were the delegates from any other nations represented.

In spite of these difficulties, however, the meeting proved valuable to all who attended. Certain technical definitions were clarified so that, when the terms are referred to in the future, all parties concerned will know exactly what is involved. Agreement on definitions is more important than may appear on the surface. For example, a provision in the agreement on the measures to be taken to suppress interference from spurious radiations would be relatively ineffective if one nation considered such radiations to be only undesirable harmonics of the desired signal while another nation considered them to be only parasitic emissions not related to the desired signal in any particular way. It costs money to suppress either type. Such expenditures bring in no revenue to the station making them. Unless they are made, however, service from other stations will be degraded, if not completely destroyed. It is necessary that all agree, therefore, on the conditions under which action will be taken.

The most important benefit from the meeting at Habana was the mutual exchange of views concerning the requirements of each nation. The Mexican Delegation discussed a proposal of that country that the broadcast band be reallocated so that stations providing local service would be assigned frequencies at the high-frequency end of the band, regional stations would be assigned adjacent but lower frequencies, and clear-channel stations would be assigned frequencies at the low end of the band. From the single standpoint of effectiveness of propagation of radio waves for the purposes indicated, the proposal might well have been considered had its merits been known some two decades ago. To adopt such a plan now, however, would cost the United States broadcasting industry literally millions of dollars as hundreds of stations would have to be shifted in frequency and, as a result, almost entirely rebuilt.

The size of many of the components used in a broadcast transmitting system depends upon the frequency at which they operate. New antennas would have to be designed and constructed, transmitters rebuilt, and power would have to be increased in hundreds of installations in order to maintain consistent coverage. Worst of all would be the necessity of reworking completely the scores

of intricate jigsaw puzzles which comprise the interlaced service patterns of more than 1,900 existing stations in order to determine what frequency and service area each should have. This would have to be done before a single wire were cut. The litigation which would result staggers the imagination.

As a result of the Habana discussions it was learned that Mexico is concerned primarily in obtaining the use of two additional clear channels and desires to exchange two high-frequency clear channels now assigned to Mexico for two low-frequency channels. The four clear channels are presently used by all countries as regional channels. Although this is different from the original proposal of Mexico, there is still considerable question as to how to meet the Mexican requirements for additional service.

The discussions at Habana appear, in fact, to indicate that the Mexican Government is considering quite a basic change in point of view concerning international relations on the subject of interference suppression and protection accorded broadcasting stations. Some of its proposals would, in effect, allow each nation to do substantially as it wishes in the regulation of broadcasting so long as certain border conditions are maintained. There was, however, no detailed discussion of exactly what the border conditions would be and what measures would be taken by each country in order to assure their maintenance. It seems probable that, if a new agreement were written only in terms of border requirements, it would still be necessary to agree to adoption of certain standards in order to assure the maintenance of these border conditions.

In this connection the United States Delegation suggested at Habana that serious consideration be given by all NARBA participants to the adoption of new and relatively complete engineering standards and that these be kept up to date in accordance with improvements in the art of radio broadcasting.

One method of assuring that interference would be unlikely to occur across international boundaries has been to require that no stations be assigned to the same frequencies as clear-channel stations if the former are to be located within 650 miles of the border of the country having priority on the clear channel. The Mexican and Cuban Delegations reiterated a position previously expressed that this "650-mile rule" should be abandoned.

Another Mexican proposal which gave considerable concern was their desire that additional protection be afforded within the United States to certain Mexican clear-channel stations, the intention being that relatively large settlements of Mexican nationals in the southwestern United States would be served by these stations. The use of such stations for this purpose has been regulated in the past by the "gentleman's agreement" on radio

broadcasting signed in August 1940.³ This agreement relates to six Mexican clear channels and four United States clear channels and provides for the assignment of stations in both countries in such a manner that the nighttime programs of one country can be heard in the other country without interference. It is probable that this "gentleman's agreement" will come up for discussion in connection with preparation for the next NARBA conference.

At the Habana meeting it was also learned that the Cuban broadcasters desire agreement for them to operate stations of the so-called "I-B" class on 12 channels which would have to be substantially clear. It will be extremely difficult to find a mutually satisfactory solution to that problem. A corollary proposal was that no clear-channel station in any country should radiate more than 50 kilowatts of power toward other nations which may desire to use the channel, regardless of how far that station may be from the country concerned.

The United States Delegation found the discussions at Habana valuable because of the opportunity they gave to explain and obtain substantial acceptance of a proposed new method for determining the degree of interference to broadcasting stations known as the "50-percent root-sum-square exclusion rule". It would be possible under this rule to add new stations to a channel or modify the service of existing stations, provided the additional interference to other stations on the channel did not amount to more than a value calculated according to the rule. A rule of this nature is of absolute necessity if the service of broadcasting is to be allowed to expand, because the existing agreement would practically have prohibited the operation of any new broadcasting stations in North America since 1941 if a certain section of it had been strictly observed. Such expansion as was possible has been only by grace of special acquiescence on the part of other countries having stations on the same channels. As a result, much litigation has arisen at times.

It was also possible for the United States Delegation to present for consideration by the engineers from the other countries some new curves of the same type currently used to calculate the radiated field intensity for so-called "sky waves" under certain conditions. Sky waves are responsible for all service (or interference) at a great distance from the transmitting station. These curves take into account recent radio-propagation experience and would be used to determine the radiation field strength of a radio station at distances far enough away from the station so that the only signal which needs to be considered is the sky wave—that wave which has traveled from the transmitting antenna to the ionosphere high above the earth and has been reflected back to the receiving antenna.

An informal discussion was held concerning the applicability of frequency-modulation broadcasting to the solution of some of the broadcasting problems in the North American region, particularly those in the lower latitudes and densely populated areas. Although this discussion was not a part of the discussions concerning the North American regional broadcasting agreement and although the question of whether or not any provisions relating to frequency modulation should be included in that agreement is still unsettled, it was decided to exchange information on trials of frequency-modulation broadcasting and monitoring results obtained. There was considerable agreement that the noise-suppression characteristics and the propagation limitation to be expected from frequency-modulation broadcasting would help materially to provide high-quality broadcasting service to the nations located in areas of high-noise level and with relatively large population centers.

Because the meeting was a technical conference and dealt, in general, with quantities quite susceptible to measurement, there was somewhat less room for disagreement than would be the case at a nontechnical conference. Many of the engineers were acquainted with each other from previous meetings. All in all, both the United States broadcasting-industry representatives who assisted the Government Delegation immeasurably and those responsible Government officials who made up the Delegation considered the meeting highly valuable and essential as a preparation for the forthcoming conference for the purpose of rewriting the NARBA.

U.S. DELEGATION TO INTERNATIONAL AERONAUTICAL RADIO CONFERENCE

[Released to the press April 14]

The Acting Secretary of State approved on April 12 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Preparatory Conference for the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference which is scheduled to be held at Geneva, April 24–May 15, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Arthur L. Lebel, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Edwin L. White, Chief, Aviation Division, Federal Communications Commission

Advisers

James D. Flashman, Lieutenant Colonel, Department of the Air Force

Edmund V. Shores, Chief, Mobile Aeronautics Communications Center, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

³ Executive Agreement Series 196.

The Preparatory Conference will (1) prepare a draft agenda for the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference which is scheduled to open at Geneva on May 15, 1948, immediately following the Preparatory Conference; (2) consider technical principles on which a frequency-assignment plan is to be based; (3) prepare the framework for such a plan; and (4) arrange for the compilation of world frequency requirements for aeronautical mobile services. It is expected that Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States will be represented at this meeting.

The International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference, suggested by the Belgian Delegation at the Atlantic City telecommunication conferences, has been called by the Administrative Council of the International Telecommunication Union. This meeting will develop a world-wide plan for specific assignment of the individual frequencies included in the bands allocated to the aeronautical mobile services at Atlantic City.

U.S. DELEGATION TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SAFETY OF LIFE AT SEA

[Released to the press April 12]

The Department of State announces that the President has designated Admiral Joseph F. Farley, Commandant of the U. S. Coast Guard, to serve as Chairman of the United States Delegation to the International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea which is scheduled to convene at London, April 23, 1948. Jesse E. Saugstad, Chief, Shipping Division, Department of State, has been designated Vice Chairman. Other members of the United States Delegation are:

Advisers

David Arnott, American Bureau of Shipping, New York City
 James L. Bates, Chief, Technical Bureau, Maritime Commission
 Martin D. Berg, Lt. Comdr., U. S. Coast Guard
 Charles L. Brand, Rear Admiral, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Ships, Department of the Navy
 David P. Brown, American Bureau of Shipping, New York City
 Raymond F. Farwell, Capt., U.S.N.R., U. S. Coast Guard
 Arthur R. Gatewood, Shipbuilders Council of America, New York City
 Robert O. Glover, Rear Admiral, Hydrographer of the Navy, Department of the Navy
 Hoyt S. Haddock, Executive Secretary, Cio Maritime Committee, Washington
 Norman R. Hagen, U. S. Weather Bureau, American Embassy, London
 Henry T. Jewell, Captain, Chief, Merchant Vessel Personnel Division, Office of Merchant Marine Safety, U. S. Coast Guard
 William N. Krebs, Assistant Chief Engineer, Federal Communications Commission
 J. Lewis Luckenbach, President, American Bureau of Shipping, New York City
 John W. Mann, Shipping Division, Department of State

William F. Minners, Marine Radio and Safety Division, Federal Communications Commission
 Charles P. Murphy, Commander, Assistant Chief, Merchant Marine Technical Division, Office of Merchant Marine Safety, U. S. Coast Guard
 Charles J. Palmer, Commander, Department of the Navy
 Edward C. Phillips, National Federation of American Shipping, Washington
 James B. Robertson, Jr., Office of Merchant Marine Safety, U. S. Coast Guard
 Harold F. Robinson, Shipbuilders Council of America, New York City
 Vito L. Russo, Assistant Chief, Preliminary Design Branch, Technical Bureau, U. S. Maritime Commission
 George G. Sharp, Ship Architect, Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, New York City
 Halert C. Shephard, Rear Admiral, Chief, Office of Merchant Marine Safety, U.S. Coast Guard
 H. Gerrish Smith, President, Shipbuilders Council of America, New York City
 Howard C. Towle, National Federation of American Shipping, Washington
 Francis H. Van Riper, Special Assistant, U.S. Maritime Commission
 Victor A. Wallace, Shipping Division and Office of Legal Adviser, Department of State
 Edward M. Webster, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission
 Morris Weisberger, Vice President, Seafarers' International Union of North America, American Federation of Labor, New York City

Assistant to Chairman

Robert T. Merrill, Capt., U.S. Coast Guard Reserve

Secretary of the Delegation

Henry F. Nichol, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Technical Secretary

Lawrence D. Bradley, Jr., Lt., U.S. Coast Guard

The Conference, which will be attended by most of the maritime nations of the world, has been called by the United Kingdom for the purpose of revising the international convention for the safety of life at sea, signed at London, May 31, 1929. This convention established certain international standards of ship subdivision, fire protection, life-saving appliances, and navigational procedures which would make shipping more safe. In general, these standards applied only to passenger vessels. At the time they were adopted they represented a notable forward step in international collaboration toward greater safety of life at sea. However, in the last 19 years technical and scientific advances have been so widespread that the 1929 convention is open to improvement in several directions.

The United States prepared for the 1948 conference by setting up, early in 1945, 14 technical committees whose membership included representatives of government and of industry, each committee specializing in a particular aspect of maritime safety. The consolidated reports of these committees were circulated to all interested agencies and individuals and with some slight modifications were adopted as the United States proposals.

In addition to improvements in the existing convention which will make for greater safety, many provisions previously applicable only to passenger vessels are being extended to cargo ships as well. The United States proposals contemplate that the safety measures will be in such form as to fit within the framework of the International Maritime Consultative Organization which has been recommended by a conference sponsored by the United Nations held at Geneva in February 1948.

U.S. DELEGATION TO SIXTH DECENNIAL REVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LISTS OF DISEASES AND CAUSES OF DEATH

[Released to the press April 16]

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the Conference for the Sixth Decennial Revision of the International Lists of Diseases and Causes of Death. This meeting is scheduled to be held at Paris, April 26-30, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Halbert L. Dunn, M.D., chief, National Office of Vital Statistics, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

Delegates

George Baehr, M.D., president, New York Academy of Medicine, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City

Joseph Berkson, M.D., chief, Division of Biometry and Medical Statistics, Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minn.

Edwin F. Dafty, M.D., director, Division of Health Services, U.S. Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency

Paul M. Densen, M.D., chief, Division of Medical Research and Statistics, Veterans Administration

Harold F. Dorn, M.D., chairman, Statistical Section, National Cancer Institute, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

W. Thurber Fales, M.D., director, Statistical Section, Baltimore City Health Department, Baltimore, Md.

Eugene L. Hamilton, chief, Medical Statistics Division, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army

Iwao M. Moriyama, M.D., chief, Mortality Analysis Section, National Office of Vital Statistics, Federal Security Agency

Edward S. Rogers, M.D., dean, School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Robert L. Ware, Captain (M.D.), U.S. Navy, chief, Medical Statistics Division, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Department of the Navy

The Conference will consider a revision of the International List of the Causes of Death and the establishment of International Lists of Causes of Morbidity.

An international list of causes of death was first established at an international conference convened by the French Government in 1900. This list has been revised by similar conferences held

at approximately 10-year intervals. The 1929 conference decided that a useful purpose would be served if classification were made the subject of a definite convention between governments. A protocol was annexed to the report of the 1929 conference, and the agreement relating to statistics of causes of death was signed on July 19, 1934.

The delegates to the Meeting of the International Commission for the Fifth Decennial Revision of the International Nomenclature of Diseases met at Paris in October 1938 and adopted resolutions requesting the Government of the United States to form a subcommittee to study the problem of obtaining international consistency in the methods of selecting the primary causes of death. In accordance with these resolutions an American subcommittee, appointed by the Secretary of State, prepared a draft report which was adopted with few changes by an Expert Committee of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization. With other documents, this amended text will serve as the basis for the work of the forthcoming Conference.

PROGRAM OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES ON TROPICAL MEDICINE AND MALARIA

The Department of State released on April 17 the program of the Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria, which will be held in Washington May 10-18.¹ The meetings are being sponsored by the United States Government and scientific societies to encourage and facilitate the pooling of useful knowledge for the prevention and treatment of tropical diseases.

Organization of the Congresses is headed by Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, who is acting as chairman. Vice chairmen are Dr. George K. Strode, Director of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Clarke L. Willard, Associate Chief, Division of International Conferences, Department of State. Dr. Rolla E. Dyer, Director of the National Institute of Health, is program director. The entertainment committee and the exhibits committee are being handled respectively by Dr. Fred L. Soper, Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, and Dr. E. M. Gunn, United States Army Institute of Pathology. Dr. Wilbur A. Sawyer, former Director of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation and Director of Health for UNRRA, is acting for the Department of State in preparing and directing the program.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 11, 1948, p. 475.

Pan American Day, a Symbol of Friendship Among Nations

BY GEORGE V. ALLEN¹

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

Because they are very much in all our minds, I must refer at the outset to the tragic events that have momentarily interrupted the deliberations of the Bogotá conference in the last few days. I shall not undertake to comment extensively on these events. However, there are two things that I must say to you, knowing that they express the sentiments of the American people and of all of you here tonight. The first is that we sympathize from the bottom of our hearts with the people of Colombia in their hour of sudden tragedy and are confident that nothing can prevent Colombia from continuing its forward march as one of the most progressive and respected of the American republics. The other is that only persons who have momentarily lost their perspective will allow themselves to believe that the occurrences in Bogotá can represent any kind of setback to pan-Americanism or in any way alter its progress. The Ninth International Conference of American States will, like its predecessors over more than half a century, serve to knit still more closely the sturdy fabric of inter-American relations.

Pan American Day, which has dawned for us here a few hours ahead of the calendar, is an occasion on which we celebrate friendship among nations—not friendship as an ideal only, but friendship as an accomplished fact among 21 sovereign states. That friendship is epitomized in this gathering. It is epitomized in the person of my good friend at this table, the Ambassador of Honduras, who, in the course of many years as the well-beloved representative of his country in Washington, has become a personal symbol of the friendliness and good will that animates the relations of the good-neighbor republics. The friendship among our countries is, in fact, reflected in the personal respect and liking that we all feel for the distinguished representatives from our neighbor countries who have foregathered with us this evening.

The answer to any question that might be raised as to whether we, in this country, appreciate the blessing of our inter-American friendship is sug-

gested by the spontaneous manner in which citizens of Washington have organized this occasion as a demonstration of their active support. This is of the utmost significance, since it is the private citizens who are, ultimately, the makers of our foreign policy. If the citizens are apathetic, if they lack vision and insight into what is required to make and maintain peace, if they fail in their appreciation of what has been accomplished, then there is little hope for us. If, however, they demonstrate the positive vision and appreciation that have been manifested by the people of Washington in the organization of this celebration, we cannot fail to master the future. This sort of demonstration is immensely encouraging to the officials of a government that must represent the people. Mr. Morris and his associates are, I think, to be warmly congratulated.

When, more than half a century ago, the call was issued for the First International Conference of American States, a beneficent chain-reaction was set off among the republics of this Hemisphere that has led directly to the Ninth International Conference of American States. The international atmosphere in which that Conference is held—and which has nothing to do with the local disturbances that have, for the moment, interrupted it—provides a marked contrast to the atmosphere of international hostility that has surrounded some other conferences in the past two years. The contrast should help us not to minimize or take for granted the constructive peace that has already been achieved among our American nations.

In the inter-American conferences we meet together to argue, but not to quarrel. We meet to argue about the best means for achieving our common goal, which is the common welfare of the American peoples. By argument we either persuade or are persuaded. And when the conference adjourns, in every case that I can recall, we have reached agreement and are better friends than ever before. We acknowledge each other's good faith and enlightened purpose, and we have all learned that the price of any good agreement is mutual compromise.

Because the work of every inter-American conference is the achievement of mutual compromise,

¹ Address made at a Pan American dinner tendered by the citizens of Washington, D.C., on Apr. 13, 1948; released to the press on the same date.

in which all participate, there is no victory on the part of some and defeat on the part of others. The reaching of agreement is, rather, a victory for all, since that was the common purpose. A struggle for power, such as we are familiar with elsewhere today, is a different matter. Within the family of American states, the struggle is simply for justice and the common good.

Conferences make news. There are other aspects of our good-neighbor relations, however, that are certainly no less important for being, perhaps, less dramatic. The good-neighbor policy of all the American republics has grown far beyond the stage of talk and is being carried forward today through a wide range of active enterprises that represent the constructive work of cooperation. I call attention to the hundreds of United States scientists, technicians, and experts of one sort or another who have been sent out by this Government to work shoulder to shoulder with the scientists, technicians, and experts of other governments and the hundreds of scientists, technicians, and experts who have been sent by their governments to the United States to work with us in the solution of problems that bear on the common welfare of our peoples and the advancement of our civilization.

I am privileged to be Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, through which this Government is able to meet the requests of other American governments by assigning meteorologists, soil technicians, fisheries experts, and trained personnel in a vast number of other fields to work with them. In cultural fields, a large program for the interchange of students, teachers, and publications has been carried forward, and this country has benefited substantially from the contributions that the other American republics have made to our culture by this means. Through the recently re-incorporated Institute of Inter-American Affairs, this Government is participating actively with the other governments in carefully planned, long-range action programs for national development in health and sanitation, agriculture, and education. Persons who see these Institute programs in the field for the first time are amazed at the extent and character of their accomplishments.

These shirt-sleeve activities do not make news; they lack the glamour of resolutions and international pronouncements; but they are directly improving the lives of millions of people in the Hemisphere and visibly advancing our common civilization. The fact that they do not make news is, perhaps, a healthy sign in that it shows the extent to which we have been able to take for granted cooperative relations that hardly existed ten years ago and that have already become an established part of our international community life. These programs of cooperation provide one solid and tangible answer to the critics who pre-

tend that the good-neighbor policy is no more. The contrast between the range of our cooperation today and the extent of our cooperation ten years ago, when the good-neighbor policy was growing up, sufficiently refutes that silly pretense.

Another substantial refutation is provided by the common preoccupation of the Bogotá conferees today—and the conference is *not* over—with the strengthening of an inter-American system that has been steadily growing in strength for the past 15 years. The process of building our good-neighbor system continues year by year. It is a stronger, more closely knit system today than it was at the end of the war in 1945. It will, I am confident, be still stronger when the present conference in Bogotá concludes its interrupted deliberations.

The one concept I should like to stress above all others tonight is that cooperation among the American republics is founded, and must always be founded, on the concept of mutuality. All of the republics must help each other and must learn from each other. The United States can make and is making a positive contribution to the economic and social development of the republics to the south through means which have already been discussed—through lending the technical knowledge of our public-health officials, agricultural experts, and scientists to other American republics which feel that we can be of help and which ask us for them.

But this is not all. We are receiving and must continue to receive in return the great social and cultural contributions which other of our sister republics have to offer the United States. Effective cooperation represents the will to give and to receive by all parties.

I attended an impressive reception given by Mrs. Truman a few days ago to the foreign students in and around Washington. The number of students and government trainees from other American republics in this one city was a wonderful revelation to me. And I may add that the charm and good looks of the young ladies in the group lent an added pleasure to the occasion.

I asked each of them to whom I talked about their work—what they were studying, and where, and how. All the while the thought kept recurring to my mind that they were contributing, perhaps unwittingly but very positively, to the cultural progress of the United States. While they were obtaining their education here, we were gaining from them. Their cultural backgrounds and points of view are enriching our own. The literature, the art, and the music of the other American republics are becoming ever better known in the United States through the cooperative exchange that characterizes our relations with them. Our own culture is being substantially strengthened by their constructive influence and their contributions. We are anxious to benefit as

much as we can from the long and distinguished cultural heritage of our sister republics.

I sometimes think that the great Pan American Highway, which we hope will some day add so much to the communications network that ties us together, might very appropriately be called "the two-way passage highway".

To one who, like myself, has for some years past been preoccupied with international relations in other parts of this turbulent globe, it is impossible not to view the relations that have developed and are continuing to develop in this Hemisphere with a sense of vast encouragement and gratification. We American republics have

our differences, but we manage to settle those differences peacefully and amicably. Our friendship grows stronger in the process of their settlement. Now, when we talk about peace on earth we don't mean an earth on which there are no differences of opinion. We mean, simply, an earth on which differences of opinion are settled by peaceful means. In that light, the long-term achievement of the American republics is outstanding in history and in the context of present relations among nations generally. It is an achievement that, without due complacency, we can celebrate this evening with very good consciences indeed.

Export-Import Bank To Finance Economic Development in Other American Republics

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS

To the Congress of the United States:

In recent months the United States has been considering a number of measures to further the achievement of the primary objective of our foreign policy—the establishment throughout the world of the conditions of a just and lasting peace.

One of the essential requirements for the attainment of that objective is continuing cooperation among the American republics and collaboration in the development of their resources and industries.

Genuine friendship has long existed between the people of the United States and our neighbors to the south. This friendship has been marked by cultural and economic association and close cooperation. The people of the United States have strongly supported the policy of the Good Neighbor and have a special regard for the peoples of the countries to the south of us.

The United States has long recognized the importance of economic and political stability in the Western Hemisphere. Such stability rests substantially upon the continuation of a satisfactory rate of economic progress. In this respect, we must fairly recognize that the economies of the other American republics are relatively undeveloped. In these countries, natural resources are abundant, but the expansion of production has been restricted due to the lack of capital and of modern production methods. Production can be increased only by means of a considerable volume of capital investment in transportation and power facilities, processing plants and other installations.

To some extent the need for capital in these countries is met by domestic savings, but such savings in general are insufficient to secure the necessary equipment and technical skills. Substantial and continued progress in the development of the re-

sources and industries of the other American republics therefore requires foreign financing. The United States, by reason of its close relations with these countries and its strong economic position, is the principal source to which the other American republics look for equipment, materials, and technology as well as for their financing.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress increase the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank by 500 million dollars. The proposed increase in the lending authority of the Bank would not involve any change in the statutory requirements under which the Bank has been operating.

This increased lending authority would place the Bank in a position to assist in meeting essential requirements for the financing of economic development in the other American republics. It would permit the Bank to make loans for well-planned development projects which are economically justified and to cooperate most effectively with private funds.

Such an increase would not, of course, be a substitute for necessary action that the other American republics can and should take to attract private investment capital and to mobilize fully their own investment resources.

The proposed increase represents, I believe, an important step which this Government should take to assist the economic development of the countries to the south of us.

It is of great importance to the United States, as a member of the American community, that there be continued expansion of production, increasing trade activity, and rising standards of living in the other American republics. It is in our mutual interest to help develop in the countries to the south those essential materials which are becoming less abundant in the United States, as

well as others regularly imported from distant regions.

Above all, it is in our mutual interest to assist the American republics to continue their economic progress, which can contribute so much to the cooperative strength of the independent American republics.

I request the Congress, therefore, to give favorable consideration to the proposed increase in the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 8, 1948.

Commitment for Reconstruction in Colombia Approved

The Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of Washington announced on April 15 the approval, at a special meeting, of a commitment of 10 million dollars to the Republic of Colombia to assist that Government in financing the acquisition of United States supplies, materials, and equipment needed for the speedy reconstruction of properties destroyed or damaged in the recent disturbances in Colombia. Details as to requirements and arrangements will be worked out on a mutual basis.

U.S.S.R. Rejects Procedure for Drafting of Protocol to Italian Treaty

MEMORANDUM FROM THE U.S.S.R.

No. 79

[Translation]

With reference to the memorandum of the Department of State of March 20 and in reply to the note of the Department of State of April 9 the Soviet Embassy has the honor to communicate the following.

In connection with the urgency of the question mentioned in the note of April 9 the Embassy deems it necessary to point out that in the memorandum of the Department of State of March 20, to which reference is made in said note, no indication is contained of the urgency of this question.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Government draws the attention of the Department of State to the fact that the treaty of peace with Italy, as with other states that participated in the war, was pre-

pared by the Council of Foreign Ministers and examined in detail at the Paris Conference, with the participation of 21 states, which subsequently signed and ratified it, and that it entered into force only several months ago.

Hence it stands to reason that the proposal to decide the question of the revision of the treaty of peace with Italy in respect to one or another of its parts by means of correspondence or the organization of private conferences is considered unacceptable by the Soviet Government as violating the elementary principles of democracy.

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF
SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
Washington, April 13, 1948

U.S. REPLY TO THE U.S.S.R.

[Released to the press April 15]

The Acting Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to refer to the Soviet Embassy's memorandum No. 79 of April 13, 1948, concerning the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty.

While regretting that the Soviet Government has not found it possible to act favorably in this matter, the Government of the United States is at a loss to understand why the procedure suggested for the negotiation of a draft protocol to the Italian Treaty is considered unacceptable. It was the intention of the Government of the United States that the preliminary meeting of the powers principally concerned to negotiate a draft protocol should be followed by consultation with all other interested governments. In the view of the Gov-

ernment of the United States the suggested preliminary meeting is in fact the first step of the procedure followed in the drafting of the Treaty of Peace with Italy. As pointed out in the Soviet Embassy's memorandum the Treaty of Peace was prepared by the Council of Foreign Ministers and subsequently submitted for the consideration of the twenty-one states at the Paris Conference.

Should the Soviet Government find it possible to agree in principle to the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty the Government of the United States will be glad to consider any suggestions which the Soviet Government may have regarding the procedure for the drafting of the necessary protocol to the Italian Treaty.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 16, 1948.

Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation With Italy Transmitted to the Senate

PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

[Released to the press April 14]

The President on April 14 transmitted to the Senate, for the purpose of obtaining that body's consent to ratification, the treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between the United States and Italy, signed at Rome February 2, 1948. The President recommended early Senate action on the treaty, as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation between the United States of America and the Italian Republic, together with a protocol and an additional protocol relating thereto, signed at Rome on February 2, 1948.

The enclosed treaty, together with the two related protocols, was negotiated on a basis of com-

plete equality between the two Governments. It is comprehensive and is designed to provide an effective basis for the future development of cultural, business, and trade relationships between the two countries. I consider that this treaty is an important manifestation of the friendly relations which exist between this country and post-Fascist Italy and that it confirms the determination of the two Governments to apply in their economic and cultural intercourse the liberal principles that are fundamental to the democratic way of life. I commend it to the early consideration of the Senate.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, a copy of each of two notes, signed and exchanged on the same date, and a report on the treaty made to me by the Acting Secretary of State.¹

HARRY S. TRUMAN

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS

[Released to the press April 14]

The new treaty is designed to provide an effective legal framework for economic intercourse between the United States and Italy, such a framework having been lacking since December 1937 when a former commercial treaty, concluded in 1871, was terminated by mutual consent. It is regarded by the Department of State as a significant step in strengthening the cordial relations between the United States and Italy. It is the first instrument of the type that has been signed by Italy since the war.

The present treaty is similar to treaties now in force between the United States and a number of countries. In agreeing to it, Italy accepts the liberal principles of business and commercial intercourse which the United States is seeking to advance through the proposed charter for an International Trade Organization, as well as through the conclusion with other countries of bilateral treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation embodying like principles. It is believed that the present instrument creates a framework within which business, trade, and cultural relations may, through liberal principles, develop effectively and to the mutual advantage of the two countries.

In keeping with earlier treaties and agreements, the new treaty contains provisions relating to entry and residence, the protection of persons and property, the tenure and disposition of real and personal property, religious activities, importation and exportation of goods, customs administration, transit rights, and the treatment of shipping. Certain new provisions have been added, however, and certain provisions which appear in earlier treaties have been broadened in order to deal more effectively with needs arising from recent developments in international economic relations. New or revised provisions deal, among other things, with the status of corporations, certain cultural activities, benefits under workmen's compensation and insurance laws, and the protection of private enterprises in competition with state-controlled enterprises.

Of significance is the inclusion in this treaty of provisions relating to freedom of information which are new to treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation. In article 2, the two Governments affirm their adherence to the principles of freedom of the press and of free interchange of information and provide for the practical application of these principles by granting to the nationals and corporations of each other the right freely to gather information and to transmit material for publication abroad.

¹ Not here printed.

Two protocols accompany the treaty. One is intended to clarify and construe certain provisions of the treaty. The other, designed to help Italy deal with postwar economic and financial difficulties, permits the imposition for certain purposes of quantitative restrictions on imports and exports and allows the use of internal controls in the distribution of goods in short supply. Notes exchanged at the time of signing the treaty constitute a declaration that the two countries will seek at an appropriate time in the future to enter into arrangements to promote closer cultural relations, particularly through the exchange of students, teachers, and professional people.

The treaty was negotiated over a period of several months at Rome by members of the staff of the American Embassy and an Italian commission headed by Ivan Matteo Lombardo.

Italian Claim for Restitution of Gold Allowed

[Released to the press April 12]

The Tripartite Gold Commission in Brussels, which decides about recognition of claims to monetary gold that was taken from a number of European countries by the Nazis, has decided to allow almost in full the Italian claim for the restitution of gold taken from Italy by the Nazis. Only a part of Italy's claim was recognized at the time the Gold Commission made its first distribution of looted gold recovered in Germany. The recent decision of the Gold Commission means that Italy will soon receive about 31 million dollars' worth of gold in addition to 4 million dollars allocated to her on the occasion of the first distribution, October 17, 1947. Italy is participating on the same basis as the ten other claimant countries, on a *pro rata* basis to the extent that recovered looted gold becomes available for distribution.

Sources of Scrap Metal for Italy

[Released to the press April 7]

Reports have appeared in the Italian press that scrap iron and steel is at present being exported to the United States despite the fact that Italy is badly in need of scrap. Under the European Recovery Program, Italy indicated that she would have to import 700,000 tons of scrap in 1948.

The scrap which is at present being shipped from Italy to the United States is material which was originally sold by the United States Army in Germany to an American firm, the Canterbury Corporation of Delaware, with a specific proviso that it be returned to the United States where scrap is also in exceedingly short supply. The contract was made in May 1947 and covered 147,000 tons of United States Army scrap derived from such material as landing mats, vehicles, et cetera. Of the 147,000 tons, approximately 27,000 were

shipped to Italy for preparation and transshipment. It was never intended that this material would remain in Italy, and in shipping it there in the first place it was hoped to give employment to Italian facilities and workers. No Italian scrap is being shipped to the United States.

The United States recognizes the urgent need of the Italians for scrap and the fact that the output of steel in Italy as well as production in the metal-fabricating industries are to a considerable extent dependent on adequate supplies of scrap for Italian steel furnaces. In recognition of this situation, some 80,000 tons of captured German ammunition and American ammunition are being made available to Italy from the United States zone of Germany for use as scrap. In addition, about 80,000 tons of ship scrap has recently been made available to Italy by the United States Maritime Commission.

An additional important source of scrap metal has been made available to Italy by the United States through this Government's renunciation of its allocation of excess Italian Naval vessels. This action by the United States has contributed to the Italian economy more than 40,000 tons of unusually valuable scrap material at no cost whatsoever to the Italian Government.

American Scientists To Survey Southern Italy and Sicily

The United States Government has sent two prominent officials of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior on a survey trip to southern Italy and Sicily on the invitation of the Italian Government.¹

Dr. Max A. McCall, Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering of the Department of Agriculture, and Mr. George E. Tomlinson, Assistant Director of Project Planning of the Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, arrived in Rome April 13 for the purpose of conducting jointly with Italian scientists in the same fields an inquiry into possibilities of developing industry and expanding agricultural production in southern Italy through hydroelectric, irrigation, and land-reclamation projects.

After preliminary discussions in Rome on the 13th, the American experts together with their Italian colleagues proceeded to Naples to meet with technicians of south Italy and inspect projects in the vicinity of Naples. After a brief return to Rome, the group will make a detailed tour of Sicily and southern Italy. The inquiries being made by Dr. McCall and Mr. Tomlinson and the Italian officials are preliminary to later detailed

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 11, 1948, p. 468.

consideration of specific projects by a larger group of professional scientists.

The need for projects of the type under study in southern Italy has long been recognized. Ever since the end of Fascism, the Italian Government has felt the increasing urgency of coping with the problems presented by this area. It has therefore requested help from the United States in alleviating the situation along lines which have been developed to the immense benefit of farmers in similar areas in this country.

Coal Exports to Italy To Aid Gas-Producing Industry

[Released to the press April 14]

The Italian Purchasing Mission in Washington has been authorized to proceed immediately with purchase of emergency supplies of United States coal vitally needed for the Italian gas-producing industry.

Even though full-scale production of coal has not yet been resumed in this country, this action was taken because the Italian Government has informed the United States Government that the gas-producing industry of Italy is faced by a reduction in operation unless additional coal supplies are obtained.

The coal will be licensed for export by the Department of Commerce under the "hardship" provision of the recent order suspending bituminous-coal export licenses as a result of the coal-production stoppage.

Chilean Technologist Awarded Grant-in-Aid

Francisco Mardones Otaiza, of Santiago, Chile, director of the National Institute of Technological Research and Standards, arrived in Washington April 8 for a six weeks' visit as the recipient of a grant-in-aid from the Department of State under the program administered by the Division of International Exchange of Persons for the interchange of specialists and professors with the other American republics. The purpose of his visit, which is being planned in cooperation with the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce, is to familiarize himself with the organization and the functions of the Bureau of Standards. On his return to Chile he expects to organize an Office of Weights and Measures. On his present visit Mr. Mardones hopes to awaken interest in this country in the creation of an Inter-American Committee of Standards. There is already in existence, as an organ of the United Nations, an International Standard Organization (Iso), but as yet the only countries of the Western Hemisphere to join it are the United States, Brazil, Chile, and Canada.

Settlement of Lend-Lease Account With Brazil

[Released to the press April 15]

On behalf of the Brazilian and United States Governments, Ambassador Carlos Martins and Acting Secretary Lovett on April 15 signed a final settlement arrangement, within the terms of the Brazilian lend-lease agreement, whereby Brazil undertakes to pay to the United States a balance due of approximately \$35,000,000 United States currency.

The following remarks were addressed to the Brazilian Ambassador by the Acting Secretary of State:

"The signing of this lend-lease settlement arrangement with the Government of Brazil reminds me again of the timely contributions made by the other republics of the Western Hemisphere to the final victory achieved over the forces of the Axis aggressors, but I am especially mindful of the close cooperation extended us by the Government of Brazil. This is the more gratifying because it is just one more very tangible manifestation of the Pan American way of doing things—a result of adherence to the democratic principle that, through mutual confidence and respect, international amity is possible of attainment.

"Lend-lease, itself, was strong irrefutable evidence of the forceful influence and power of inter-American cooperation during those anxious years. The simple manner of the working out of this settlement arrangement of the Brazilian lend-lease account is abiding evidence of a continuing spirit of international confidence and common respect through which friendly peoples may seek and find, between themselves, the answers to all such problems affecting our mutual interests."

Grants for Burma Under Fulbright Program

[Released to the press April 13]

The Department of State and the Board of Foreign Scholarships announce opportunities for two Americans to receive grants to teach in Burmese schools in the field of agricultural extension. The grants will be awarded under the provisions of Public Law 584, 79th Congress, the Fulbright act. They will be paid in Burmese currency, and it is expected that this payment will include salary, maintenance, and travel, provided no changes are made in the present Burmese currency regulations.

The grants will be available for persons experienced in agricultural extension work to teach in the Village Teacher Training School at Taunggyi and in the Post-Primary School at Myitkyina. The School at Taunggyi is located in the capital

of the Shan State in the Union of Burma, which is composed of 30 smaller states. Each of these smaller states has its own system of schools, but the Village Teacher Training School serves the whole of the Shan area in the training of teachers for adult-education work. The school at Myit-kyina is the chief high school of the Kachin State. It is the principal institution in that area in which students can prepare for college and university

work. Both schools accept graduates of primary schools located throughout the Shan and Kachin States. A knowledge of the Burmese language will not be required.

Application blanks are available at the Division of International Educational Relations, United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D.C. The deadline for the receipt of applications is May 15, 1948.

Negotiations for Revision of Trade Agreement With Mexico

[Released to the press April 13]

Negotiations for the revision of schedule I of the trade agreement between the United States and Mexico will be initiated at Mexico City next week, probably on Tuesday, April 20. Schedule I covers tariff concessions on imports into Mexico from the United States.¹

Because of the many questions to which the Mexican trade agreement has given rise in this country in recent months, the Department of State believes that the following statement will be useful to an understanding of the announced negotiation.

1. Several times during 1945 and 1946 the Mexican Government suggested revision of the trade agreement of December 1942 with the United States stating that circumstances since signature had thrown the benefits out of balance to Mexico's disadvantage.

2. In 1947, the Mexican Government, impelled by circumstances and after consultation with this Government in the cases where it was required, took various steps to restrict imports.

3. The circumstances impelling this action were

(a) A marked and continuing decline in Mexico's foreign-exchange reserve largely due to an adverse trade balance with the United States contrary to the prewar situation.

(b) Strong domestic pressure for increased tariffs

- (i) To protect war born industries;
- (ii) To encourage economic development;
- (iii) To change the specific duties to compound duties equivalent on an ad valorem basis to those applying when the agreement was signed in 1942.

4. The principal steps taken by Mexico were

(a) A prohibition, in July 1947, against imports of a wide range of nonessential goods including some items in the trade agreement with the United States.

(b) A change, in November 1947, to the ad valorem equivalent of the duty in 1942 or higher, of the rates of duty on some 5000 items *not* in the trade agreement.

5. In December 1947 it became evident that Mexico would raise the duty on items in the trade agreement. At this point the United States

(a) Could have announced its intention of denouncing the agreement in the event of such action by Mexico or

(b) Could have sought a solution to the problem through negotiation and agreement.

6. Denunciation of the agreement

(a) Would have resulted in a major, and it is believed, unnecessary breach in United States economic relations with Mexico.

(b) Would have lost for the United States the opportunity to influence the amount by which Mexico would increase rates and to obtain compensation for such increases by further bargaining.

7. Therefore, after full consideration by the interdepartmental trade-agreements organization of all phases of the problem, and with over-all United States-Mexico relations in mind, the United States agreed to provisional increases in duties on trade-agreement items to levels equivalent, on an ad valorem basis, to those provided in the trade agreement when it first came into effect. In return Mexico agreed to negotiations intended to restore the balance in the agreement through revision of the new Mexican rates on items not now in the agreement.

8. If a satisfactory adjustment of Mexican tariff rates should prove impossible to negotiate, the United States is not precluded from seeking agreement on the basis of withdrawing concessions previously made by this country to Mexico or from terminating the agreement in accordance with its provisions.

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 11, 1948, p. 59, and Feb. 15, 1948, p. 212.

Second Report to Congress on U.S. Foreign Relief Program

President Truman transmitted to the Congress on April 13 the second report on the United States Foreign Relief Program, which was authorized by joint resolution of the 80th Congress, Public Law 84, to provide assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.¹

The countries which have received relief under the program are Austria, Greece, Italy, the Free Territory of Trieste, and China. Foods of various kinds, principally cereals, and seeds, fertilizer, fuel, and medical supplies have been shipped under the relief program. Foods represent about 95 percent of the total cost.

Of the \$350,000,000 appropriated for this purpose, the Congress stipulated, among other things, that up to \$40,000,000 was to be set aside as a contribution to the International Children's Emergency Fund and \$5,000,000 to cover the ocean transportation of supplies provided by private American relief agencies. On December 31, 1947, the amount reserved for supplies to the countries

receiving relief was \$285,900,000. The value of shipments made totaled \$229,520,292 which included the ocean freight.

Shipments of supplies in the three months from October 1 through December 31, 1947, totaled 3,736,813 long tons, compared to the 1,006,401 long tons shipped in the previous period.

The report notes the acknowledgement of recipient countries for the part United States relief supplies have played in their economy. This acknowledgement has been marked by religious blessing ceremonies on the arrival of the first vessels in a dozen Greek ports, by ceremonies greeting the 200th vessel bearing relief to Italy, by the attendant newspaper and radio publicity, by colored posters prominently displayed in retail stores and elsewhere, identifying the United States relief supplies, or emphasizing the proportion of the United States contribution toward the food ration, or stating that the local proceeds from the sale of United States commodities remain in the country to be used for relief projects.

¹ This report was released by the Department of State on Apr. 13 as publication 3101.

Transfer of Nondemilitarized Combat Matériel

[Released to the press April 13]

The following is a list of sales of surplus nondemilitarized and demilitarized combat matériel effected by the Department of State in its capacity

as foreign surplus and lend-lease disposal agent during the months of July and October 1947 and January and February 1948, and not previously reported to the Munitions Division:

Country	Description	Procurement cost	Sales price	Date of transfer
				1948
Chile	Miscellaneous cartridges, metallic belt links, 100-lb. practice bombs, and spotting assembly charges.	\$115,576.87	\$11,561.74	Jan. 20
				1947
China	One LCI (demilitarized) to T. Y. Fong, Asia Development Corporation, Shanghai, China.	373,400.00	6,500.00	October
				1948
Cuba	Miscellaneous cartridges, metallic belt links, bombs, fuzes, assembly fins, spotting assembly charges, and arming wire assemblies.	62,074.60	6,210.84	Feb. 6
	Eight machine gun mounts	1,124.00	124.00	Feb. 6
Peru	Miscellaneous spare parts for combat matériel	2,899.79	347.91	Feb. 25
				1947
Singapore	Seven LST's (demilitarized) to Tung Hwa Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.	11,324,600.00	122,000.00	1 on July 29 6 on Oct. 7
				1948
Venezuela	Nine tank engines, 54 bundles of track assemblies, miscellaneous spare parts for tank, light, M3A3.	166,096.89	8,304.84	Jan. 6
	Miscellaneous cartridges, shells, percussion primers, shell fins, canisters, shot, projectiles, charges, and signals.	251,937.73	18,351.18	Feb. 19

ITU Council Session—Continued from page 535

States and other delegations as to the basis on which the Board should operate. It was agreed that the report with the necessary background papers giving both sides of the picture should be circulated to the members of the Union.

Finally, questions of principle and precedent arose, and much of the time of the Council, particularly during the first week, was spent in interpreting the provisions of the new convention of Atlantic City, in order to obtain a basis for action on the administrative, budgetary, and political problems which confronted it.

It had been agreed at Atlantic City that the sessions of the Council should not last longer than three weeks. It had also been intended originally that the Council should meet once a year. It was necessary, however, to defer consideration of so many important items on the agenda of the second session until the third session that it was decided to open the third session at Geneva on September 1, 1948.

The idea of an Administrative Council for the International Telecommunication Union was evolved by the United States preparatory groups as far back as 1943. It was a part of the general belief in this country that an expanded Secretariat with increased duties and powers was necessary to meet the needs of greatly expanded telecommunication services. The Bureau of the Union, established at the St. Petersburg conference of 1875 in the early days of telegraphy, required modernization. This new concept met with opposition, particularly on the ground of the added expense to the Union. This first working meeting of the Council at Geneva represented a test of the United States ideas, and the results seem to vindicate the judgment of the creators of the new structure.

The atmosphere in the Council was most friendly and cooperative. The representatives took their work seriously, and at all times acted more as trustees for the whole Union than as a group of representatives of specific countries. There was a general disposition to avoid political discussions since the Union is intended to be primarily a service organization. When political questions did arise they were solved with a minimum of friction.

The representatives on the Council, with one exception, were chosen in accordance with the dictates of the Atlantic City convention that they should be qualified in telecommunication matters. They evidenced a very strong inclination to keep the Council on a high plane and opposed any suggestion which would have lessened its dignity. In view of the leading position taken by this Government in setting up the Council, this inclination to vest the Council with a dignity consistent with its functions was most encouraging.

Department of State

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

UNESCO and You. International Organization and Conference Series IV. Pub. 2904. (Reprint.) vi, 41 pp. 15¢.

Questions and answers on the How, What, and Why of UNESCO—together with a six-point program for individual action.

Information for Bearers of Passports. January 1, 1948. Passport Series 7. Pub. 3012. iv, 65 pp. Free.

Information of interest to American citizens, dealing with loss of nationality and with their status in certain countries with which the United States has or has not concluded treaties of naturalization.

Passport and Visa Information for Clerks of Courts Who Take Passport Applications, 1948. Passport Series 8. Pub. 3029. 17 pp. Free.

Replaces edition of 1947.

Publications of the Department of State, January 1, 1948. Pub. 3030. 56 pp. Free.

A semi-annual list cumulative from October 1, 1929.

Postal Union of the Americas and Spain. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1680. Pub. 3043. 51 pp. 15¢.

Convention, and Final Protocol and Regulations of Execution of the Convention, Between the United States and Other Governments—Signed at Rio de Janeiro September 25, 1946; entered into force January 1, 1947.

Second Report to Congress on the United States Foreign Relief Program, for the quarter ended December 31, 1947. Economic Cooperation Series 5. Pub. 3101. v, 62 pp. 25¢.

Report to the Congress on the U.S. Foreign Relief Program, under Public Law 84, approved May 31, 1947, which authorized an appropriation for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

Work of the United Nations Good Offices Committee in Indonesia. International Organization and Conference Series III, 4. Pub. 3108. 14 pp. Free.

An article and documents relating to the Indonesian situation.

The United States Reciprocal Trade-Agreements Program and the Proposed Trade Organization. Commercial Policy Series 112. Pub. 3112. 7 pp. 10¢.

Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization and Final Act and Related Documents, March 24, 1948. Commercial Policy Series 113. Pub. 3117. viii, 77 pp. 25¢.

Final text of the charter to be submitted to the governments represented at the Havana conference for their acceptance.

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GERMAN CONSTITUTIONS

An article

A volume has been prepared by the Civil Administration Division, OMCUS, of the German text and English translation of the constitutions of the German states of Bavaria, Bremen, Hesse, and Württemberg-Baden in the U.S. zone; Baden, Rhineland-Palatinate, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern in the French zone; and Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia in the Soviet zone. In the British zone, the constitutions of the states of Lower-Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein, and the city of Hamburg were still under consideration.

The division of Germany into four zones of occupation made for significant differences in these constitutions. Within the U. S. zone, there is considerable diversity due to the fact that different political parties exercised varying influence in the states and that Military Government did not try to interfere with the deliberations of the bodies which drafted the texts. In both the French and the Soviet zones, the constitutions are more uniform since one political philosophy prevailed in shaping their articles—that of the Christian Democratic Parties in the French zone and that of the Socialist Unity Party in the Soviet zone.

In spite of these differences, there are obvious similarities in all of the constitutions. Basically, the results of German thought and continental concepts of cabinet government and of parliamentary practice are applied in all of them.

In some respects these constitutions cannot express the realities of powers and competences. The amount of jurisdiction reserved to Military Government varies greatly in the different zones. It is undoubtedly smallest in the U.S. zone. In economic matters the bizonal organization is exercising considerable central authority over the states. Since there is no central German government and no German agreement on its structure and jurisdiction, the distribution of powers between the states and a future federal government cannot be regarded as final. But all constitutions assume that the individual states will be part of a future Germany.

For all these limitations on their practical importance, the constitutions represent a genuine German effort to order the political and official life of the state. They express the ideological forces which are evident in modern society, within the setting of a defeated and divided country.

In many respects they are not only an indication of present problems but also a preview of the constitutional debates which may be expected in the period of federal reconstruction, which, one hopes, lies ahead.

The occupation forces which took over the U. S. zone in May 1945 were confronted with political and administrative chaos as the result of the collapse of the whole Nazi system. Democracy, as a political theory, as a personal philosophy, and as a system of governmental organization, had almost disappeared under the force of National Socialist theory and practice. Basic laws, administrative personnel, and daily operations alike had been thoroughly nazified.

Government and party had become so completely enmeshed and coningled that action which was immediately undertaken to destroy the Nazi Party inevitably paralyzed many essential public services. The German people as a whole had neither the energy nor the tools with which to create and support a democratic government. The occupation forces had to start rebuilding from the ground up.

In the months which have elapsed since the conclusion of hostilities, the U. S. Military Government endeavored to assist the Germans in their efforts to revive the will to democracy and to assist that will to express itself in practical political, economic, and social forms. Vital to this broader effort was the specific program for creating democratic political processes and institutions.

Basic also was the necessity of appointing public officials on all levels of government who, as trustees for the German people, would begin the long process of reestablishing popular government. These officials had to carry the dual responsibilities of preparing for a more stable period of democratic controls and exercising the interim functions of government.

The first step in the reestablishment of democracy was the reorganization of local and state units of government. At the outset it was necessary that German officials of all levels should work under the detailed direction and control of Military Government officers, but a degree of independence and responsibility was rapidly developed, first in local and then in state governments. At the suggestion of Military Government, the three

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article on the German constitutions is reprinted from the *Information Bulletin*, magazine of U.S. Military Government in Germany, issue of Mar. 9, 1948, p. 3.

states prepared municipal government codes which were reviewed, revised, and approved by Military Government in November 1945.

Codes for county government were approved in February 1946. Thus the necessary legal foundations were laid at municipal and county levels. The next step was the introduction of popularly elected local representative bodies. In September 1945 a schedule of elections was prepared under which municipal councils were elected in January 1946; councils in the rural counties in April 1946; and in the larger cities in May 1946.

It still remained to frame the structure for democratic state governments, each with an elected legislature, a responsible executive, and an independent judiciary. The aim was to clothe the state governments with authority and to charge them with responsibility to the greatest extent commensurate with the continued military occupation of Germany and the attainment of occupation objectives, bearing in mind that no central German government existed to exercise those powers which must be centrally vested.

In February 1946 the three ministers-president were authorized to appoint preparatory constitutional commissions. These commissions reviewed constitutional problems and prepared draft constitutions for consideration by state constitutional assemblies. The delegates to these assemblies were elected by popular vote on June 30, 1946, and began their work in the following month.

The constitutions of the states in the U. S. zone are German in origin, spirit, and preparation. They spring from no Military Government dictate but from the needs and minds of the German people. Military Government insisted that the reestablishment of democracy cannot spring from a dictated constitution, that to enlist the wholehearted support of the German people, the constitutions must represent their will and not that of the occupation forces.

The specific process of constitution-making was guided by Military Government only through a general statement of basic principles of democratic organization which is contained in the September 30, 1946, directive, entitled "Relationships Between Military and Civil Government (U. S. Zone) Subsequent to Adoption of Land Constitutions". The statement of democratic principles was specifically interpreted and applied to certain provisions of the constitutions.

The constitutional conventions which were elected in June varied materially in party composition. The Hesse convention consisted of 90 members made up of 43 Social Democrats, 34 Christian Democrats, 7 Communists, and 6 Liberal Democrats. In Württemberg-Baden the 100 members included 41 Christian Democrats, 32 Social Democrats, 17 Democratic People's Party representatives, and 10 Communists.

In more conservative Bavaria the 180 members were distributed as follows: 109 to the Christian Social Union, 51 to the Social Democrats, 8 to the Communists, 8 to the Economic Reconstruction Party, and 4 to the Free Democrats. Like other democratic constitutions, these state constitutions embody basic compromises dictated by conflicting interests.

Rather than working through a variety of specialized committees, as is the practice in the United States, the convention employed a single drafting committee for the preparation of the document which was submitted to the full assembly for action. Prior to committee action, the party leaders prepared agreements upon particular articles, submitted those agreements to party caucuses, and subsequently referred the proposals to the drafting committee.

The latter then approved the proposals in accordance with prior party decisions and reported them to the full assembly for adoption. Assembly adoption was usually a foregone conclusion, but certain questions provoked lively debates and divisions in the plenary sessions. The conventions convened on July 15, 1946, completed the drafts of the constitutions about two and a half months later, and then recessed.

Having been approved by the conventions, the constitutions were referred to Military Government for review in terms of the principles of democracy, which the latter had already established as the standards for constitutional adequacy. As a consequence of this review, several suggestions and, in some cases, several required changes, were forwarded by Military Government to the conventions. The Deputy Military Governor then approved the constitutions subject to the general and special qualifications set out in his letters of October 21 to Württemberg-Baden, October 24 to Bavaria, and October 29 to Hesse.

After Military Government review and approval, the Bavarian constitution was adopted in its final form by the convention on October 26, the vote being 136 to 14, with 30 members absent or not voting. Württemberg-Baden on October 24 gave final approval to its constitution by a vote of 88 to 1, with 11 delegates absent or not voting. The vote in Hesse on October 29 showed 82 in favor, 8 opposed, and 2 absent.

The state status of Bremen was not established until January 1947, and hence its constitution-making process was delayed. Due to its small size, the existence of an elected legislature, and the confusion that might result from an excessive number of elections, the procedure followed in the other states was varied by omitting the election of a constitutional convention and permitting the legislature to provide for constitution-drafting. In August 1947, a draft was adopted and submitted to OMAUS. Approval, subject to certain gen-

eral and specific reservations, was given on September 5. Two compromise articles adopted thereafter by the Bremen legislature with OMCUS approval resulted in almost unanimous support for the constitution as it was submitted for referendum, the vote being 79 to 4.

When submitted by the conventions of the three southern states to the people late in 1946, the constitutions were ratified.

In Württemberg-Baden 72.2 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls; 68.6 percent of those voting approved the constitution; 10.5 percent disapproved the document; and 20.9 percent of the ballots were invalid.

In Hesse 72.7 percent of the eligible voters participated in the election, of whom 67.1 percent approved the constitution; 20.3 percent disapproved; and 12.5 percent invalidated their ballots. As was required by the Deputy Military Governor's letter of approval, article 41 providing for the socialization of certain industries was subjected to separate popular referendum. In balloting on this question, 62.7 percent of the voters approved, 24.5 percent disapproved, and 12.8 percent were invalid.

In Bavaria 76.3 percent of the registered voters participated. The affirmative vote on the constitution was 65.7 percent; the negative, 27.2 percent; and the invalid, 7.1 percent.

On the same dates when the constitutions were ratified, the state legislatures were elected.

In Bremen in October 1947, 67.5 percent of the eligible voters participated in the referendum on the constitution, of whom 66.6 percent approved, 25.4 percent opposed, and 8 percent of the ballots were invalid. On the alternative wording for article 47 providing that works councils should have the right of equal co-determination with management in economic and personnel as well as social questions, 48 percent approved and 44.1 percent opposed the broader language.

Many provisions in the documents are taken word for word from the democratic Weimar Constitution and the constitutions of the German states adopted between 1919 and 1923. Other articles are strong reactions against the tyranny of the Nazi regime. Still others grow out of local political, economic, and social conflicts and compromises.

The legislative power is vested in a unicameral legislature elected by the people according to the principles of proportional representation. There is also an advisory senate in Bavaria. Provision is made in certain circumstances for direct legislation by the people through initiative and referendum, including referendum on constitutional amendments. The executive power is exercised under the direction of the minister-president and his cabinet who are chosen by, and responsible to, the legislature.

The constitutions of Hesse and Württemberg-

Baden clearly provide for the parliamentary form of government; the Bavarian constitution is somewhat ambiguous on this point and reflects conventional sentiment favoring a more independent type of executive. An independent judiciary is established with a power of judicial veto which German courts have usually lacked in the past, namely, to declare laws passed by the legislature unconstitutional.

Each constitution contains a long bill of rights—rights that are guaranteed to individuals or to groups, rights that are of a political, social, and economic character. In part, these rights are the traditional rights of the individual as formulated in the English revolution of the seventeenth century and the American and French revolutions of the eighteenth century; in part, they are the newer social and economic rights so much stressed in twentieth-century thought. Through the ordinary courts and through the administrative courts, these rights will be protected against legislative and administrative violation.

At the same time the constitutions recognize that no rights are absolute and that, particularly in times of emergency, restrictions are necessary.

Among the more controversial questions dealt with by the constitutions are relationships of the states to the future German government and to interim authorities, such as the Council of States (*Länderrat*) and the bizonal economic agencies; the socialization of industry; land reform; and problems of church and state with respect to such matters as state subsidies to churches, church taxes, and church control of public education.

Viewed as a whole, the constitutions represent notable attempts by the Germans themselves to rebuild democratic constitutionalism. The legislatures elected under the constitutions convened in December 1946, and each chose a minister-president and cabinet. Thus, at the beginning of 1947, 20 months after the cessation of hostilities, municipal, county, and state governments in the U. S. zone were all operating under democratically adopted constitutions and with popularly elected representative bodies.

In the Soviet zone, the Soviet Military Administration was obliged to begin managing essential civil services through their military commanders on all levels of government, utilizing such Germans as were available and trustworthy. Cooperation came most readily from former members of the German Communist Party and from Germans specially trained for administrative tasks and in communist ideology in Russia.

States and provinces were immediately organized on the basis of existing traditional units. However, certain territorial adjustments were made in the interests of administrative efficiency and convenience. Pomerania, west of the Oder-Neisse line, was attached to Land Mecklenburg.

The small section of Lower Silesia which remained within the present boundaries of Germany was incorporated into the Land Saxony.

Brandenburg was reestablished as a political unit, minus those parts which are now under Polish administration. The former independent Land Anhalt was joined to the Prussian province of Saxony, and Thuringia was extended by the inclusion of a small amount of former Prussian territory. Enclaves existing in the zone were eliminated. After quadripartite agreement on the dissolution of the State of Prussia, the former Prussian provinces received state status. There are now five states in the Soviet Zone: Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, Thuringia, and Mecklenburg.

Municipal and city councils were elected in September 1946, and county councils and state assemblies, legislatures, or parliaments, in October of the same year. These legislatures drafted state constitutions which, after review by the Soviet Military Administration, were promulgated between December 1946 and the end of February 1947.

The constitutions of the Soviet Zone states are almost identical in their provisions and occasionally identical in phraseology as a result of the dominant position of the Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party.

The legislative power is vested in a unicameral legislature elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot, according to the principles of proportional representation. The legislature exercises legislative authority and control over the administration and the judiciary of the state. In certain specified cases provision is made for popular referenda.

The executive power is exercised by a minister-president who is chosen by and responsible to the legislature. The cabinet is composed of ministers who are nominated by the minister-president and confirmed by the legislature and are individually responsible for their activities and must resign if the confidence of the legislature is withdrawn.

A judiciary is established consisting of professional and lay judges nominated by democratic parties and organizations and elected by the representative bodies. While they are subject only to law, they are not permitted to question the constitutionality of properly enacted laws. When the question of the constitutionality of a law arises, decision is rendered by a special committee consisting partly of the legislative executives, partly of members of the high state courts and the university law faculties.

The communities and counties are recognized as self-supporting corporations. However, they execute those governmental functions that may be assigned to them by the legislature or the state government. Local governments and popularly elected officials are fully responsible to their assemblies and can be removed by them.

The economic freedom of the individual is guaranteed, but the economy of the state is to be organized according to the principles of social justice. The state government is responsible for economic planning. Monopolistic private enterprises are strictly forbidden, and certain enterprises may be socialized by law or referendum. Agricultural holdings are limited to a given size.

Public education is compulsory and unitary schools must be established. Higher education is provided for all without regard to social status or ability to pay. Religious freedom is guaranteed. Religious communities are organized as corporations of public law, and contributions made to them out of public funds are to be commuted by law.

Each constitution in the Soviet zone contains essentially the same basic rights as the constitutions of the U.S. and French zones. Like the constitution of the Soviet Union and constitution of Yugoslavia, the constitutions of the states in the Soviet zone make no mention of what is actually the most important organ of the state, namely the "state party", which performs the dual function of being a nervous system for the state bureaucratic apparatus and of mobilizing the general population to support state policies.

On the surface these constitutions seem to protect the citizen against arbitrary acts of the bureaucracy in that the executive is formally subordinate to the legislative, and all political powers are centered in the legislative branch as the "highest organ of the people's will."

Under the conditions where several liberal parties compete for political power, the Soviet zone constitutions would provide the basis for thoroughly democratic government under popular control. The leading party is, however, committed to the "unitary state" or one-party system.

Under this system the legislative branch is effectively mobilized and controlled by the party, leading functionaries of which also occupy leading bureaucratic posts, so that any effective opposition is silenced. The result is a *de facto* self-government by the bureaucracy, the supposed elements of popular control remaining merely a fiction.

The independence of the judiciary is also only apparent; they are, with few exceptions, instruments of political power subject as much to the manipulation of the ruling party as are the legislative and executive branches.

The French occupation forces on assuming control of the French zone in July 1945, had also to contend with many practical, geographical, and administrative difficulties. Their zone lacked unity. The southern part of the zone included the truncated portions of Württemberg and Baden, each of which formed a separate state. The northern half of the zone was composed of half a dozen more or less disparate elements, remnants of for-

mer Prussian provinces and other German states, which by an ordinance dated August 30, 1946, was finally organized into the Rhineland-Palatinate. The Saar from the very beginning was treated differently and has since been separated entirely from the rest of the French zone.

Thus, more than any other part of Germany, the French zone lacked cohesion. It contained no important administrative centers; all the provincial capitals remained outside its boundaries. The situation was aggravated by existing difficulties of communications between the northern and southern portions of the zone.

The process of reestablishing self-government in the area began in September 1945. About the same time trade-union activity was permitted, and, by the end of the year, political parties made their appearance in the zone. In May 1946 the communities in the French zone began preparation of electoral lists for municipal elections which took place on September 15, 1946. On October 13, county elections took place for county assemblies which, in turn, by November 17, designated members to the consultative assemblies.

In Württemberg and in Baden, each consultative assembly was composed of two electoral colleges, in the Rhineland-Palatinate of four: two for the Rhineland and two for the Palatinate. One electoral college was elected from all the county assemblies of the state and the other from the cities of more than 7,000 population.

The Christian parties emerged as the strongest throughout the zone. They held a clear majority in the consultative assemblies of all three states. The assemblies convened in November 1946 and proceeded to draft constitutions for their respective states. The constitutions were finally reviewed, approved by the French High Command, and voted upon by the people on May 18, 1947. The referendum concerning the constitutions was held simultaneously with the election of state assemblies, legislatures, or parliaments.

In Württemberg and in Baden the electorate accepted the constitutions by comfortable majorities. In the Rhineland-Palatinate it narrowly missed defeat, as did the separate referendum held on the school question. In the elections to the legislature the Christian parties registered losses in all the states but were still the strongest party.

The constitutions of the states in the French zone bear marked resemblance to the Bavarian constitution. The hand of the Christian parties is clearly discernible in each one of them. The three constitutions contain long and detailed bills of rights. The legislative power is uniformly vested in a unicameral legislature elected by the people.

The minister-president is elected by the legislature and is responsible to it. He in turn selects his ministers who must be approved by the legis-

lature. The ministers are responsible to the minister-president on matters of over-all policy and to the legislature on matters falling within their functional fields.

A constitutional court is established to review legislation and pass upon its constitutionality. All three constitutions take special pains to guard church interest. Religious instruction is to be imparted in all schools and to be supervised by the churches. Permissive clauses for the socialization of basic industries are included in all the constitutions. Adequate compensation is required in all cases. Property rights, especially land and real-estate rights, are safeguarded.

All constitutions give the minister-president power in cases of emergency to suspend for brief periods certain of the basic rights granted to the citizens. In all such cases the legislature must immediately be informed of this action. Denazification laws are specifically exempted from the constitutional provisions of the bill of rights.

On June 9, 1947, the French High Command in Germany issued Ordinance No. 95, a document comparable to the September 30 directive of the American Military Government. This ordinance makes the constitutions subject to Control Council and French High Command orders. Furthermore, certain spheres of activity pertaining to reparations, movements of population, dismantling, and occupational requirements are removed from the competence of the German authorities.

Proposals pertaining to decartelization, denazification, and democratization must be communicated to the French High Command before being introduced in the legislature. The state budget must make provisions for occupation costs. All laws must receive French Military Government approval before promulgation.

Although the French zone constitutions give the impression that the state governments are independently functioning entities, they are actually supervised by French Military Government to an extent even greater than that which would be suggested by a reading of Ordinance No. 95.

In addition to the specific subjects reserved to French Military Government by this order, there are also "legislative powers in the field of economics for which coordination between the states is required." On the strength of this latter provision the states have been forbidden to legislate on any branches within the fields of economics, food and agriculture, or transport.

While laws outside the prohibited and restricted categories may be introduced in a legislature without prior Military Government review, the Germans have been "advised" to submit them for prior review so that, for all practical purposes, there is advance clearance of everything the legislature does, in addition to a review, before promulgation, of legislation already enacted.

International Law and the European Recovery Program

BY ERNEST A. GROSS¹

Legal Adviser

Mr. Justice Holmes said that a page of history is worth a volume of logic. I propose to outline some of the facts of history which have necessitated the formulation of the European Recovery Program and to indicate its relation to certain other aspects of American foreign economic policy. I hope thus to put the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 in perspective so that we who are concerned with the dynamics of international law may see the problem whole, rather than as a fragment.

The report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations enumerates some of the reasons why Europe is in need: "Economic nationalism, political tensions and uncertainty, war devastation, the prolonged interruption of international trade, the loss of foreign income and dollar funds, internal financial disequilibrium, shortage of supplies from southeast Asia, the wartime movement of peoples to certain areas of western Europe, and a 10-percent increase of population have all contributed to economic break-down in Europe. Germany, a focal point in the European economy, is paralyzed. Inflation is rampant. Subversive elements are hampering recovery and engineering social chaos."

This summary is of particular interest because it starts with "economic nationalism" and ends with a reference to subversive elements "engineering social chaos". Neither of these is, of course, unique to the postwar history of Europe and, as has been recently pointed out, the European revolutions of just a century ago posed the still unsolved problems of nationalism and Marxian socialism. It remained for the supreme demagoguery of Hitler to select a name for his party which suggested a twin solution; and it remained for the National Socialist Party to prepare the fields in which subversion thrives.

Economic conditions at the end of World War II resulted in the decision of most nations—the United States being a notable exception—to retain, if not to intensify, rigid trade controls and

to resort to discriminatory bilateral deals. Each country desperately conserved its small and precious stock of foreign exchange by limiting foreign purchases to goods and services most urgently needed, while at the same time attempting to persuade other countries, most of whom were in a like situation, to accept those nonessentials which had to be exported in order to provide necessary foreign exchange. Under such pressures a system of ever-increasing discriminations and restrictions on foreign trade tended to arise; and restrictionism and protection, once sampled, are strong drugs, the habit of which is not easy to break. At the time when increased international trade was an obvious necessity, restrictionism, bilateralism, and special dealism threatened effectively to strangle such trade.

Against this background, the Secretary of State, on June 5, 1947, in his now famous Harvard speech, announced that the United States Government would make efforts to "help start the European world on its way to recovery", if the countries of Europe would agree on the requirements and upon the part they themselves would take "to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government". Shortly after Secretary Marshall's statement, the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and France invited the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. to meet with them to consider whether a joint program for the economic recovery of Europe might be devised. The U.S.S.R. refused to cooperate on the ground that such a program "would lead to interference in the internal affairs of European countries". She also refused to permit Poland and Czechoslovakia to subject themselves to such interference.

In July 1947 the United Kingdom and France invited all European countries, other than Spain, to attend a conference to formulate such a program. The 14 nations which accepted this invitation, together with its initiators, formed a Committee of European Economic Co-operation, the members of which have now formed by treaty a European economic organization which will be of long-range and vital importance. The Committee of European Economic Co-operation issued a

¹Address made before the American Society of International Law in Washington on Apr. 23, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

comprehensive report in September which is a monumental tribute to the ability of likeminded nations working together to achieve agreement and important results in fields previously marked by controversy and dissension. The response of the United States was the enactment, on April 3d, of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948.

The United States has also for several years been developing a long-range program which will not only complement the European Recovery Program but also is designed to insure permanent enjoyment of the benefits to be expected from the European Recovery Program. This other program has culminated in the recommendation by 58 nations of the world of a charter for a proposed International Trade Organization. The objectives of the Economic Cooperation Act are stated, in part, as "the establishment of sound economic conditions, stable international relationships and the achievement by the countries of Europe of a healthy economy independent of extraordinary outside assistance". The "progressive elimination of trade barriers" is cited as a primary policy of the Act.

The Havana Charter of the International Trade Organization states, as certain of its objectives, the making of a contribution to a "balanced and expanding world economy" and the achievement, through reduction of trade barriers and elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, of the aims of the United Nations. The two programs go hand in hand. They are facets of the same crystal. Together they indicate the faith of the United States in the necessity for closer economic cooperation among nations and the sure knowledge of the interdependence of the economies of the world, one upon the other. To speak in the terms of Toynbee, they are the response of the free nations of the world to the stimulus of adversity, of bitter economic and political developments. And it is worth noting that Toynbee demonstrates that, within limits which will themselves be established by this response, the rule is that the magnitude of the challenge is the measure of the response.

The report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the ERP bill said: "The decision which must now be made is whether we shall continue the effort to achieve our goal: The establishment of a stable world with free political institutions and the rule of law".

Fundamentally, then, the problem is that of international law not so much in relation to the European Recovery Program, nor to the International Trade Organization, but in relation to the changing economic—and therefore political—interaction and interrelation of the nations of the world. For these relations are changing and will change. And, as change in the relations of man to man reflects itself, sometimes tardily, in the

internal law of nations, so this change in international relations—this weaving together of economies—will affect international law. It is our task to see that international law is a ready tool, not for change for the sake of change, but for the real interests of nations and peoples.

To carry out our task we must see whether such programs for economic cooperation as ERP have already modified—or indeed violated—what are established principles of international law. One question which leaps to mind is, of course, whether the effort toward economic cooperation conflicts with the concept of territorial sovereignty—a charge which might be lightly dismissed did it not indicate misconception or mischief.

It is a charge which must be appraised in the context in which it is most frequently made, and which was keynoted by the declaration adopted at the first meeting of the Cominform: "The Truman-Marshall plan is only a constituent part, the European subsection, of a general plan for the policy of global expansion pursued by the United States in all parts of the World".

The hollowness of the charge is most apparent when viewed against the dogma of the Chief of the Soviet State, announced more than 15 years before the so-called "Truman-Marshall Plan", that the premises of the proletarian revolution must start "from the point of view of the state of world economy, inasmuch as the individual countries and individual national economies are no longer independent economic units . . . and inasmuch as the old 'civilizing' capitalism has grown into imperialism and imperialism is a world system of financial bondage . . ." (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, 1932).

There is, indeed, in the two programs of economic cooperation I am discussing, no conflict with established concepts of sovereignty. The charter of the International Trade Organization will come into effect, when it does, by the ratification of the states making up the Organization—a ratification which will in itself be a re-affirmation of the rights of sovereignty. So also the charter of the European cooperation organization is to be ratified by the members, and the provision of assistance to the members will be made possible by agreements to be negotiated between the United States and the other cooperating states.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee report reveals the legislative consideration of this subject:

"In stressing the importance of these obligations (i.e., those embodied in the multilateral undertakings), the Committee was sensitive to the fact that the countries of western Europe are highly developed sovereign nations and would be properly resentful of any interference from the outside in their internal affairs. There can be no possible criticism on this score inasmuch as the

undertakings were voluntarily assumed by the Committee of European Economic Co-operation countries upon their own initiative and in no sense represent an attempt on the part of the United States to impose restrictions on the sovereign rights of the participating countries."

It is appropriate to recall the remarkable treatise of Fedor Martens, who served 40 years in the Russian Foreign Office and who, long before his death in 1909, had earned the sobriquet of "the Chief Justice of Christendom" for his work as an arbitrator. In 1883 he wrote: "Looking to their own progress and that of their citizens, states must enter into relations among themselves, seek in other countries the resources which they may lack and in return offer their assistance to other peoples for the attainment of legitimate purposes. In fulfilling their essential duties they depend upon one another. The degree of their mutual dependence is in proportion to the degree of their civilization and education". This is not far from the language of article 1 of the charter of the Iro nor from the language of section 102(a), title I of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948. The latter states:

"Recognizing the intimate economic and other relations between the United States and the nations of Europe, and recognizing that disruption following in the wake of war is not contained by national frontiers, the Congress finds that the existing situation in Europe endangers the establishment of a lasting peace, the general welfare and national interest of the United States, and the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations."

In fulfillment of this policy, the Act goes on to offer to the cooperating nations that very assistance of which Martens spoke.

Still less substantial is the question whether the economic policies of the United States, as exemplified in these two programs, are in conflict with the Charter of the United Nations. The preparation of the charter of the International Trade Organization was in fact sponsored by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The European Recovery Program accords with the procedures and the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and explicitly contemplates coordination with the specialized agencies of the United Nations. The Committee of European Economic Co-operation was careful to point out in its general report that, wherever suitable international machinery exists, it is the desire of the participating countries that their collective tasks be undertaken within the framework of the United Nations.

But although existing institutions and established concepts have been respected, it remains true that fundamental changes in economic relations among nations may well develop new inter-

national law. New economic problems of the merchants of the world inspired the work of such men as Lord Mansfield in the development of commercial law. The vitality of the common law lies in its adaptability to new circumstances. Whether, since August of 1945, when the war ended, there has been a sufficient change in the economic facts of the international community to compel fundamental reexamination of established concepts of international law may well be doubted. But the change is sufficient to put all of us on notice.

Certainly, it is clear that other new and important problems of international law are raised by the two programs we have been considering. I may take, because time is brief, only a few examples from these two programs.

In connection with the proposed charter of an International Trade Organization, the members confer upon the Organization certain powers of review over their freedom to take economic measures which in the past have been considered essentially matters of domestic concern and at most the subject of bilateral and generally very limited treaties. This is, I think, a fair example of the truth of the proposition laid down by the Permanent Court of International Justice in the case of the Tunis-Morocco nationality decrees: "The question whether a certain matter is or is not solely within the jurisdiction of a State is an essentially relative question; it depends upon the development of international relations."

More specifically in the field of the international lawyer are those provisions of the International Trade Organization charter for review by the International Court of decisions of the Iro. At Geneva, in the preparatory committee stage of the work on the charter, and again at Havana, where the final charter draft was prepared, these provisions were the subject of close scrutiny and much discussion. Basically the provision in the charter is for review of decisions of the Organization by means of a request to the International Court for an advisory opinion. The Organization may be required by a single member to ask for such an advisory opinion; and the advisory opinion is binding upon the Organization. Manifestly, international review of decisions of as wide-ranging economic scope as those of the Iro raises new and important problems.

It may be questioned, for example, whether the advisory opinion technique is really the best for review of Organization decisions. But the use of that technique was dictated by the Statute of the International Court of Justice which would preclude the Iro from itself being a party to a case brought before the Court by a member.

Another problem which may compel reexamination by students of international law is that of review by a judicial body of what are essentially

administrative decisions in the international economic field. The relations between domestic courts and administrative bodies, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, have been the core of a growing body of jurisprudence within the United States. It may be that the problem of judicial review of decisions of the International Trade Organization is the precursor of a similar development in the international field. As economic cooperation between nations increases and as nations bind themselves to take joint action or to be governed by the decision of a jointly established organization or body, familiar problems will arise of freedom of administrative decision, deference to the expert judgment of the administrator, with adequate judicial guaranties of the fundamental rights and of adherence to the rules of fair play.

Of particular interest to the international lawyer are the provisions of the multilateral reciprocal undertakings of the participating countries. These include an agreement to cooperate with "one another and like minded countries" to reduce tariffs and other barriers to the expansion of trade; to remove progressively obstacles to the free movement of persons in Europe; and to organize together the means whereby common resources can be developed in partnership. The procedures by which these and the other multilateral undertakings will be implemented will pose new problems in international law. The new organization established only this month by the participating countries to provide the mechanism for implementation also sets a new pattern in international economic relations. This new organization is responsible for coordinating the recovery programs of the member nations; for making possible cooperative action; and for assuring the United States that our assistance is being utilized in such a manner as will best work for the recovery of all participating countries rather than for the sole benefit of the individual country.

The relationship with each of the participating countries to the United States is also of considerable interest to the lawyer. Although the United States is not a party to the multilateral agreement, nor a member of the continuing organization, the Economic Cooperation Act makes clear that the continuity of our assistance will be dependent upon the continuity of cooperation among the participating countries. Further, the provision of assistance by us to any one of the participating countries requires that it conclude with the United States a bilateral agreement, the terms of which in large part are taken from the pledges which the countries themselves exchanged with each other in September 1947.

Section 115(b) of the legislation provides for the inclusion in such agreements, where applicable, of certain important provisions. The participat-

ing countries will agree with us to cooperate with each other in reducing barriers to trade among themselves and other countries. Further, each participating country must take measures to locate and identify and put into appropriate use the assets and earnings therefrom belonging to its citizens where such assets are located within the United States, its territories, or possessions. This provision, which the legislative history makes clear does not require forced liquidation of the assets, is based on the concept that idle, hoarded, or unproductive assets should be put to use. The concept is not a new one; wartime decrees of, for example, the United Kingdom and the Royal Netherlands Government-in-exile, were directed at placing into use the assets in this country belonging to their citizens. In this instance, however, the requirement that the participating countries put these assets to use in furtherance of the recovery program stems from our legislation. The problem for the lawyer, recognizing the need for and the justice of such action, is to assure accomplishment of the objective in a manner that does not prejudice the legitimate stability of private international investment in its important role in the modern international economy.

The bilateral agreements are also to provide that the participating countries will agree to negotiate suitable protection for the right of access for any United States citizen to the sources of materials, required by the United States as a result of the deficiencies or potential deficiencies in its own resources, on terms of treatment equivalent to those afforded the nationals of the participating countries.

The participating country is also to agree to submit for decision of the International Court of Justice, or any arbitral tribunal mutually agreed upon, any case espoused by this Government involving compensation for a national of the United States for governmental measures affecting his property rights. It can be expected that difficult problems will arise in connection with decisions which must be made by this Government as to which cases it will espouse under this provision and the extent to which we will require of citizens a demonstration that the local remedies are inadequate.

An over-all problem with respect both to the multilateral agreements among the participating countries and the bilateral agreements with the United States will be the applicability of article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, which provides that the states parties to the Statute may declare that they recognize "as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning: (a) the interpreta-

(Continued on page 585)

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

The Palestine Situation

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN ¹

U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations

Since the United States introduced the resolution in the Security Council which led to the calling of this Special Session of the General Assembly, we believe it appropriate for us to outline at this early stage of our proceedings the nature of the problem which now confronts us. In essence, it is the establishment of peace in Palestine and the creation of conditions for a constructive political settlement.

The Palestine question first came before the United Nations at a Special Session of the General Assembly which convened in New York on April 28, 1947, in response to a request made by the United Kingdom on April 2, 1947. In that Special Session the United States supported the idea that a Special Committee, made up of neutral and disinterested members, should review the situation in Palestine and report to the regular session of the General Assembly which was to meet in September of last year. We supported such a Committee because we were aware that earlier efforts to find a solution for Palestine had been unavailing and because we were anxious to see the question dealt with by the United Nations on its merits, free from special interests and other factors which did not bear directly upon Palestine itself.

While the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine was at work, from May 26, 1947, until the submission of its report to the General Assembly on September 3, 1947, the United States Government scrupulously refrained from statements of policy or from acts which might in any way prejudice the work of that Committee. We were eager for it to have every possible opportunity to make an impartial study of the question and to recommend what seemed to it to be a fair solution.

Inherent in our attitude was a desire to give very great weight to the work of such a Committee.

¹ Made on Apr. 20, 1948, to the Political and Security Committee (First Committee) at the Second Special Session of the General Assembly; released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date. Mr. Austin is Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Special Session.

United States Support of UNSCOP Report

The majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine proposed a plan of partition with economic union. In the regular session of the General Assembly which convened in September of last year, the United States supported this majority proposal. In doing so, we sought certain changes in it which we thought would make the plan more workable. We proposed territorial revisions which reduced the size of the Arab minority in the proposed Jewish State, and we endeavored to strengthen that part of the plan providing for economic union. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine itself had unanimously concluded that "the preservation of the economic unity of Palestine as a whole is indispensable to the life and development of the country and its peoples".

In favoring the plan for partition with economic union we were aware that the Arabs of Palestine were unwilling to agree to it in advance, that the plan was not acceptable in every respect to the Jews of Palestine, and that the United Kingdom had stated its unwillingness to take an active part in its implementation in the absence of agreement between the Jews and Arabs. The General Assembly made every possible effort to meet objections from these three sources. Had the Assembly taken all such objections at full value, no recommendations at all would have been possible. No plan could have met the views expressed to the Assembly by the United Kingdom and by the Jews and Arabs. The United Kingdom, however, had asked for recommendations of the General Assembly on the future Government of Palestine. It did not withdraw that request, nor did it propose any other type of United Nations action. It was up to the Assembly to recommend, specifically to the United Kingdom, what it considered to be a fair and equitable solution which could rightfully claim the cooperation of the people of Palestine and of the mandatory power as a final settlement for that troublesome question. In all of these debates and negotiations, the United States has sought a United Nations program because we believe that the interests of all nations are involved in the maintenance of order and peace in Palestine.

We and many other members of this Assembly

hoped that the expression of general world opinion would influence the Arabs to give the recommendation of the Assembly a chance to work. We hoped that the United Kingdom would cooperate fully in carrying out those parts of the plan which it alone could carry out since it was in Palestine as the mandatory power. We hoped that the Jews would make every possible effort to compose their differences with the Arabs in an effort to reduce the violence which prevailed in Palestine. Events have not fulfilled these hopes.

Efforts for Peaceful Implementation

Following the passage of the resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, the United States attempted by diplomatic means to urge a moderate attitude upon the interested parties in order that a peaceful implementation of the plan for partition with economic union might be possible. We do not know what efforts have been made by other members of the United Nations to exert their influence along similar lines in support of the recommendation of the General Assembly. In any event, such efforts were not successful.

The Palestine Commission, established by the resolution of November 29, began in early January its task of carrying out the plan of partition with economic union. My Government wishes to express its great appreciation for the devoted work which this Commission has applied to its task and the effort which it has made, in the most difficult possible circumstances, to carry out the responsibilities imposed upon it by this Assembly.

Action of the Security Council

The resolution of the General Assembly on Palestine was considered by the Security Council in February and March.

On February 25, the United States offered a resolution, the first paragraph of which proposed that the Security Council resolve:

"To accept, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter, the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947."²

If accepted, it would have placed the Security Council behind the plan of partition with economic union.

This United States proposal failed to receive the necessary support. In the vote which took place on March 5, the first paragraph obtained only five affirmative votes, including the vote of the United States. The record is as follows (I refer to S/PV 263, page 34): in favor—Belgium, France, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United States; against—none; abstentions—Argentina, Canada, Colombia, Syria, United Kingdom. The result was five in

favor, none against. The paragraph was rejected.

Amendments to the remainder of our resolution were proposed. We accepted most of these suggestions in the hope that the consultation among the five permanent members called for in the resolution would facilitate agreement on a course of action and promote peaceful implementation of the Assembly resolution. The resolution was then adopted by a vote of 8 to 0 with Argentina, Syria, and the United Kingdom abstaining.³

During a period of intensive consultation—many meetings being held—among the permanent members, the mandatory power, the Palestine Commission, and the representatives of the Jews and Arabs of Palestine, the following finding was reported to the Security Council (I refer to S/PV 270, page 7, no. 4): "The Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee have indicated that the partition plan cannot be implemented by peaceful means under present conditions".

By the middle of March we recognized that time was fast running out.⁴ The only certainty was that grave disorders were occurring daily in Palestine and that even greater bloodshed could be expected after May 15th. That prospect presented a hard choice to the United States as a member of the United Nations. We could take an inactive position and let the situation move on to inevitable chaos. The alternative was to suggest some emergency action to preserve the peace, running the risk of the misunderstanding which would accompany any such effort on our part. My Government considered that the only decent course lay in an effort to save lives, and we found that our colleagues in the Security Council were ready to move in the same direction.

Truce Efforts

The United States, therefore, along with other members of the Security Council, turned to an attempt to effect a truce in order to bring to an end the serious fighting now occurring daily in Palestine and to forestall even greater bloodshed after May 15th.⁵

The report of the United Nations Palestine Commission directed to this Special Session states that "Arab elements, both inside and outside of Palestine, have exerted organized, intensive effort toward defeating the purposes of the resolution of the General Assembly. To this end, threats, acts of violence, and infiltration of organized, armed, uniformed Arab bands into the Palestinian terri-

² BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1948, p. 297.

³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1948, p. 344.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1948, p. 402. See also *ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1948, p. 451.

Ibid., Apr. 18, 1948, p. 514.

tory have been employed". Our own information confirms this part of the Palestine report. The primary reason why the General Assembly's resolution of November 29th could not be carried out by peaceful means was Arab resistance. Some of this resistance, arising from outside Palestine, is in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and must be halted.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine has demonstrated that it is prepared to accept the resolution of the General Assembly of last November 29, despite the fact that this resolution did not represent the full measure of their claims. We must recall, however, that elements in the Jewish Community have resorted to wide-spread terrorism and wilful murder since November 29, 1947. Such activities have shocked the entire world, have served to inflame still further the Palestine question, and have made it more difficult for the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the Palestine problem.

Responsibility of Palestinians

It seems to us clear that the primary responsibility for reaching a peaceful settlement of this problem rests upon the people of Palestine. Instead of serious and responsible efforts to resolve their differences, we see bitter retaliatory fighting and an apparent determination to seek a solution by force of arms rather than by force of reason, adjustment, and persuasion. We do not believe that the peoples of Palestine are entitled to appear before the United Nations to assert demands which must be accepted by the other party and the world community as the only alternative to war.

Meanwhile, the United Kingdom has steadfastly held to May 15 as the terminal point of the mandate and to August 1 as the final departure date of the remaining British forces.

Faced with these British deadlines and mounting conflict in Palestine, the Security Council in the early hours of last Saturday morning acted to establish a truce. This action of the Council needs and deserves the full support of all the members of the United Nations.

Cooperation Essential for Truce

Further action on the truce by the Security Council may be required. It may be necessary to establish in Palestine a truce commission of the Council and to make available to the commission a limited number of police to assist in supervising the truce and to reinforce the local police in controlling irresponsible elements. At the heart of the matter is the need for those who control the Arab and Jewish populations of Palestine to cooperate to the fullest in the enforcement of the truce called for by the Security Council.

^o Not printed here.

Since the truce itself does not insure the continuance of governmental authority in Palestine, the United States believes that consideration should be given by the General Assembly to the establishment of a temporary trusteeship which might provide a government and essential public services in that country pending further negotiation. If the mandatory power actively cooperates, the General Assembly would be able to establish United Nations governmental authority in Palestine. Under the trusteeship provisions of the Charter, the General Assembly has authority to accept responsibility which goes far beyond its powers of recommendation. The United Nations itself can become the administering authority.

United States Suggestions for Trusteeship Agreement

The United States does not wish to confront the General Assembly with a draft trusteeship agreement which has been worked out in every detail or to present in any formal sense a draft trusteeship agreement. We have, however, prepared some suggestions which are based largely upon a draft statute which the Trusteeship Council developed for the territory of Jerusalem, as well as upon suggestions which have been made informally by several members of the Security Council. These suggestions are in the form of a working paper which we feel represents to a very considerable degree a collective view.

I call your attention to a paper which is before you (AC/1/277 of 20 April 1948, second special session, first committee), "Draft Trusteeship Agreement for Palestine".⁶

The Assembly may consider that for a temporary trusteeship it is not advisable to go into too much detail in the terms of the trusteeship agreement. Indeed, it has been suggested by several delegations that the terms of the agreement might be kept very general and that it could be very much shorter than the draft which had been elaborated for the City of Jerusalem. The United States Delegation, for its part, would find acceptable either form for the temporary agreement which it hopes will be reached by this Assembly.

We believe that the agreement should be subject to prompt termination whenever there is general agreement upon a permanent solution of the Palestine problem.

Government of Palestine

We also believe that while supervision of the agreement should be exercised by the Trusteeship Council on behalf of the United Nations the major governmental functions should be exercised by a Government of Palestine, acting in accordance with the terms of the agreement and under such instructions as the Trusteeship Council might find it necessary to give.

Such a Government of Palestine should be headed by a Governor-General appointed by and responsible to the Trusteeship Council.

The Government of Palestine should preferably include a democratically elected legislature, possibly in two chambers, but if such a body could not be promptly established the Governor-General should, we believe, be authorized to legislate by order.

Security Forces

The trusteeship agreement should provide also for the maintenance of law and order in Palestine, and the Governor-General should be authorized, if necessary, to call upon certain states specified in the agreement to assist in the maintenance of order.

The agreement, we believe, should make it possible for the Government of Palestine to take over and continue existing central services necessary to carry on the government. Specific provision, we think, would also have to be made for immigration into Palestine on some agreed basis and for a policy of land purchase.

Finances

In the view of the United States Government, the standard of living and public services in Palestine should be based in general upon the levels which can be supported by the resources of Palestine so that large subsidies by the United Nations should not be anticipated.

If funds are required for carrying out any recommendation of the Trusteeship Council which cannot be raised by the Government of Palestine, such funds, we believe, should be supplied as subsidies or recoverable loans by the United Nations as a whole on the regular scale of contributions to the budget of the United Nations. The Palestine budget, we believe, should be handled as a separate budget and not as part of the ordinary budget of the United Nations.

Holy Places

The trusteeship agreement should contain adequate guaranties for the protection and preservation of the Holy Places in Palestine with access to all places of worship by those who have an established right to visit and worship at them. Also the trusteeship agreement should contain provisions for handling disputes pertaining to them. It should also assure, subject to the necessary safeguards of public order and security, freedom of entry into Palestine for foreign pilgrims and persons who desire to visit the Holy Places.

Such points as these should be thoroughly examined by the appropriate committee of this Assembly with a view to perfecting the terms of a temporary trusteeship agreement. We hope,

therefore, that the First Committee will ask the Fourth Committee to undertake this task immediately.

Trusteeship a Standstill—Not a Solution

We do not suggest a temporary trusteeship as a substitute for the plan of partition with economic union or for any other solution of the Palestine problem which may be agreed upon by the Jews and Arabs of that country. We consider it an emergency measure to insure public order and the maintenance of public services. The truce and trusteeship together envisage a military and political standstill to save human life and to make possible further negotiations on a final political settlement. As we see it, the truce and trusteeship would be entirely without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties or to the character of the eventual political settlement.

Economic Development of Palestine

It is not enough to provide only for law and order in Palestine. If the United Nations accepts temporary responsibility for the Government of Palestine, everything possible should be done to promote the economic recovery and development of the country for the mutual benefit of all of its inhabitants. The record shows that the peoples of Palestine can and will work together for their mutual welfare if given a reasonable chance to do so. All over Palestine Jews and Arabs have collaborated on such fundamental problems as irrigation and water supply, transportation, and sanitation. It should be an important function of a temporary government to promote such collaboration. If we really want to reduce and prevent violence, we will take measures to substitute tools for weapons. That will be much less costly and much more successful than attempting solely to maintain police authority. It will also reduce the emphasis on political bitterness.

We are dealing with people who, like people everywhere, are interested in the common things of life—the education of their children, the improved cultivation of their land, more and better food, more power for their industries, greater opportunities for themselves and their children in jobs and business and farming. Peace is not an ominous quiet but a substitution of the tractor for the tank.

Role of United Nations Agencies

Here, the many resources of the United Nations might be mobilized. The United Nations is not concerned solely with the solution of conflict and with the maintenance of peace. The Organization and its members are obligated by the Charter to promote international economic and social cooperation. We believe that when the fighting stops, a real opportunity will open up for joint action by Jews and Arabs, assisted by the United

Nations, its specialized agencies, and the proposed Economic Commission for the Middle East, to develop the economic potentialities of Palestine. Attention might be given to plans for harnessing the River Jordan, for draining the swamplands near its source, and for reclaiming new areas of arid land in order that they might bloom once again as in Biblical times. Attention could be given to other proposals, such as the one for digging a canal to allow the water of the Mediterranean to flow into the Dead Sea depression, thereby affording people electric power, not only for Palestine but for surrounding countries.

Practical projects for the development of hydroelectric power might be unfolded in such a way as to warrant the financial assistance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Food and Agriculture Organization might assist in the fruitful utilization of reclaimed areas. The World Health Organization might be asked to assist in combating the danger of malaria around the headwaters of the Jordan. The International Labor Organization might contribute to the improvement of working and living conditions. In the fields of education and culture and of scientific experimentation, the temporary government of Palestine might enlist the advice and assistance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

A peaceful Palestine should also attract private investments which would contribute, in many ways, to its economic development.

People who now disagree concerning the form of government which should ultimately be established for Palestine have in common a devotion to that land and a desire for its development. On projects such as those which I have mentioned, they could collaborate for the promotion of the common weal.

Basic United Nations Purposes

From the beginning our purposes as members of the United Nations have been to prevent a situation likely to endanger peace in Palestine and in the world and positively to facilitate a peaceful settlement with self-government and a chance for orderly social and economic development.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING DRAFT STATUTE FOR THE CITY OF JERUSALEM¹

WHEREAS, the General Assembly by its Resolution of 29 November 1947, requested the Trusteeship Council to elaborate and approve a detailed Statute for the City of Jerusalem within five months of the date of passage, i.e., by 29 April 1948; and

The Trusteeship Council,

Taking note of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council concerning the future govern-

These purposes still stand. The responsibility is still an international one. But the hard fact is that we must protect our chances of achieving those purposes by establishing the conditions to make them possible.

The sequence of events shown in the historical review with which I began has landed us very near a dangerous deadline, requiring emergency action. As we see it, this is an emergency or holding action. It is an action to insure order and government and thereby to make possible the working out of a peaceful settlement and constructive development in Palestine. This action I have described under the headings of truce, temporary trusteeship, and economic development.

Joint Responsibility for Trusteeship

The United States has raised with certain other governments the question of joint responsibility for the security of a trusteeship. These discussions have thus far produced no tangible result. The United States is willing to undertake its share of responsibility for the provision of police forces which are required during a truce and a temporary trusteeship, along with other members who may be selected by the General Assembly and who are willing to carry out such a task in accordance with the will of the Assembly and with the provisions of the Charter.

While the United States is prepared to carry its fair share of the United Nations burden involved in such a temporary trusteeship, it is not prepared to act alone in this matter. Our participation will be conditioned upon a readiness of other governments to provide similar assistance.

It is easy, particularly in regard to Palestine, to point out difficulties and objections to any course of action. It is not easy to come forward with practical and responsible suggestions to meet the situation. We are confronted here with a problem of unusual complexity and one which presents a most serious challenge to the United Nations. It can be met only if the mandatory power, the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine, and all of the members of the United Nations take an active part in seeking a settlement in the spirit of the Charter.

ment of Palestine dated 5 March 1948, and the convocation of the Special Session of the General Assembly for the purpose of considering further "the Future Government of Palestine";

Transmits to the General Assembly for its information, together with a copy of the draft Statute for the City of Jerusalem (Document T/118/Rev. 1), the following resolution adopted by the Trusteeship Council on 10 March 1948:

(Continued on page 578)

¹ U.N. doc. US/T/15. Adopted by the Trusteeship Council on Apr. 21, 1948.

The Little Assembly of the United Nations

BY PHILIP C. JESSUP¹

Deputy U.S. Representative on the Interim Committee of the United Nations

This first national conference of the regional officers of the International Relations Clubs is a significant event. I have followed for a good many years the work of the International Relations Clubs with a great deal of interest and admiration for the results of your work. The establishment and operation of these clubs constitute one of the substantial contributions of the Carnegie Endowment toward the attainment of international peace. I hope this is merely the first of a series of similar national conferences. You regional officers of International Relations Clubs are in key positions. Your own opinions are important, and you have an opportunity to exercise an influence on the thinking of an important section of American opinion.

In giving you tonight a thumb-nail sketch of the work of the Little Assembly of the United Nations, I should warn you that I approach the subject from an optimistic point of view. One of the most subtle definitions of the difference between the optimist and the pessimist is the one which says that the optimist is a person who *thinks* this is the best of all possible worlds while the pessimist is one who *knows* that it is. The pessimist sees no hope for improvement. The basic reason for optimism in considering the United Nations is the fact that there is ample opportunity for development and change. We are witnessing rather rapid developments and rather notable changes. The organization is still in its infancy, and one cannot expect that the developments and changes will constantly be revolutionary. A pessimistic outlook in regard to the United Nations comes from a concentration on the headlines in which you find stress on the crises and the difficulties.

The optimistic outlook comes from a detailed examination of the facts and from putting those facts in their proper perspective. A good example of what I have in mind is afforded by the dispute between Albania and Great Britain regarding the damage to British warships in the Corfu Channel. That event in 1946 and the British charge that Albania was responsible for the damage made the headlines. Public attention was still concentrated on the case during the rather violent debates in the Security Council. The Russian defense of the Albanian position against the British contentions seemed to illustrate once again the so-called split between the "East and West". As soon as the case neared peaceful settlement when the Security

Council decided to recommend to the parties that they refer the legal questions involved to the International Court of Justice, the case began to drop out of the news. When on March 25 of this year, the Court handed down its decision, it received only minor coverage on inside pages of the papers. People's attention was not drawn to the fact that the United Nations Court in its first decision had rendered a unanimous opinion concurred in by all 15 of the regular judges, with no split between the "East and West". There was very little in any of the news coverage of the trial to reveal the atmosphere of complete courtesy and good will which characterized all of the proceedings.

Membership

The seriousness of the international situation is apparent, and I have no desire to minimize it. Its essential nature has been made clear in recent addresses and statements by the President and by the Secretary of State. The address by the President to the Congress on March 17 contained far-reaching recommendations concerning the steps necessary to enable the United States to make the peace secure and to prevent war. It is not my purpose tonight to discuss the recommendations regarding the military measures which the President has recommended. I do wish to remind you that he placed equal emphasis on our support of the United Nations. He repeated the point which had previously been stressed on behalf of the Administration that "the door has never been closed, nor will it ever be closed to the Soviet Union or any other nation which will genuinely cooperate in preserving the peace." However, the refusal of the Soviet Union to cooperate at any stage cannot and does not deter the other Members of the United Nations from pressing forward with the development and use of that organization. Fifty-one members of the United Nations are continuing their cooperation in the Little Assembly. The Soviet Union and the five other states which follow the Soviet lead are entitled to seats in the Little Assembly and may occupy them whenever they wish to join in this particular process of international cooperation. They could have taken their places this week, and they can take them next week.

¹Address made before the First National Conference of the Regional Officers of International Relations Clubs of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, St. Louis, Mo., on Apr. 10, 1948 and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.

The 51 states which are participating in the work of the Little Assembly are doing so in a spirit of broad accommodation and mutual confidence. The six other members would be free to participate in that same spirit or even to participate in angry and vituperative opposition. They are free to choose their own method. At present they choose the method of non-cooperation.

It cannot be denied that their absence from the Little Assembly makes the process of discussion and negotiation and study easier than it would be if they were present. It must also be recognized that their absence may make some of the results of the Little Assembly's work less conclusive than they would be if all 57 members participated. However, I repeat, the absence of the six does not prevent progress; progress is being made.

Origin and Functions

Before discussing what the Little Assembly is doing and what it hopes to accomplish, I should like to go back briefly to the creation of this new subsidiary organ of the General Assembly. I should like to point out why it exists and just what its function is.

The Little Assembly, or as it is officially called, "the Interim Committee of the General Assembly", was sponsored by the United States in the General Assembly last fall. It was not, however, a sudden invention of the United States. It was not the product of any immediate crisis in Soviet-American relations. The general notion of creating some General Assembly machinery which would be able to operate between sessions had been under discussion for some time. The Netherlands Delegation had raised it at an earlier session of the General Assembly. Various nongovernmental organizations in the United States had been studying the problem and had worked out certain proposals. Various individuals had been giving the matter their consideration. The Department of State was in touch with these various currents of thought and was able to utilize them.

During the spring and summer of 1947, it began to be apparent that if the United Nations was to succeed in reducing the atmosphere of tension which was becoming increasingly evident throughout the world, it would be necessary for the General Assembly, as the great forum of world opinion, to take up seriously the role assigned to it under the Charter in the political and security field. It was realized that the move to develop the General Assembly's role might momentarily heighten the impression of basic political disagreement, but in balance it was believed that the results would counteract these impressions and make general cooperation more possible in the future. It might be said that the treatment was analogous to that in which the patient's temperature is temporarily increased with the expectation that a cure

will subsequently be effected. It was clear that the General Assembly has certain powers and responsibilities which hitherto it has not effectively discharged because of the lack of time available to it during its regular sessions. It was apparent that there were certain long-range problems in the political and security field which needed to be studied and which could not be studied by any organ of the United Nations then existing. It is a mistake to assume that the Little Assembly was created to overshadow and to by-pass the Security Council. It is correct to say that one reason for its creation was the desire to make the organization as a whole operate more effectively.

You will recall that the Soviet Union strongly opposed the establishment of the Interim Committee and, as I have noted it, has refused to cooperate in its work. When the results of its work are reviewed, there will be no basis for suspecting the sincerity with which it has tackled its task, whatever disagreement there may be with any of its recommendations.

Relation to the General Assembly

The Interim Committee, or Little Assembly, was established by the General Assembly as a subsidiary organ through an exercise of the power given to the Assembly by article 22 of the Charter. Every member of the United Nations is entitled to a representative in the Little Assembly. It is a democratic body. The General Assembly confided to the Interim Committee a variety of tasks and of powers. One of its principal functions has not yet been exercised but may prove to be the source of its most important contribution. This is the function of studying items which are placed on the agenda of the General Assembly with a view to making reports and recommendations to that body. Not all items which are placed on the agenda are within the jurisdiction of the Little Assembly but only those which fall within the competence of the General Assembly in the political and security fields. It includes only items placed on the agenda by a member of the United Nations or brought before the General Assembly by the Security Council. No such item can be taken up unless the Committee decides that the matter is both important and requires preliminary study. It would have been technically within the competence of the Little Assembly to make a preliminary study of the Palestine question for the Special Session of the General Assembly which begins next Friday. However, that question has already been very fully explored by a previous Special Session, by a regular session, by the Security Council, and by the Trusteeship Council. In view of that preparatory work and of the short space of time intervening between the call for a Special Session and its actual meeting, it would not have provided a case in which action of the

Little Assembly would be called for. As other items in the political and security field are placed on the agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly, it is to be anticipated that the Interim Committee will find among these items some on which it can most usefully render the preparatory service which the General Assembly had in mind. Previous experience indicates that many items of this character are extremely complicated and, when dumped in the lap of the General Assembly, cannot possibly receive the amount of careful study which they require. The Interim Committee, containing representatives of most of the states who will later deal with the matter in the General Assembly, is in a position to carry on these preliminary studies.

The General Assembly also provided that the Interim Committee could consider any matters which were specifically referred to it by the General Assembly. Two of the questions which have already engaged the Little Assembly's attention come within this category.

Korean Question

The first of these was the case of Korea. The Korean case illustrates the potential utility of a continuing body like the Interim Committee, not in preparing for the next session of the General Assembly but in following up the work of the last Assembly. At its last session the General Assembly established a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. This action was taken after the United States placed on the agenda the problem of establishing Korean unity and independence. You will recall that as a consequence of the war against Japan, both the United States and Russian forces moved into Korea, the American force from the south and the Russian force from the north. As a matter of practical military convenience, it was agreed that the American forces would take the surrender of the Japanese up to a line designated as the 38th parallel and that the Russian Army would take the surrender north of that line. It was not then contemplated that this line would have more than this temporary and practical significance in connection with the Japanese surrender. However, repeated attempts by the United States to reach agreement with the Russians for the fulfilment of the pledge made at Cairo to establish a united, independent Korea failed to bring results. The United States then suggested four-power consultations, bringing in Great Britain and China, but the Soviet Union refused. At that point, the United States turned to the United Nations and asked the consideration of the General Assembly. The Korean Commission was authorized by the General Assembly to observe elections throughout Korea. The Commission went to Korea and immediately found itself in difficulty. The Ukrain-

ian member of the Commission refused to take his seat, and the Soviet military authorities refused even to receive a letter from the Commission. As Mr. Gromyko informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Soviet Union took a "negative attitude" toward the Korean Commission and its work. Faced with these developments, the Commission decided to exercise the privilege which the General Assembly had conferred upon it of consulting with the Interim Committee. The chairman of the Commission and its secretary flew back to Lake Success and laid the problem before us. The matter was discussed very fully, very frankly, and without acrimony. The Interim Committee was not given the authority to issue instructions to the Korean Commission, and it did not attempt to do so. It did as a result of its discussions conclude the consultation by expressing its view to the Korean Commission that it was incumbent upon it to proceed to observe elections in as much of Korea as is accessible to it. The southern zone, which is under American occupation and where full cooperation is afforded, contains two thirds of the population. It was hoped that the Soviet Union would change its attitude and cooperate with the United Nations by permitting the Korean people to take part in free elections in the northern zone as well. So far, that cooperation has not been given. I shall not attempt to discuss all the angles of the Korean situation, which is still a difficult one, but I may say that from the point of view of the history of the Little Assembly, the consultation with the Korean Commission seems to have been useful and to have demonstrated the value of this subsidiary organ in matters of this kind. If the Little Assembly had not been in existence, it is quite possible that a Special Session of the General Assembly would have had to be called to deal with the problem. The Little Assembly affords a more convenient and far less expensive instrumentality for general discussions on such a matter, even though the Little Assembly does not have the power to make recommendations to anyone except its parent body.

Veto Question

The other question which was specifically referred by the General Assembly to the Interim Committee was the question of the veto. It is not necessary to remind you of the nature of this problem. When the Little Assembly began its sessions in January, there was a definite feeling of disappointment on the part of some delegations when the United States suggested that proposals on the veto problem should be submitted to the Interim Committee on or about March 15. Some had evidently hoped that the United States would come forward at once with a fully worked out program which would serve as a basis of the In-

terim Committee's work. The United States, however, has always had the view in regard to the Interim Committee that one of its chief values would lie in its nature as a study group. The United States has consistently avoided anything which might suggest an attempt to regiment the discussion in that body. When matters are brought before the Security Council or before the General Assembly, the proposing states are apt to take definite positions and to feel that their prestige is involved in sustaining those positions and in securing for them general approval. The Interim Committee is especially useful in affording an opportunity to states to advance tentative suggestions for the purpose of free discussions. This is particularly true in regard to the veto. That subject has in the past elicited strong statements illustrating various points of view, most of them uncomplimentary to the right of veto. Some of them have pointed out that the trouble has not been with the right of veto as such but with the abuse of that right. The subject had never been fully explored in a dispassionate and thorough way in an international gathering since the Charter was adopted at San Francisco. Actually, the Interim Committee is now engaged in that kind of study. Currently, a working group of a subcommittee of the Little Assembly composed of the representatives of 10 states is studying one by one a list of 98 possible decisions which the Security Council might make in applying the Charter or the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Of those 98 possible decisions, the working group has already reached agreement that 36 of them are procedural in nature. In regard to some six others, it has already been agreed that whether procedural or not, it would be desirable that they should be decided by vote of any seven members of the Security Council, that is, that the veto should not apply. This approach is in line with the proposal submitted by the United States to the Interim Committee on March 10. In that proposal, we suggested 31 categories of Security Council decisions, all of which the United States feels should be made by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council in order to insure the effective exercise by the Security Council of its responsibilities under the Charter. The United States list included some questions which are clearly procedural and some in regard to which there is a good deal of controversy. The first item on the United States list is that having to do with the admission of states to membership in the United Nations. As you know, the veto has so far been exercised by the Soviet Union on 10 occasions to prevent the approval of applications for membership. The working group of the Interim Committee has agreed that it would be desirable to have these questions decided by the vote of any seven members of the Security Council. The United States proposals also suggest that the

veto should not be used in what are commonly called "chapter VI decisions" in the Security Council, that is, the decisions designed to bring about the pacific settlement of international disputes. The United States has not proposed to give up the veto under chapter VII which deals with actual enforcement measures.

It was the United States suggestion that an attempt should be made to reach agreement upon a list of categories of this kind. If such agreement were reached, it was suggested that the Interim Committee should recommend to the General Assembly that it in turn recommend to the permanent members of the Security Council that they mutually agree that the indicated voting procedures should be followed in these categories of decisions. The Interim Committee is still in the process of discussing which categories of decisions should be included in such a list. It has not yet grappled with the problem of implementing such a recommendation.

It is sometimes forgotten that the veto question involves more than the differences of opinion between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is by no means clear as yet whether all of the other members of the United Nations are agreed on how far it is now desirable and possible to go under the Charter in liberalizing the voting procedure in the Security Council. It certainly is a wise first step to find out whether a large majority of the members of the General Assembly are in agreement on what represents a desirable program, quite aside from the question of what may actually be done. The United States has not closed the door to possible amendment of the Charter, but it does believe that its proposal suggests a desirable first step. I believe that the study of this issue in the Little Assembly is currently another indication of the utility of this body.

Pacific Settlement of Disputes

In its resolution establishing the Interim Committee, the General Assembly gave it another function. This function was to consider and report to the General Assembly on "methods to be adopted to give effect to that part of Article 11 (1), which deals with the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, and to that part of Article 13 (1a), which deals with the promotion of international cooperation in the political field". Although the Charter under article 24 confers on the Security Council "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", the General Assembly is also given important powers and responsibilities in this field. As the discussions in the Little Assembly have developed, attention under this topic has so far been focused on the problem of improving the means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. For instance,

the United States, jointly with China, has submitted proposals looking toward the establishment of panels from which commissions of investigation or commissions of conciliation could be formed either by the parties or by the Security Council or by the General Assembly. The same joint proposal has suggested that the General Assembly might prepare something in the nature of a code of civil procedure which would indicate to states the various procedures which might most conveniently be utilized for the settlement of disputes. You will recall that article 33 of the Charter calls upon the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, "first of all" to seek a solution by peaceful means of their own choice. There seems to be developing a tendency to disregard this "first of all" injunction and for states to turn immediately to the Security Council or to the General Assembly. It would certainly be undesirable to close the doors of these great organs to disputing states. On the other hand, there is a great deal of political wisdom in this provision of the Charter because it recognizes that when disputes are aired in either the Security Council or the General Assembly, the positions of the disputant states are apt to become crystallized, and at times it may be more difficult for them to reach agreement. In many situations, the preliminary use of less public and less dramatic means of settlement may be of very great value. All angles of this situation and all possible methods of meeting the problem are now being explored by a subcommittee of the Little Assembly. Various delegations other than those of the United States and China have submitted specific suggestions and work is going forward.

It is important to bear in mind in this connection that the Charter is a constitutional document and not an elaborate bit of legislation designed to cover every contingency. The Charter lays down the main principles and establishes the main machinery and then, like all intelligent constitutional instruments, leaves it to the course of development to work out the detail. This is the first time that any steps have been taken to explore the details of this field. You will remember that the General Assembly in 1946 undertook to begin another task which was entrusted to it by article 13, (1a), namely, the encouragement of the progressive development of international law and its codification. It appointed a committee to recommend methods, and as a result of the report of that committee it has decided to establish a permanent International Law Commission. Similarly, under article 11 work has been begun in connection with disarmament. But, prior to the establishment of the Little Assembly, nothing had been done of comparable character in connection with the General Assembly's broad role in the political field and in connection with the general

principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security.

One should not expect that the Little Assembly will now provide the final answers. If one looks back over the history of the League of Nations one will find that there was a continuing series of studies ranging from 1920 up through the early 1930's, all designed to elaborate the means of pacific settlement of disputes. Those efforts resulted in the drafting of a number of important and valuable documents, such as the General Act of Geneva of 1928. This League of Nations experience is being restudied and re-evaluated. So is the comparable experience in the Inter-American system which is now being re-examined at the Bogotá conference. The Little Assembly can only break ground for a continuation of studies which ought to go on over a great many years. Some people seem to think that it is futile to start studies of this kind now in the midst of a period of political tension. The same objection was raised to the first steps taken in regard to the progressive development and codification of international law. The answer to these objections is that when one deals with long-range problems of this character, it is never too soon to begin. Moreover, the very fact that states are embarking on work involving a concentration on peace may make a contribution to the relief of the tension which superficially seems to make the work itself inappropriate.

Future Status

The General Assembly also asked the Interim Committee to study itself. It asked it to report to the session which meets in September on the advisability of establishing a permanent committee of the General Assembly to perform such duties as those now entrusted to the Interim Committee. The Interim Committee, was, of course, established on an experimental basis, and it goes out of existence when the General Assembly meets in the fall. The Little Assembly has appointed another subcommittee which is studying the implications of this problem. Various suggestions have been made concerning additional powers which might be given to the Interim Committee if it is continued beyond this year, for example, the suggestion made by the Belgian Delegation that the Interim Committee, if continued, should be given the power to request advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice. It is too soon to give a final answer to the question whether the experience of the Interim Committee justifies its continuance.

I have already suggested that the Korean consultation and the work on the veto and the study of political cooperation indicate the value of a body of this kind. There has not yet been an opportunity to determine how useful it can be

in smoothing the path for the General Assembly and reducing the burden of its work. If the Little Assembly lives up to expectations in that respect as well, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the General Assembly will want to continue it at least on an experimental basis for another year.

Accomplishments

The Little Assembly has not been a spectacular body. Because the Korean question involves the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the consultation with the Korean Commission attracted some attention, but in general its work has received only brief notice in the press. This is not surprising, and it is not to be deplored. On the other hand, it is not to be taken as an index of the value of the work. The studies of the veto problem may prove to be of considerable political and constitutional significance in the history of the United Nations. At any time, some state may bring up before the Interim Committee for study some new suggestion, perhaps one designed to promote cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security by some other method. Whether spectacular or not, the work which is being done is a current indication of the vitality and utility of the United Nations.

There is a danger that in attempting to explain the operations of a body which is not widely known, one will give the impression of exaggerating its importance. Compared, for instance, to the problems currently being handled in the Security Council, the work of the Little Assembly may be said to be of relatively minor significance, but the kind of long-range study which is being made and the precedent for continued cooperative study which is being set, may quite possibly have an effect long after the specific political issues before the Security Council at any one time have been settled and have passed from the arena of political conflict.

If it should unhappily prove to be the case that the Security Council should continue to meet with serious difficulty in discharging its primary responsibilities in the field of international peace and security, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the emphasis on the potential role of the General Assembly in this field will increase. It must not be forgotten that the General Assembly represents the entire membership of the United Nations and so does the Little Assembly. The history of the League of Nations indicates a natural trend toward the democratization of any international organization of this character through the development of the functions of those organs on which the membership is most broadly represented. If the General Assembly continued to meet only once a year, the difficulty in the way of its dealing with current political issues would be apparent. If it decides to keep in existence, between its sessions, some body which represents it and on which all

members of the organization are represented, the picture may change. Of course, a Little Assembly in its activities could not go beyond the powers entrusted to the General Assembly which creates it. It could never infringe upon the special fields of authority entrusted to the Security Council.

For people like you who are interested in the whole problem of the United Nations as an instrument for international cooperation, I suggest that the experiment of the Little Assembly is worth your attention. I venture to suggest also that the more familiar you become with the details of its operation the more you will add to a store of facts which will justify an optimistic point of view.

As one goes down the long corridor of years, one sees a series of doors to right and left. One is tired—tired of the wars which nobody wants. One knows that some of these doors open on rooms which are comfortably furnished and where one may be at ease. One tries the handles of these doors and they are locked. We do not have the key. At last one opens a door on a barely furnished room where perhaps one finds a hard wooden chair on which to sit or a straw mattress on the floor on which to lie. One takes advantage of this respite but is not satisfied and soon goes on down the corridor, trying other doors. The corridor stretches on beyond my life time and perhaps beyond yours. At one moment we are groping in the corridor and it is dark. At another moment we are at a place where we gather new strength. But if enough of us join in the quest, some day we shall find the right door, and it will not be locked or, if it is locked, one of us will have the key.

Statute for Jerusalem—Continued from page 572

“The Trusteeship Council

“HAVING BEEN DIRECTED by the General Assembly, in accordance with Section C of Part III of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union (Document A/516), to elaborate and approve a detailed Statute of the City of Jerusalem within five months from the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution on the Future Government of Palestine; and

“HAVING COMPLETED its discussion on the Draft Statute;

“Decides that the Statute is now in satisfactory form and agrees that the question of its formal approval together with the appointment of a Governor of the City, shall be taken up at a subsequent meeting to be held not later than one week before 29 April 1948”; and

Refers the matter to the General Assembly for such further instructions as the General Assembly may see fit to give.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of Meetings¹

In Session as of May 1, 1948		1946
Far Eastern Commission	Washington	Feb. 26-
United Nations:		
Security Council	Lake Success	Mar. 25-
Military Staff Committee	Lake Success	Mar. 25-
Atomic Energy Commission	Lake Success	June 14-
		1947
Commission on Conventional Armaments	Lake Success	Mar. 24-
Security Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question	Lake Success	Oct. 20-
General Assembly Special Committee on the Greek Question	Salonika	Nov. 21-
		1948
Commission for Palestine	Lake Success	Jan. 9-
Temporary Commission on Korea	Seoul	Jan. 12-
Interim Committee of the General Assembly	Lake Success	Feb. 23-
General Assembly: Second Special Session on Palestine	Flushing Meadows	Apr. 16-
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Transport and Communications Commission: Third Session	Geneva	Apr. 12-
Economic and Employment Commission: Third Session	Geneva	Apr. 19-
Statistical Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	Apr. 26-
		May 7
ECE (Economic Commission for Europe): Third Session	Geneva	Apr. 26-
		1947
CFM (Council of Foreign Ministers):		
Commission of Investigation to Former Italian Colonies	Former Italian Colonies	Nov. 8-
		1948
Deputies for Austria	London	Feb. 20-
Provisional Frequency Board	Geneva	Jan. 15-
First Meeting of Planning Committee on High Frequency Broadcasting	Geneva	Mar. 22-
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization): Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control Practices Division	Montreal	Apr. 20-
International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea	London	Apr. 23-
International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Preparatory Committee	Geneva	Apr. 24-
Conference To Plan for Establishment of an International Institute for Hylean Amazon	Iquitos, Peru	Apr. 30-
Scheduled for May 1948		
CFM (Council of Foreign Ministers): Deputies for Italian Colonial Problems	London	May 1 ² -
United Nations:		
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Commission on Narcotic Drugs: Third Session	Lake Success	May 3-
Population Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	May 10-
Human Rights Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	May 20-
ECE (Economic Commission for Europe):		
Committee on Electric Power	Geneva	May 10-
Panel on Housing	Geneva	May 13-
Committee on Coal	Geneva	May 25-
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Teachers Organization	Paris	May 3-4
Committee of Experts for the Study of a Plan for Translations of Great Books	Paris	May 10-14
Meeting of Experts on Art and General Education	Paris	May 11-15

¹ Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

² Tentative.

Calendar of Meetings—Continued

		1948
UNESCO—Continued		
Conference on International Theatre Institute	Praha ²	May 31 ² –
Pan American Sanitary Organization: Meeting of Executive Committee	Washington	May 3–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Expert Committee for the Preparation of the Sixth Decennial Revision of the International Lists of Diseases and Causes of Death.	Geneva	May 4–
Expert Committee on Malaria: Second Session	Washington	May 19–25
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Second European–Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting	Paris	May 4–
Facilitation Division	Geneva	May 17–
Second North Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting	Paris	May 17–
Legal Committee: Annual Meeting	Geneva	May 28–
IRO (International Refugee Organization): Sixth Part of First Session of Preparatory Commission.	Geneva	May 4–
Meeting of the South Pacific Commission	Sydney	May 10–
Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria (including exhibits).	Washington	May 10–18
International Telegraph Consultative Committee	Brussels	May 10–29
International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference	Geneva	May 15–
Health Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute	Harrogate, England	May 24–28
Sixth Meeting of the Caribbean Commission	San Juan, P.R.	May 24–29
International Sugar Council	London	May 28–
Pan American Union: Meeting of Governing Board	Washington	May ²

² Tentative.

Activities and Developments»

U.S. DELEGATION TO IRO PREPARATORY MEETING

[Released to the press April 19]

The Department of State announced on April 19 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Sixth Part of the First Session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization (IRO) which is scheduled to be held at Geneva, May 4–14, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State; U.S. Representative on the Preparatory Commission for the IRO

Adviser

John D. Tomlinson, Assistant Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State

Administrative Assistant

Helen Norman, U.S. Delegation, International Telecommunication Union High Frequency Board, Geneva

The meeting will consider, among other things, the status of adherences to the IRO constitution, the operating reports of the Executive Secretary, and appropriate action in the determination of policies as indicated in these reports.

The Preparatory Commission for the IRO was established in order to insure the continuity of service to displaced persons after July 1, 1947, when UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees went out of existence, and to take the necessary measures to bring the permanent organization into operation as soon as possible.

The IRO will come into existence when 15 states whose contributions amount to 75 percent of the operational budget have signed the constitution. The United States, in addition to signing the constitution, is a signatory to the agreements establishing the Preparatory Commission and *ipso facto* a member of the Preparatory Commission.

The Fifth Part of the First Session of the Preparatory Commission for the IRO was held at Geneva, January 20–31, 1948.

U.S. DELEGATION TO ICAO MEETINGS

[Released to the press April 22]

The Acting Secretary of State announced on April 22 the composition of the United States Delegation to the second European–Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting and to the Second North Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting, both of which have been called by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). These regional meetings are scheduled to convene

at Paris—the first on May 4 and the second on May 19, 1948.

The United States Delegation will be headed by Clifford P. Burton, Chief of the Technical Missions Branch of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce. Other members of the Delegation are:

Advisers

- James F. Angier, Chief of Foreign Section, Office of Federal Airways, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce
- Maj. John W. Baska, Chief of ICAO Liaison Branch, Air Transport Command, Department of the Air Force
- Virgil L. Clapp, Communications Specialist, Department of the Air Force
- Alick B. Currie, Airways Operations Specialist, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce
- James D. Durkee, Chief, International Aviation Section, Aviation Division, Federal Communications Commission
- Edmund T. Fridrich, Project Engineer, Aeronautical Radio, Inc., Washington
- Lt. Col. Jesse R. Guthrie, Fifth A.A.C.S. Wing, U.S.A.F.
- Norman R. Hagen, Meteorological Attaché, American Embassy, London
- Harland E. Hall, Aeronautical Specialist (Communications), Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce
- Kendall G. Hathaway, Technical Assistant, International Standards Division, Civil Aeronautics Board
- George T. van der Hoef, Acting Director, Programs Division, Office of Publications, Department of Commerce
- Lt. Comdr. George E. Howarth, Chief, Navigational Section, Electronics Division, U.S.C.G., Department of the Treasury (Lieutenant Commander Howarth will attend only the North Atlantic Regional Meeting.)
- Maj. John Kline, Headquarters, U.S.A.F., Europe
- Commander Edwin S. Lee, U.S.N., Assistant Chief, Civil Aviation Section, Department of the Navy
- Lt. Comdr. John B. McCubbin, Search and Rescue Agency, U.S.C.G., Department of the Treasury
- Col. Edward W. Maschmeyer, Fifth Weather Group, U.S.A.F.
- Mr. Mehrling, Office of Military Government, U.S. Zone
- Oren J. Mitchell, Chief of Operations Inspection Staff, 1st Region, Civil Aeronautics Administration, New York City
- Ray F. Nicholson, Adviser, International Air Traffic Control Standards, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce
- Donald W. Nyrop, Operations Division, Air Transport Association of America, Washington
- Col. David C. G. Schlenker, Headquarters, U.S.A.F., Europe
- Walter B. Swanson, Adviser, International Air Traffic Control Standards, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

Secretary

Allen F. Manning, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

The First European-Mediterranean Regional Meeting was held at Paris in April-May 1946 and the First North Atlantic Regional Meeting at Dublin in March 1946. These initial meetings resulted in a series of recommended practices and procedures for consideration and approval by the ICAO Council at Montreal regarding airline oper-

ations, air-traffic control, communications, search and rescue, meteorology, aerodromes and ground aids, and manuals. Subsequently, several committee meetings were held to define further and to clarify air-traffic control and operations problems, and a regional office was established at Paris.

It is expected that delegations from approximately 25 countries will attend the European-Mediterranean Regional Meeting and that delegations from 18 countries will attend the North Atlantic Regional Meeting.

U.S. PARTICIPATION IN WHO ASSEMBLY PENDING

[Released to the press April 24]

Acting Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett on April 24 informed Dr. Brock Chisholm, the Executive Secretary of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization, that this Government would, for the time being, refrain from naming observers to the World Health Assembly scheduled to meet in Geneva, on June 24, 1948, since legislation providing for United States membership in the World Health Organization is pending before the Congress.¹

Mr. Lovett expressed his hope that it might be possible for the United States to participate fully in the World Health Assembly as a member of the World Health Organization.

The text of Mr. Lovett's letter is as follows:

April 24, 1948

SIR: I acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 7, 1948, transmitted to me by the United States Representative, inviting the United States to send one or more Observers to the World Health Assembly, which will be convened in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 24, 1948. I also note that you invite the United States to send a Delegation to the World Health Assembly in the event this Government becomes a Member of the World Health Organization prior to June 24, 1948.

Legislation providing for United States membership in the World Health Organization is still pending before the Congress. In view of my continued hope that the United States will become a Member of this organization in sufficient time to participate fully in the World Health Assembly, I refrain from naming Observers at the present time. However, in due course, you will be notified of the names of such Observers or Delegates as the United States may find it possible to send to the Assembly.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT A. LOVETT
*Acting Secretary of State
of the United States of America*

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 25, 1948, p. 540.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Cuban Independence

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT¹

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:

It is eminently fitting that we should assemble here today to pay solemn tribute to the heroic champions of human freedom who brought about the liberation of Cuba. The commemoration of half a century of Cuban independence recalls the valor of the Cuban patriots and American soldiers and sailors who gave liberally of their strength and their blood that Cuba might be free. From that chapter in man's age-old struggle for freedom, we can draw inspiration for the hard tasks that confront us in our own time.

The struggle for Cuban independence, like every other effort of its kind, was fraught with hardship and disappointment. But the unconquerable determination of the Cuban people to win freedom overcame all obstacles. From the first, the fight for liberation by Cuban patriots evoked the sympathy of the people of the United States. Those in quest of independence have always had the support of the people of this Nation.

Americans watched with admiration the beginning of the final struggle for independence led by José Martí and his valiant compatriots, Gómez, Maceo, and García. Our people made increasingly plain their desire to assist the Cuban patriots. The sinking of the United States battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, crystallized the growing sentiment in this country for joining forces with the Cuban people in their fight for self-government.

The Congress passed a joint resolution expressing in clear terms the conviction of the men and women of the United States that the people of the Island of Cuba should be free and independent. It also expressed our determination that once the Cuban people were liberated, they, and they alone, should govern the Island of Cuba. It is the passage of this joint resolution, 50 years ago today, which we are commemorating in this ceremony.

This joint resolution, the foundation upon which our relations with the Cuban Republic are based, brought the military and naval forces of the

United States into the conflict at the side of the Cuban patriots. The names of Shafter, Roosevelt, Hobson, and many others were joined with those of Gómez, Maceo, and García.

For four months, as Americans fought side by side with their Cuban allies, the opposing forces were driven back. On August 12, Spain signed the protocol of peace and agreed to give up Cuba and withdraw her forces. The dream of José Martí became at last a glorious reality.

The sympathetic interest of the United States in the welfare of the Cuban people did not end with victory. We assisted the Cubans in repairing the ravages of war and overcoming problems of health and sanitation. The comradeship of war was succeeded by the notable peacetime collaboration of General Wood, General Gorgas, Doctor Walter Reed, Doctor Agramonte, and other men of science and public life.

From these sound beginnings, relations between the Republic of Cuba and the United States have continued through the years on a mutually satisfactory basis. I believe that few nations of differing languages and cultures have drawn so closely together during the last 50 years, freely and without duress, as have Cuba and the United States.

Many other factors have contributed to the understanding and affection between our two nations. Travel between the two countries is extensive and our peoples have come to know each other, and each other's customs and cultures, at first hand. Trade between the two nations has increased steadily in volume and in importance. The experience of Cuba and the United States refutes the false assumption that neighboring peoples of different races and cultures are naturally antagonistic. On the contrary, the history of Cuban-American relations demonstrates that when people of different countries enjoy opportunities for frequent personal contacts and a free exchange of information and knowledge, their ties of friendship grow stronger through the years.

Although our two countries are separated by only 90 miles of water, and vary greatly in size and strength, they collaborate harmoniously on a basis of equal sovereignty and independence of action. This relationship provides living proof

¹ Delivered on Apr. 19, 1948, before a joint session of the Congress in observance of the Cuban anniversary, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

of the ability of nations great and small to live in peace and to enjoy the full benefits of commercial and cultural exchange. The same harmonious relationship can prevail among all nations, provided they possess a genuine desire for peace and a firm resolve to respect the freedom and the rights of others.

This is a truth the whole world should take to heart. The basic requirement for peace and understanding is the *will* that peace and understanding shall prevail. The will to avoid war and to seek an understanding that precludes all violence and aggression is one of the most profound and universal concepts held by the peoples of this earth. I am convinced that the plain people of the world, of whatever race or nationality, desire nothing more passionately than freedom for themselves and for others—freedom to be left in peace to earn their daily bread after their own fashion—freedom to leave their neighbors in peace to do likewise.

This is the great issue of our day: Whether the universal longing of mankind for peace and freedom shall prevail, or whether it is to be flouted and betrayed. The challenge of our time, like the one met so successfully by those we honor today, tests

the mettle of men and their institutions of government. Our own moment of history also calls for calmness, for courage, for strength, and above all for the steadfast resolution that, come what may, we shall stand for the right.

We honor today the memory of a noble few among the countless heroes who have fought to advance the cause of human freedom through the ages.

Let us avail ourselves of this occasion to refresh our faith in freedom and to rededicate this Nation and ourselves to the principles of liberty, justice, and peace.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL²

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Cuba and concurrently with the meetings of the Ninth Conference of American States the United States joins with the other free and independent nations of the earth in an expression of fraternity and friendship addressed to the Cuban nation. The Congress of the United States is meeting today in joint session in honor of the occasion and we here in Bogotá join with our Congress and the people of my country in extending warm felicitations to a sister republic.

Italy Expresses Appreciation of Proposal for Return of Trieste

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press by the White House April 14]

The President has sent the following letter to the Ambassador of Italy

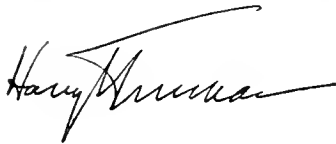
April 9, 1948

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

I have read with pleasure your letter of March twentieth, concerning the proposal of this Government, together with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italy.

I wish to take this opportunity to express to you again the friendship and good will which the American people feel towards the people of Italy.

Very sincerely yours,



Text of the Italian Ambassador's letter to the President

March 20, 1948

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Allow me to convey to you the feelings of the deepest gratitude of the Italian Government and the Italian people for the momentous decision taken by this Country in view of the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to its Motherland.

I am sure that this just and generous decision will be received with the greatest exultation, not only by the entire Italian nation, but also by the inhabitants of the Free Territory of Trieste who have never abandoned their hopes of being restored to their country and will be welcomed in Italy as a further proof of the fraternal friendship of the United States towards her.

I take the liberty of adding to these feelings of my fellow-citizens my own personal sentiments of the profoundest appreciation and gratitude.

Accept [etc.]

TARCHIANI
Italian Ambassador

² Issued at Bogotá on Apr. 19, and released to the press in Washington on Apr. 20.

American War Claims in Italy¹

PAYMENT OF \$5,000,000 BY ITALY

The Italian Ambassador, on behalf of the Government of Italy, on April 23 presented to the Department of State a check in the amount of \$5,000,000 in fulfillment of the obligation assumed by Italy pursuant to article 2 of the memorandum of understanding between the Government of the United States and the Government of Italy regarding Italian assets in the United States and certain claims of United States nationals against Italy, signed at Washington on August 14, 1947. The check was accepted for the Secretary of State by Willard Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs. Mr. Thorp headed the Amer-

ican delegation during the negotiations with the Italian financial and economic delegation to the United States which resulted in the conclusion of two memoranda of understanding and supplementary notes concerning various financial and economic questions relating to the treaty of peace with Italy. This payment by Italy is to be utilized in such manner as the Government of the United States may decide to be appropriate, in application to the claims of United States nationals arising out of the war and not otherwise provided for.

The Italian Ambassador made the following statement on this occasion:

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN AMBASSADOR TARCHIANI AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY THORP

"I am particularly gratified that I should be entrusted with the task of handing over this check representing the lump sum with which certain claims of American citizens arising out of the war and not otherwise provided for will be satisfied. In spite of her foreign-exchange situation, Italy desires to show once more that she intends strictly to abide by her international obligations and that she desires to settle as promptly as possible all outstanding problems between our two countries."

Mr. Thorp replied as follows:

"I am happy to receive, on behalf of the United States Government, this further evidence of the Italian Government's desire to discharge its international obligations. This action by your government, taken despite Italy's difficult foreign-exchange situation, clearly emphasizes Italy's desire to settle as promptly as possible the various problems of mutual concern to our two countries which remain outstanding from the war period."

PROCEDURE FOR FILING CLAIMS

Under provisions contained in the peace treaty with Italy which came into force on September 15, 1947, American nationals are entitled to have returned to them property in that country which was sequestered or placed under control of authorities of the Italian Government during the war. The treaty provides that where such property has not already been returned application for its return must be filed before September 15, 1948, except in cases where the claimant is able to show that an application could not be filed before that date.

Such applications should be prepared in the form of an affidavit in duplicate stating the name and address of the claimant, the date, place, and circumstances under which he acquired American citizenship, a description of the property to be returned, its location, and, if known, the date and place possession or control thereof was taken by the Italian authorities. If the claimant was not

the owner of the property at the time it was taken, the date and manner of the claimant's acquisition of ownership thereof should be stated.

Applications are to be made to the *Ufficio Beni Alleati e Nemici*, Rome, Italy. However, to assist American nationals desiring to obtain the return of their properties, the American Embassy in Rome will transmit such applications to the proper Italian authorities.

Claimants will be notified by the Italian Government of the time and place of the return of their property and should make arrangements for its receipt either personally or through a designated representative.

The filing of applications for the return of property is not to be confused with the filing of claims for loss of or damage to property sustained by American nationals in Italy during the war. Instructions with respect to the latter will be furnished claimants by the Department of State and by the American Embassy in Rome as soon as possible.

¹ Released to the press Apr. 23.

Expression of Gratitude From Austria on Economic Aid

[Released to the press April 20]

The Department of State transmitted on April 20 to both Houses of Congress the text of a note from Ludwig Kleinwaechter, Minister of Austria, to the Acting Secretary of State, expressing gratification on behalf of the people and the Government of Austria on the occasion of the passing of The Economic Cooperation Act of 1948. The text of the note follows

April 7, 1948

SIR: On the occasion of the passing of The Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, my Government has directed me to express to the People, the President and the Government of the United States, on behalf of the People and the Government of Austria, the deep gratification for this act of unparalleled assistance to the economic recovery of the nations participating in the European Recovery Program.

I beg to request you to express the feelings of deep gratification on behalf of the People and the Government of Austria also to both Houses of Congress.

Accept [etc.]

L. KLEINWAECHTER

International Law and the European Recovery Program—Continued from page 567.

tion of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, will constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of international obligation."

The United States and about one half of the participating countries have signed the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Although the United States will not in the bilateral agreements bind or commit itself to provide assistance to any participating country, and may terminate aid at any time, undoubtedly numerous questions of interpretation of the bilateral agreements, irrespective of any question of reparation for violations, may arise.

I have suggested only a few of the issues of international law which are raised by the charter of the International Trade Organization and by the European Recovery Program. The basic task of international law, as of domestic law, is to support the economic and political institutions which preserve human dignity, the best of economic individualism, and the virtues of nationalism. The strength of international law is its ability to perform this task. The problems which face us today require your assistance and your leadership in maintaining and expanding that strength.

Proposed Legislation on Gift of Statue From Uruguay

[Released to the press April 23]

The Department of State on April 23 transmitted to the presiding officers of Congress proposed legislation to authorize the acceptance and erection of a statue of Gen. José Gervasio Artigas, offered to the Government of the United States as a gift from the Government of Uruguay. The text of the letter to Senator Vandenberg follows:¹

MY DEAR SENATOR VANDENBERG: I enclose for your consideration a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to provide for the acceptance on behalf of the United States of a statue of General José Gervasio Artigas, and for other purposes".²

This legislation is necessary in order to authorize the acceptance and erection in Washington, D.C., of a statue of General Artigas offered to the Government of the United States as a gift from the Government of Uruguay; and to authorize the appropriation of funds for the cost of erection, construction of a pedestal, landscaping the adjacent area, and necessary plans and specifications.

An officer of the Uruguayan Army, Egardo Ubaldo Genta, is the proponent of the idea of donating a bronze statue of the Uruguayan national hero, General Artigas, to the United States in keeping with a plan to exchange bronze statues of heroes among the American republics. Such exchanges have been consummated by Uruguay with at least six other American republics. The donation of the Artigas bronze dates back to December, 1940 when the Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies authorized an appropriation for the casting of the statue of Artigas to be donated to the City of Washington, D.C. A part of the total cost of the statue was contributed by the school children of Montevideo. Because of the war and the limitations on shipping facilities, arrangements were delayed until April, 1947 when the statue was shipped to the United States. The Department received a communication from the Uruguayan Embassy officially offering the statue to the United States as a gift from the Government of Uruguay.

The Department is of the opinion that the acceptance of the gift of a statue of General Artigas would serve to strengthen the friendly relations now existing between the Governments of Uruguay and the United States and to further the concept of hemispheric solidarity for which we strive.

The Department further believes that the Government of the United States should consider re-

¹ The same letter was sent to Speaker Martin.

² Not printed.

turning this expression of friendship and esteem by the donation of a statue of our national hero, General George Washington, to the Government of Uruguay for erection in the City of Montevideo. Information is now being developed that may be required in support of legislation to authorize a casting of a reciprocal statue of George Washington to be donated to the Government of Uruguay, and it is contemplated that such legislation will be proposed at a later date.

I hope that the Congress will find it possible to act upon this draft legislation this session.

A similar communication is being sent to the Speaker of the House.³

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this proposal to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

For the Acting Secretary of State:

CHARLES E. BOILEN
Counselor

Procedure for Handling International Fisheries Problems

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

[Released to the press April 12]
April 5, 1948

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

Following your conversation of several weeks ago with Secretary Marshall on the means for improving the handling of international fisheries and wildlife matters, there were several discussions between officials of our two Departments and an agreement was reached which, I believe, will accomplish this objective. This letter confirms the agreement.

It is my understanding that in the field of international fisheries and wildlife relations the Department of the Interior will keep the State Department advised at all times on the need for international action; will prepare on its own initiative or at the request of the State Department studies and reports on the foreign and domestic scientific and technological aspects and on the domestic economic, industrial and sports aspects of the problems; will recommend action which may be taken by the Department of State; and will advise the Department of State during international negotiations.

Since the Fish and Wildlife Service is staffed with specialists to obtain and analyze promptly and effectively information similar to that needed by the Department of State, it is agreed that there will be a substantial increase in emphasis by the Service upon keeping the Department of State informed on the need for international action and on investigating and reporting to the Department in preparation for negotiations or other international action. The effective performance of these functions by the Service will relieve the Department of such work of this character as it is presently performing. It is agreed that the Service should expand its consultation with American interests on international fisheries and wildlife matters and

its activity in making recommendations on action which the Department may take on such problems.

The Department of State will shortly reorganize the fisheries work of the Department. In this connection, the Department anticipates confining its activities to the formulation and determination of general policy on and the conduct of international fisheries and wildlife relations and expects to look to other agencies for advice and guidance on other phases of the problem. It will be necessary, of course, for the Department to continue its preparation of the background work on pertinent diplomatic history and international law.

Representatives of the two Departments will, I understand, meet immediately to develop plans for regularly constituted groups of industry and state government representatives to advise the two Departments on international fisheries and wildlife matters. Although the establishment of such groups will not preclude the present practice of consulting on particular problems with groups having a knowledge of and interest in such special problems, the general groups will provide counsel which our Departments would find difficulty in obtaining by other means and which will aid our two Departments in the promotion of the general welfare in this field.

It is recognized that there exists an excellent spirit of cooperation between the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Department and that there is a high degree of flexibility in meeting the varied problems of common concern. It is understood that this agreement is not intended in any degree to formalize the relations now existing between the two organizations or to formalize the manner of handling any particular problem. Thus, while it is anticipated that the Department will, as occasion requires, participate in planning studies and investigations which may be needed for international action and will consult, from time to time, directly with State officials, industry and sports representatives, and other interested and informed

³ In the letter to Speaker Martin this phrase reads: "the President pro tempore of the Senate".

persons, there is full agreement that investigation and recommendation, whether on the initiative of the Service or at the request of the State Department, is properly the initial responsibility of the Service.

I understand that your Department will try to arrange for full performance of the functions during the fiscal year 1949. However, if your Department should find it impossible to make such arrangements, it is understood that officials of our two Departments will explore the possibility of effecting special arrangements for the fiscal year 1949.

I am confident that this program and particularly the increased responsibilities by the Fish and Wildlife Service and the reorganization of the fisheries and wildlife work of the Department of State, will result in substantial improvement in the effectiveness and soundness of the handling of this country's international fisheries and wildlife affairs.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT A. LOVETT
Acting Secretary of State

April 9, 1948

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

The proposals outlined in Under Secretary Lovett's letter of April 5 for the purpose of improving the handling of international fisheries and wildlife matters which have been developed through discussions between officers of the Department of State and of the Fish and Wildlife Service of this Department are entirely acceptable.

It is my understanding that the transfer of functions and responsibilities to the Fish and Wildlife Service will proceed on a progressive basis between now and June 30, 1948, so that there will be no interruption of the important international work in which the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Department of State are involved.

I suggest that appropriate officers of the Department of State and of the Department of the Interior immediately discuss the question of obtaining funds to enable the Fish and Wildlife Service to carry on the added duties and responsibilities during the fiscal year 1949. It is understood that the Department of State will be able to transfer some funds so that the Fish and Wildlife Service can assume the additional work involved during the remainder of the current fiscal year.

I confidently hope that the handling of international fishery and wildlife matters will be facilitated by the new distribution of functions between our respective Departments.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. KRUG
Secretary of the Interior

PUBLICATIONS

Department of State

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

Parcel Post Service Within the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1681. Pub. 3044. 19 pp. 10¢.

Agreement, and Final Protocol, Between the United States and Other Governments—Signed at Rio de Janeiro September 25, 1946; entered into force January 1, 1947.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Vol. 1. Commercial Policy Series 111. Pub. 3107. 82 pp. 25¢.

Final Act adopted at the conclusion of the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment with the general clauses of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and Protocol of Provisional Application of the Agreement.

Diplomatic List, April 1948. Pub. 3118. 189 pp. 20¢ a copy; \$2.00 a year.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

Reciprocal Trade. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1702. Pub. 3033. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement and Accompanying Letters Between the United States of America and Canada; rendering inoperative the agreement of November 17, 1938, and supplementing the general agreement on tariffs and trade of October 30, 1947—signed at Geneva October 30, 1947; entered into force October 30, 1947, effective January 1, 1948.

Restitution of Monetary Gold. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1683. Pub. 3046. 5 pp. 5¢.

Protocol Between the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and France and Austria—signed at London November 4, 1947; entered into force November 4, 1947.

Fur Seals. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1686. Pub. 3057. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada; amending the provisional agreement of December 8 and 19, 1942—effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington December 26, 1947; entered into force December 26, 1947.

Exchange of Official Publications. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1688. Pub. 3058. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States of America and Sweden—effected by exchange of notes signed at Stockholm December 16, 1947; entered into force December 16, 1947.

Correction

In the BULLETIN of April 11, 1948, page 476, the footnote in the left-hand column should state that the address by Mr. Allen was made before the Overseas Press Club in New York rather than in Washington.

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The Department of State

Vol. XVIII, No. 462
May 9, 1918

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The Department of State bulletin

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May 9, 1948

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U.S. Position on French Proposal for Jerusalem

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP¹

As the debate developed in the closing minutes of the session of the Committee on Friday, the United States declared its warm support for the proposal made by the Representative of France² in his eloquent and moving statement to the Committee on Thursday. Time did not then permit elaboration of the position of the United States. I wish in a few words to make that position clear. The Holy City of Jerusalem is a special concern to all mankind. Its spiritual significance transcends all political questions or special interests which might have arisen in this particular century in which we live. Christians, Jews, and Moslems—indeed men of all faiths everywhere—are compelled to join their efforts to insure that the destruction of Jerusalem and the nearby Holy Places does not become the darkest blot upon the twentieth century.

The protection of Jerusalem is an integral part of the suggestions which have been made by the United States to this Committee. We believe that it is possible to go ahead at once with a study of detailed plans to safeguard the Holy City without in any way prejudicing or delaying arrangements for bringing peace to Palestine as a whole. In supporting this idea we do not wish to leave the impression that protection for Jerusalem will settle the question of Palestine or that we have withdrawn in any way our suggestion for a temporary trusteeship for all of Palestine.

The United States has been studying the special problem of Jerusalem for some time and does not minimize the practical difficulties which the security of that city will entail. We believe it essential that our effort be directed as much as possible to the security problem and that the arrangements to be agreed upon not be prejudicial to a truce and political settlement for all of Palestine. Perhaps the way to a solution is to be found in the spirit suggested by a group of religious leaders of several faiths and several countries in an appeal which was published on Easter Day. The signers of this appeal included a representative of the Quakers of the world, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of the Church of Norway, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and an Archbishop of the

Resolution on Protection of Jerusalem*

The General Assembly,

Considering that the maintenance of order and security in Jerusalem is an urgent question which concerns the United Nations as a whole,

Resolves to ask the Trusteeship Council to study, with the Mandatory Power and the interested parties, suitable measures for the protection of the City and its inhabitants, and to submit within the shortest possible time proposals to the General Assembly to that effect.

* U.N. doc. A/543, Apr. 26, 1948; adopted by the General Assembly at its 132d Plenary Session on Apr. 26, 1948.

Greek Orthodox Church. These leaders, declaring themselves as representatives of "Religion, not of politics or of Government Policies," united in asking the leaders of Arabs and Jews "to establish a 'truce of God' which means a holy area of peace and freedom from violence in the City of Jerusalem"

The United States is not primarily concerned with the procedure by which we move on to deal with this question of Jerusalem but we believe we should act expeditiously. We welcome the amendment introduced by the Representative of

¹ Made in Committee 1 (Political and Security) of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly on Apr. 26, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date. Mr. Jessup is a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Special Session.

² France: Draft Resolution (U.N. doc. A/C.1/280, Apr. 22, 1948).

The First Committee

Considering that the maintenance of order and security in Jerusalem is an urgent question which concerns the United Nations as a whole,

Recommends the General Assembly,

to ask the Trusteeship Council to study and, in consultation with the Mandatory Power and the interested parties, take suitable measures for the protection of the City and its inhabitants.

Sweden to the original French proposal (document A/C.1/281)³ because we hope that it will eliminate any controversy concerning procedure and enable work to begin at once upon the practical details of the plan.

As the Delegation of the United States declared in the debate on Friday, we hope that the proposal

of France as amended by the Representative of Sweden, will be promptly approved, that we shall then return to the general debate, and that upon the conclusion of the general debate the committee will then proceed to deal specifically with the United States suggestion for dealing with Palestine as a whole.

Questions Involved in Concept of Trusteeship for Palestine

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP⁴

Since our first meeting a week ago the Committee has been discussing the question of the future government of Palestine as referred to it by the General Assembly. Many delegations have expressed their views on the plan of partition with economic union and others have spoken on a military and political truce and a temporary trusteeship for Palestine.

Meanwhile, the Mandatory for Palestine has reiterated its position that it will relinquish the Mandate on May 15th. The question now in everyone's mind is what governmental authority will succeed the Mandatory authority when the Mandate is relinquished. The plan of partition with economic union recommended by the General Assembly last November is not materializing in the form in which it was recommended. Both of the principal communities of Palestine have announced their intention of establishing states in that country upon the termination of the Mandate, unless irreconcilable conditions are met. Despite the action of the Security Council calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities, each day that passes reveals new acts of violence and threats of violence on an unprecedented scale. Since our paper was prepared, the Security Council has established a Truce Commission and this Committee has just requested the Trusteeship Council to make

a special study of measures to protect Jerusalem. These developments must, of course, be taken into account. In our opinion they could be helpfully integrated in any temporary trusteeship administration. So the question still stands, What will be the form and nature of the governmental authority in Palestine three weeks from today?

In the working paper circulated a week ago it was suggested that the Committee should consider the possibility of a United Nations trusteeship for Palestine on a temporary basis and with the United Nations itself as the administering authority. The views expressed thus far in the general debate indicate a general desire on the part of most members of the Committee to continue with substantive discussion of the trusteeship idea. We accordingly welcome such a discussion at this time before the Committee takes action on the United States draft resolution in document A/C.1/278.

I think it may be helpful to the Committee if I were to indicate what seem to us the principal questions involved in the concept of trusteeship for Palestine. Other questions may occur to other members of the committee.

At the outset may I recall that the suggestion of temporary trusteeship is a part of what Ambassador Austin called "a military and political standstill to save human life and to make possible further negotiations on a final political settlement". This idea of a standstill is reflected in the preamble to the draft agreement contained in the working paper. There it is stated that the General Assembly, in approving terms of trusteeship for Palestine, would be acting—and I quote the language of the preamble—"without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned or to the character of the eventual political settlement." This general principle should be kept in mind in the Committee's consideration of specific parts of the question before us.

Every delegation in the Committee is interested in the arrangements suggested for securing the trusteeship. According to the working paper, the organization and direction of the police force

³Sweden: Amendment to Draft Resolution of France (U.N. doc. A/C.1/281, Apr. 23, 1948). The Swedish amendment called for deletion of words in brackets and addition of italicized words.

The First Committee

Considering that the maintenance of order and security in Jerusalem is an urgent question which concerns the United Nations as a whole,

Recommends the General Assembly,

To ask the Trusteeship Council to study [and, in consultation] with the Mandatory Power and the interested parties [take] suitable measures for the protection of the City and its inhabitants, and to submit within the shortest possible time proposals to the General Assembly to that effect.

⁴Made in Committee 1 (Political and Security) of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly on Apr. 27, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date. Mr. Jessup is a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Special Session.

necessary for the maintenance of internal law and order and for the protection of the Holy Places would be the responsibility of a governor-general. This is article 6 in the draft trusteeship agreement. It would be the duty of the governor-general in accordance with article 7 to organize a voluntary force to provide for local defense and for the maintenance of law and order within Palestine. The duty thus placed upon the governor-general would be founded upon article 84 of the Charter, which authorizes the administering authority "to make use of voluntary forces, facilities, and assistance . . . for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory". Until this voluntary force can be recruited and organized, and after its organization if it needs assistance, the governor-general would be authorized to call upon certain governments to assist in the defense of Palestine or in the maintenance of law and order within Palestine. This would be provided by article 7 of the draft trusteeship agreement.

The United States would be interested in knowing whether other members of the Committee consider that the method proposed in article 7 for providing police and security forces is acceptable.

It will be appreciated that the working paper does not evade or gloss over other difficult problems which need to be solved. Article 29 of the draft trusteeship agreement deals with immigration. As a general principle, immigration into Palestine would be permitted according to this article "without distinction between individuals as to religion or blood, in accordance with the absorptive capacity of Palestine as determined by the Governor-General". In addition, a temporary immigration regime is provided for—namely, the immigration of a number of Jewish displaced persons per month for a period not to exceed two years, the number to be determined.

Since immigration is one of the important issues involved in the question of the future government of Palestine, the views of the Committee on this provision of the draft trusteeship agreement would be helpful. Is it a sound general principle that the volume of immigration during a temporary trusteeship should be determined by the absorptive capacity of Palestine as determined by the governor-general? What are the views of members of the Committee with respect to permitting immigration of individuals without distinction as to religion or blood? Is the provision, as a temporary measure, for the immigration of a certain number of Jewish displaced persons over a period of two years one which appears reasonable and just?

Another important issue is the question of land policy dealt with in article 31 of the draft trusteeship agreement. Here the draft would place upon the governor-general the duty of establishing and maintaining a land system appropriate to the needs

of Palestine "in which there shall be no limitation on the sale, purchase, lease or use of land on grounds of race, nationality, community or creed". Are the principles in this statement of land policy just and equitable? The same article provided that the criteria upon which the land system shall be based shall be recommended to the governor-general by a commission of impartial experts neither Arab nor Jew. Does this provision of the draft agreement recommend itself?

It is important to consider the means of facilitating the economic and social development of Palestine. The United Nations Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies related to it, and the Proposed Economic Commission for the Middle East, could be useful in this regard. In this connection the article of the draft trusteeship agreement dealing with external affairs should be considered. By article 35, the conduct of external affairs would be placed in the hands of the governor-general. This article also deals with the adherence by Palestine to international conventions and recommendations drawn up by the United Nations or by the specialized agencies referred to by article 57 of the Charter. The role of the Trusteeship Council in adhering to such conventions and recommendations is covered by the same article.

Are the provisions of article 35 appropriate for obtaining the maximum use of these United Nations agencies in developing the human and material resources of Palestine for the benefit of its inhabitants and of the world?

In considering these and other features of a temporary trusteeship for Palestine it will be helpful, I feel, to bear constantly in mind the primary responsibility of Jews and Arabs. In his address last Monday, the Representative of the United States said "that the primary responsibility for reaching a peaceful settlement of this problem rests upon the people of Palestine . . . We do not believe that the peoples of Palestine are entitled to appear before the United Nations to assert demands which must be accepted by the other party and the world community as the only alternative to war."

In a political sense, it is axiomatic that government cannot be established nor maintained without the cooperation of the governed. In saying this, the United States Delegation merely wishes to apply this general truth to the specific situation in Palestine. If a temporary trusteeship for Palestine is established the United States would anticipate the fullest possible measure of participation by Jews and Arabs in positions of the highest responsibility and trust within the central administration. The success or failure of a temporary trusteeship, or of any other form of government for Palestine, will turn upon the degree of cooperation existing among the various elements of the population.

Security Council Resolution on Establishment of Truce Commission for Palestine ¹

Referring to its resolution of 17 April 1948 calling upon all parties concerned to comply with specific terms for a truce in Palestine,

The Security Council

Establishes a Truce Commission for Palestine composed of representatives of those members of the Security Council which have career consular Officers in Jerusalem, noting, however, that the representative of Syria has indicated that his Government is not prepared to serve on the Commission. The function of the Commission shall be to assist the Security Council in supervising the implementation by the parties of the resolution of the Security Council of 17 April 1948;

Requests the Commission to report to the President of the Security Council within four days regarding its activities and the development of the situation, and subsequently to keep the Security Council currently informed with respect thereto.

The Commission, its members, their assistants and its personnel, shall be entitled to travel, separately or together, wherever the Commission deems necessary to carry out its tasks.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall furnish the Commission with such personnel and assistance as it may require, taking into account the special urgency of the situation with respect to Palestine.

United States Delegation to Second Special Session

Representatives

Warren R. Austin, U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations and Representative in the Security Council, Ambassador

Francis B. Sayre, U.S. Representative in the Trusteeship Council, Ambassador

Philip C. Jessup, Deputy Representative on the Interim Committee of the General Assembly

Alternate Representatives

Dean Rusk, Director, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

John C. Ross, Deputy to the Representative at the Seat of the United Nations

Advisers

Frank P. Corrigan, Adviser on Latin American Affairs, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Donald C. Blaisdell, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

William I. Cargo, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Benjamin Gerig, Deputy Representative in the Trusteeship Council; Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Raymond A. Hare, Foreign Service officer; Chief, Division of South Asian Affairs, Department of State

John E. Herner, Office of European Affairs, Department of State

Gordon Knox, Adviser on Security Council and General Affairs, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Samuel K. C. Kopper, Special Assistant to the Director,

Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State

Thomas J. Maleady, Foreign Service officer, Department of State

Robert M. McClintock, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

Paul W. Meyer, Foreign Service officer, Department of State

Charles P. Noyes, Adviser on Security Council and General Affairs, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

C. Hayden Raynor, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of European Affairs, Department of State

Fraser Wilkins, Foreign Service officer, Department of State

Executive Officer

Donald C. Blaisdell, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

Assistant

Betty C. Gough, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State

Secretary General

Richard S. Winslow, Secretary General, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Deputy Secretary General

Thomas F. Power, Jr., Deputy Secretary General, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Information Officer

Porter McKeever, Chief, Office of Public Information, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Press Officers

Gilbert Stewart, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

David Wilson, U.S. Mission to the United Nations

¹ U.N. doc. S/727, Apr. 23, 1948. This Resolution was submitted by the U.S. Delegation and was adopted by the Security Council at its 287th meeting on Apr. 23, 1948. See also BULLETIN of Apr. 18, 1948, p. 515.

The Ninth Pan American Child Congress

ARTICLE BY KATHARINE F. LENROOT

The Ninth Pan American Child Congress, held at Caracas, Venezuela, January 5-10, 1948, was notable for the care which had entered into preparation of the sessions, for the concrete results made possible by the highly professional work of the technical commissions, and for the emphasis given to cooperation of inter-American and international agencies in matters affecting health, welfare, and education of children and youth.

One hundred and thirty-seven official delegates representing 13 of the American republics attended the Congress. Present also were the Directors of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood and of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau. The Pan American Union was represented by an official observer. The International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations likewise sent an observer as did the International Union for the Protection of Childhood. Many distinguished men and women from the fields of health, education, and social welfare had been sent to the Congress by some of the Continent's leading professional organizations.

In the absence of Dr. Gregorio Araoz Alfaro of Argentina, the President of the Directing Council of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, the Chairman of the United States Delegation, who is also Vice Chairman of the Institute, addressed the Congress at the inaugural session. A response on behalf of all delegations was delivered by Dr. Roberto Berro of Uruguay, Director of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood.

The Congress was divided into four sections, as follows: *section I*—pediatrics and maternal and child health; *section II*—social welfare and legislation; *section III*—education; and *section IV*—inter-American cooperation. Each section carried on its work through a technical commission, and the official delegates were assigned to the various commissions. The individual members—representatives of agencies and professional organizations—attended the meetings of their choice and were given full freedom in discussion. As a result, the individual members were able to make a valuable contribution to the deliberations.

As each technical commission adopted conclusions, these were reported to plenary sessions for approval. Three plenary sessions, exclusive of

the opening and closing sessions, were held. The commission's reports and the report of the resolutions committee, after approval in the plenary sessions, were incorporated in the final act, which was signed at the closing session. A copy of the final act was to be deposited with the Pan American Union and with the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood and is to be published by the latter organization.

Each country invited to participate in the Congress had been advised by the Venezuelan Organizing Committee that it would be responsible for preparing a paper on one of the official topics in one of the four sections. To Argentina, for example, had been assigned the topic of organization and financing of maternal and child-health services; to Brazil and Bolivia, prevention of tuberculosis in childhood; to a group of Central American countries, symptoms of deficiency disease; all to be studied and discussed in *section I*. To the United States had been assigned the organization of social services for mothers and children; to Chile and Peru, the child under social security; to Uruguay, the care of the dependent child; to Venezuela, the children's code—all included in *section II*. Cuba, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Panama shared responsibility for the five topics on the agenda of the section on education. All countries had the privilege of preparing "co-relatos" or joint reports on the major topics, and many of these joint reports were important documents which contributed greatly to the discussions.

Commission I reported on three recommendations. The first, dealing with organization and financing of maternal and child-health services, recognized the need for extension of such services in all American countries and recommended that these services be integrated with local public-health services; that sanitary units, health centers, or rural health stations be set up; that agencies which include health services in their programs (mental hygiene, dental health, nurseries, kindergartens, et cetera) work in close relationship and as a part of the maternal and child-health service; that the work of the generalized public-health nurse be recognized as the best for study and solution of matters affecting the health of mothers and children; that activity in the maternal and child-health field be adapted to available technical and economic resources, preference being given to

fundamental work in the field of child care; that maternal and child-health services be financed through participation of federal, state, and local and private contributions, in accordance with the characteristics of each country but with technical direction, centralized under a single command; and that services for care of sick children be closely related to the maternal and child-health service, preferably integrated with the local public-health service.

The second resolution, dealing with deficiency diseases, recommended greater protection of family life through extension of social insurance and family subsidies; creation of nutrition institutes for the study of food values and popular education; mass feeding; training of personnel for nutrition work; measures for increasing food production, reducing the cost of living, avoiding speculation and hoarding, adulteration of food products, and excessive advertising of dietary and food products. The resolution specifically recommended that the topic of child nutrition and diseases due to malnutrition be put on the program of the next Congress.

The third resolution of the Commission dealt with tuberculosis. It urged early discovery and isolation of cases; adoption of a resolution of the Twelfth Pan American Sanitary Conference concerning systematic and periodical mass examination by the Abreu method; intensification of preventive measures, including the raising of living standards, and B.C.G. vaccination in addition to, but not as a substitute for, recognized preventive measures; international cooperation of bacteriologists, physicians, and statisticians with a view to achieving greater uniformity in procedures for reporting, applying, and evaluating results of B.C.G. vaccination; and greater attention to control of bovine tuberculosis than is now given in some American countries.

Because of the great interest in the major topic assigned to the Venezuelan Delegation, namely, the children's code, the Technical Commission on Social Welfare and Legislation divided into two subcommissions, one to deal with this topic and the other with those pertaining to care of dependent children, organization of social services, and the child under social security. As revised by the Technical Commission and approved by the Congress, the code contains 20 separate headings and a brief preamble referring to the desirability of codifying laws relating to the protection of minors and recommending this proposed code to the American countries, subject to adaptation to the constitutional requirement and social and cultural conditions of each country. The full text of the code was included in the final act.

The eight-point recommendation submitted by the United States Delegation as part of its paper

on organization of social services for mothers and children was adopted by the Commission and approved by the Congress. It provides for: (1) recognition of the responsibility of government for child welfare by vesting in an appropriate agency the functions and authority required to initiate and develop social services for families and children; (2) participation by the national government in the financing of such services; (3) efforts to improve general social conditions contributing to the strengthening and conserving of family life (adequate wage levels, housing, good standards of health and education, social insurances, and social services); (4) emphasis on case work or social service to individual cases; development of resources for helping children in their own homes; acceptance of the principle that the primary goals of institutional or foster care for children are those of substituting, for a brief time or longer, for the child's own home; (5) special training in social work, to the greatest extent possible, for persons on the staff of organizations providing social services to families and children; (6) emphasis on coordination among social agencies and on cooperative community planning; (7) responsibility of agencies administering social services for children and families to interpret their work in such a way that the public will understand and support it; (8) cooperation of national agencies responsible for development of social services for families and children with international efforts in behalf of the children of the world.

Inasmuch as the official reports submitted by Chile and Peru on the child under social security contained no specific recommendations, a subcommittee of Technical Commission III was designated to prepare a resolution on this subject. The resolution recommends: (1) that the suggestions and resolutions on social security adopted by the Eighth Pan American Child Congress at Washington and the First Inter-American Congress of Social Security at Santiago, Chile, be reaffirmed; (2) that social-security plans recognize the importance of child care and protection and coordinate their provisions in this respect with the resources and plans of agencies in the field of health, social assistance, labor, and education; and (3) that there be an active interchange of experience and information on plans, programs, methods, and results among the American countries in matters pertaining to social security and child care and protection.

The resolution on the welfare of abandoned or dependent children declares that the modern state should devote the most adequate possible resources to combating the causes of abandonment or dependency. It recognizes the part which social security plays in this connection and strongly recommends that assistance be given dependent

children in their own homes if possible, in suitable foster homes, or in institutions which can serve as substitutes. Institutions for dependent children should preferably be of the family or semi-family type. Punitive systems should be abolished in such agencies, and each child admitted should be studied individually from the medical, psychological, educational, and social points of view. Governments should likewise stimulate the development of social services with trained personnel as the most effective auxiliary means of diminishing the evils of child abandonment.

Other resolutions recognized the value of psychiatric services for children and the importance of appropriate psychiatric training for doctors, nurses, social workers, and teachers rendering professional services to children in their respective fields.

Technical Commission III reported comprehensive resolutions dealing with education in rural areas, based on official reports from Colombia and Ecuador; on education of the preschool child, based on the official report of Cuba; on progressive education, and on the care and recreation of children outside of school hours. The resolution based on the Cuban report contained an important declaration in favor of the preschool child who was described as "still neglected, pedagogically and socially in many American countries".

Another important declaration of the Congress was the declaration of Caracas on child health. This was the result of a suggestion submitted by Dr. John Long of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau to a meeting of the Governing Council of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, held at Montevideo in April 1947. It had been agreed that Dr. Long and the Institute would prepare drafts for submission to the next Child Congress. The revised version approved by the Congress will be submitted to the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and the Institute for final review and approval before being distributed to all the American countries.

To a greater degree than ever before the Ninth Pan American Child Congress entrusted new responsibilities to the Institute. A Cuban resolution recommended that the Institute, in order to give greater stimulus and publicity to developments in the field of social service, develop a plan for nation-wide competition in each country on the subject of the successful achievements of the country in this field. The winning paper of each country is to be published by the Institute.

A United States resolution expressed the hope that the Institute might obtain sufficient resources to permit it to make a comparative study of the legal bases of child care, especially between countries under systems of civil law and common law, and that the Institute plan the study and be in charge of it, with the assistance of an advisory committee of experts.

A Costa Rican resolution urged the Institute to consider the problem of children who cross national frontiers, on their own initiative or at the instigation of others for reasons contrary to their interests.

The Institute was applauded for the cooperation it had given during the past year in connection with the organization of seminars on social work at Medellin, Colombia, and Montevideo, Uruguay, under the auspices of the United Nations. It was praised for the progress it had made in carrying out resolutions of the Eighth Pan American Child Congress dealing with inter-American cooperation and was directed to consult with the Pan American Union and with inter-American agencies operating in related fields as to the best way of carrying out resolutions and recommendations of the Ninth International Conference of American States relative to inter-American cooperation in matters pertaining to health, education, social services, and social insurance as they affect children. Recognizing the importance of the problem of nutrition and the efforts which international organizations are making to deal with it, both through the United Nations and various inter-American agencies, the Institute was asked to study ways in which the experience of the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau can serve to promote efforts to raise the level of child nutrition in the American countries. As for the resolution recommending support of the International Children's Emergency Fund, the Institute was entrusted with the responsibility of sending copies of the resolution to the Fund, to the United Nations, to the Pan American Union, to the American Governments, and to the agencies and press of the Continent.

All of these resolutions of an inter-American and international character, including the declaration of Caracas on child health, were reported to the Congress by Commission IV on Inter-American Cooperation. Others included in this group were a resolution recommending that the Ninth International Conference of American States, at its meeting at Bogatá, recognize the need of giving special attention to the protection of children and youth and the importance of inter-American cooperation in solving problems related to the health, welfare, and education of children and the training of personnel for work in these fields. This resolution also recommended that all American countries adhere to and support the work of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood.

In view of the fact that more adequate statistics will be needed to enable the American countries and agencies to carry out many of the resolutions

of the Congress, a special resolution recommended that the agencies in each country responsible for taking the 1950 census arrange to obtain statistical data which will contribute to a knowledge of the real situation of the child in America. A copy of this resolution was to be sent to the American Statistical Institute for submission to the organizing committee for the 1950 census of the Americas which is scheduled to meet later in the year.

APPOINTMENT OF U.S. COMMISSIONERS ON THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

The Secretary of State announced on April 28 that the President has appointed the United States Commissioners and Alternate Commissioners on the South Pacific Commission. The following persons have been appointed:

Senior Commissioner: Felix Keesing, professor of anthropology at Stanford University and an outstanding authority on the South Pacific

Commissioner: Milton Shalleck, lawyer of New York, with a distinguished record in law and government

Alternate Commissioner: Karl C. Leebrick, vice president of the University of Hawaii and an expert on Pacific affairs

Alternate Commissioner (for the first Commission meeting): Orsen N. Nielsen, American Consul General at Sydney, Australia, and U.S. Representative in the Interim Organization of the South Pacific Commission

The purpose of the South Pacific Commission is to facilitate international cooperation in promoting the social and economic advancement of the dependent peoples of the South Pacific. The Commission, while not an organic part of the United Nations, is expected to develop close relations with the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The South Pacific Commission, like the Caribbean Commission (established in 1942 as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission), is a pioneer venture in regional cooperation among governments responsible for the administration of dependent areas.

The Governments which will participate in the work of the mission are those of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. By action of the President on January 28, 1948, the agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission was accepted on behalf of the United States Government.¹

The Commission, assisted by a Research Council and periodical conferences of representatives of the local inhabitants, has a great opportunity to render an important service both to the member governments and to the people in the region.

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 15, 1948, p. 214.

² For article on the Institute, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1947, p. 891.

The first meeting of the South Pacific Commission is scheduled to be convened at Sydney, Australia, on May 11, 1948. The Commission will meet regularly twice each year.

U.S. DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR CONFERENCE TO ESTABLISH INSTITUTE OF THE HYLEAN AMAZON

[Released to the press April 29]

The Department of State announced on April 29 that a United States Delegation is en route to a Conference for the Establishment of the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon, to be held at Iquitos, Peru, April 30-May 10, 1948.² The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Clarence Boonstra, Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Lima

Delegates

Alan M. Holmberg, cultural anthropologist, representing the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution

Claud L. Horn, Head, Complementary Crops Division, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

The Conference has been called by the Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) in the name of that Organization and of the Governments of Peru and Brazil. Its purpose is to plan the formal establishment of the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon (named from the word *hyleia* meaning forested area), which is one of the largest undeveloped areas in the world, extending over portions of six South American republics, and French, British, and Dutch Guiana. The Institute would promote the scientific investigation of the region and provide facilities for cooperation in this work. In planning for the Institute, the Conference will: (1) discuss, and if possible, draw up an agreement for the establishment of the Institute; (2) set up an Interim Commission for the Institute which would continue as the directive body until the convention may come into force; and (3) discuss means of finance, particularly for the year 1949.

The First General Conference of Unesco, held at Paris in 1946, approved a Brazilian proposal that an International Scientific Commission be set up in consultation with Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, France, the Netherlands, Peru, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, and the United States, to investigate on the spot all aspects of the question of the establishment of an International Hylean Amazon Institute. The International Commission met at Belém (Pará), Brazil, in August 1947, and recommended the establishment of an Insti-

tute. The Commission recommended that the Institute's function should be to promote investigations in the natural and social sciences, and that such studies should be carried out as far as practicable in collaboration with existing scientific organizations and institutions, both national and international. This recommendation was approved by the Second General Conference of UNESCO at Mexico City, November-December 1947.

Invitations to attend the forthcoming meeting have been sent to all member governments of UNESCO and interested international organizations.

Although the United States Government does not plan to become a dues-paying member of the Institute, it has assisted in the development of this project through its contributions to UNESCO. UNESCO has made a small appropriation this year to provide for a preliminary survey by six scientists of the work which the Institute might undertake. American scientific institutions and agencies have long taken an active part in the scientific exploration of the area and are expected to follow with interest the work of the Institute.

U.S. DELEGATION TO INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAPH CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF ITU

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the International Telegraph Consultative Committee of the International Telecommunication Union which is scheduled to be held at Brussels, Belgium, May 10-29, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Trevanion H. E. Nesbitt, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Vice Chairman

William J. Norfleet, Chief Accountant, Federal Communications Commission

Advisers

Harold J. Cohen, Assistant General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission

Harvey B. Otterman, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

John N. Plakias, First Secretary and Consul, American Embassy, Paris

Alva G. Simson, Consultant, Communications Liaison Branch, Office of Chief Signal Officer, Department of the Army

Marion H. Woodward, Assistant Chief Engineer, Federal Communications Commission

Assistant to the Chairman

William E. O'Connor, Divisional Assistant, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Industry Advisers

AMERICAN CABLE & RADIO CORPORATION SYSTEM COMPANIES

Morgan Heiskell, European Representative, Paris

MACKAY RADIO AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Leroy F. Spraugenberg, Vice President, New York, N. Y.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

Glen McDaniels, Vice President and General Attorney, New York, N. Y.

John H. Muller, Assistant to Executive Vice President, New York, N. Y.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

K. Bruce Mitchell, Director, International Communications, New York, N. Y.

Marion M. Newcomer, Manager, Western Union Telegraph Company in Germany, Frankfurt

The Sixth Meeting of the Committee has been called jointly by the International Telecommunication Union and the Government of Belgium to study technical questions relating to telegraphy and to formulate recommendations for the solution of these problems.

Invitations to attend the forthcoming meeting have been sent to member governments of the International Telecommunication Union and to private companies and international organizations interested in the subject matter.

U.S. DELEGATION TO INTERNATIONAL TIN STUDY GROUP

[Released to the press April 16]

The United States acted as host to the Second Meeting of the International Tin Study Group, which convened April 19-23, 1948, in Washington. The address of welcome was delivered by Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State.

The Tin Study Group is composed of 14 members which have primary interest in the production or consumption of tin. The Group maintains a permanent secretariat with headquarters at The Hague.

The United States Delegation is headed by Donald D. Kennedy, Chief, Division of International Resources, Department of State, assisted by the following:

Advisers

George Jewett, Associate Director, Office of Metals Reserve, Reconstruction Finance Corporation

Erwin Vogelsang, Chief, Tin and Antimony Section, Metals Division, Department of Commerce

Carl N. Gibboney, International Commodity Arrangements Adviser, Department of Commerce

Charles Merrill, Chief, Metal Economics Branch, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior

Fred Bartlett, U.S. Embassy, London

Carl Igenfritz, Vice President, United States Steel Corporation

Secretary

Virginia D. Karehere, Division of International Resources, Department of State

**Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration
and Collective Self-Defence¹**

**BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, BELGIUM, FRANCE,
LUXEMBOURG, AND THE NETHERLANDS**

Brussels, 17th March, 1948

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Belgium, the President of the French Republic, President of the French Union, Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands and His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas,

Resolved

To reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the other ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations;

To fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom and political liberty, the constitutional traditions and the rule of law, which are their common heritage;

To strengthen, with these aims in view, the economic, social and cultural ties by which they are already united;

To co-operate loyally and to co-ordinate their efforts to create in Western Europe a firm basis for European economic recovery;

To afford assistance to each other, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in maintaining international peace and security and in resisting any policy of aggression;

To take such steps as may be held to be necessary in the event of a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression;

To associate progressively in the pursuance of these aims other States inspired by the same ideals and animated by the like determination;

Desiring for these purposes to conclude a treaty for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for collective self-defence;

Have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Belgium

His Excellency Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and

His Excellency Mr. Gaston Eyskens, Minister of Finance,

The President of the French Republic, President of the French Union

His Excellency Mr. Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and

His Excellency Mr. Jean de Hauteclouque, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Brussels,

Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg

His Excellency Mr. Joseph Bech, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and

His Excellency Mr. Robert Als, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Luxembourg in Brussels,

Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands

His Excellency Baron C. G. W. H. van Boetzelaer van Oosterhout, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and

His Excellency Baron Binnert Philip van Harinxma thoe Slooten, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Netherlands in Brussels,

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, Member of Parliament, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and

His Excellency Sir George William Rendel, K.C.M.G., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty in Brussels,

who, having exhibited their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Convinced of the close community of their interests and of the necessity of uniting in order to

¹ Great Britain. Cmd. 7367. Miscellaneous No. 2 (1948).

promote the economic recovery of Europe, the High Contracting Parties will so organize and co-ordinate their economic activities as to produce the best possible results, by the elimination of conflict in their economic policies, the co-ordination of production and the development of commercial exchanges.

The co-operation provided for in the preceding paragraph, which will be effected through the Consultative Council referred to in Article VII as well as through other bodies, shall not involve any duplication of, or prejudice to, the work of other economic organizations in which the High Contracting Parties are or may be represented but shall on the contrary assist the work of those organizations.

ARTICLE II

The High Contracting Parties will make every effort in common, both by direct consultation and in specialized agencies, to promote the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples and to develop on corresponding lines the social and other related services of their countries.

The High Contracting Parties will consult with the object of achieving the earliest possible application of recommendations of immediate practical interest, relating to social matters, adopted with their approval in the specialized agencies.

They will endeavour to conclude as soon as possible conventions with each other in the sphere of social security.

ARTICLE III

The High Contracting Parties will make every effort in common to lead their peoples towards a better understanding of the principles which form the basis of their common civilization and to promote cultural exchanges by conventions between themselves or by other means.

ARTICLE IV

If any of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, afford the party so attacked all the military and other aid and assistance in their power.

ARTICLE V

All measures taken as a result of the preceding Article shall be immediately reported to the Security Council. They shall be terminated as soon as the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain or restore international peace and Security.

The present Treaty does not prejudice in any way the obligations of the High Contracting Parties under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. It shall not be interpreted as

affecting in any way the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

ARTICLE VI

The High Contracting Parties declare, each so far as he is concerned, that none of the international engagements now in force between him and any other of the High Contracting Parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of the present Treaty.

None of the High Contracting Parties will conclude any alliance or participate in any coalition directed against any other of the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE VII

For the purpose of consulting together on all the questions dealt with in the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties will create a Consultative Council, which shall be so organized as to be able to exercise its functions continuously. The Council shall meet at such times as it shall deem fit.

At the request of any of the High Contracting Parties, the Council shall be immediately convened in order to permit the High Contracting Parties to consult with regard to any situation which may constitute a threat to peace, in whatever area this threat should arise; with regard to the attitude to be adopted and the steps to be taken in case of a renewal by Germany of an aggressive policy; or with regard to any situation constituting a danger to economic stability.

ARTICLE VIII

In pursuance of their determination to settle disputes only by peaceful means, the High Contracting Parties will apply to disputes between themselves the following provisions:

The High Contracting Parties will, while the present Treaty remains in force, settle all disputes falling within the scope of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice by referring them to the Court, subject only, in the case of each of them, to any reservation already made by that Party when accepting this clause for compulsory jurisdiction to the extent that that Party may maintain the reservation.

In addition, the High Contracting Parties will submit to conciliation all disputes outside the scope of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

In the case of a mixed dispute involving both questions for which conciliation is appropriate and other questions for which judicial settlement is appropriate, any Party to the dispute shall have the right to insist that the judicial settlement of the legal questions shall precede conciliation.

The preceding provisions of this Article in no way affect the application of relevant provisions or agreements prescribing some other method of pacific settlement.

ARTICLE IX

The High Contracting Parties may, by agreement, invite any other State to accede to the present Treaty on conditions to be agreed between them and the State so invited.

Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing an instrument of accession with the Belgian Government.

The Belgian Government will inform each of the High Contracting Parties of the deposit of each instrument of accession.

ARTICLE X

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Belgian Government.

It shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of the last instrument of ratification and shall thereafter remain in force for fifty years.

After the expiry of the period of fifty years, each of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to cease to be a party thereto provided that he shall have previously given one year's notice of denunciation to the Belgian Government.

The Belgian Government shall inform the Governments of the other High Contracting

Parties of the deposit of each instrument of ratification and of each notice of denunciation.

In witness whereof, the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Brussels, this seventeenth day of March 1948, in English and French, each text being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Belgian Government and of which certified copies shall be transmitted by that Government to each of the other signatories.

For Belgium:

(L. S.) P. H. SPAAK.

(L. S.) GASTON EYSKENS.

For France:

(L. S.) G. BIDAULT.

(L. S.) J. DE HAUTELOCQUE.

For Luxembourg:

(L. S.) JOSEPH BECH.

(L. S.) ROBERT ALS.

For the Netherlands:

(L. S.) W. VAN BOETZELAER.

(L. S.) VAN HARINXMA THOE SLOOTEN.

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

(L. S.) ERNEST BEVIN.

(L. S.) GEORGE RENDEL.

COMMUNIQUÉ ON FIRST MEETING OF THE PERMANENT CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL¹

The French Foreign Office published the following communiqué on the meeting of signatories to the Brussels treaty

April 18, 1948

The five Foreign Ministers of the signatory powers of the treaty of Brussels meeting Paris April 17, 1948 in consultative council according to Article 7 agreed on the following provisions to insure application of accord of March 17:

1. The permanent consultative council is composed of the five Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The council will meet in each of the capitals of the signatory states in turn each time that such a meeting appears necessary and at least once every three months.

2. The permanent organ of the council will be constituted by diplomatic representatives in London of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands and designated representative of the British Government. It will be assisted by a secretariat. It will meet at least once a month.

¹Printed from telegraphic text.

3. The security problems covered by the pact normally come within the responsibility of the qualified ministers of the different countries who will meet in London to discuss them each time that will become necessary. In order to follow these same questions a permanent military committee will be constituted in London under the authority of the council and under the control of the political representatives named in paragraph two.

4. As regards economic, social and cultural questions the council will decide on a periodic meeting of competent ministers and experts in a designated place. In order to follow the work undertaken in the course of these meetings the council will decide on the constitution of special committees appointed for this purpose.

5. All the committees mentioned above are to report to the consultative council. The five Ministers of Foreign Affairs also decided that the first meeting of the permanent organ will take place April 24 next.

The Importance of Imports

BY WILLARD L. THORP¹

Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs

In 1947 the foreign trade among the countries of the world exceeded the prewar levels. The statistical records are incomplete and inadequate, but the estimates made by the Department of Commerce on the basis of available information indicate that world exports in 1947, and therefore world imports in 1947 as well, ran more than twice the total for 1938 in dollar terms. These figures, of course, are affected greatly by the rise in prices everywhere. It is perhaps more meaningful that estimates, which are corrected so far as possible for price change, indicate that the physical volume of goods moving into international trade channels in 1947 was slightly more than in 1938. In other words the physical flow of commodities across national boundaries is back to the prewar level.

These aggregate figures tend to conceal the extraordinary changes in the world trade pattern between the prewar and the postwar periods. In 1938 nearly one half of the goods exported started in European countries, and the Far East was a substantial exporter of raw materials. Germany contributed about 10 percent of world exports and Japan 3.6 percent.

Today the pattern is completely different with the greatest change being that of the position of the United States in international commerce. American exports are primarily responsible for the fact that global trade in 1947 in actual physical quantities reached prewar levels, despite the great gap left by the low level of shipments from any other less fortunate areas. In 1938 the United States supplied 14 percent of the products moving in world commerce. The figure for 1946 is estimated by the Department of Commerce to be 31.1 percent and to have reached 34.6 percent in the first half of 1947. In other words about one third of all commodities moving in foreign trade in the postwar pattern are exports from the United States.

Despite the greatly increased demand for goods and materials by our industries and our consumers resulting from the high level of economic activity here, the world as a whole has been unable to supply to us a volume of goods much larger than in prewar years. Goods coming to the United States are estimated by the Department of Commerce at 8.2 percent of the world trade in 1938 and 11.4 percent in the first half of 1947. Thus, measured in world trade, where total exports must equal total imports, the United States share in exports is

nearly 35 percent and in imports, about 11 percent. For most other countries, the figures are in reverse order of magnitude. Thus, in very brief summary, is pictured the world disequilibrium of today.

Never have our own exports and imports been so seriously out of balance. Never before have American products been needed so badly, yet never has the means with which to purchase them been so inadequate. Largely through the medium of the extension of grants, credits, and the liquidation of foreign gold reserves and dollar assets, American goods have moved in this great quantity but the present pattern, necessary as it is for immediate economic progress, cannot be long maintained. To be sure, the gap between commodity exports and imports is never identical with the financial elements in the balance of payments. However, in the long run, the invisible items cannot possibly begin to meet an unbalanced situation such as the present. In fact, our position as a creditor nation, a state which is steadily becoming greater as we extend more and more credit and as foreign assets in the United States are liquidated, points increasingly to the necessity of bringing commodity exports and imports more nearly into line. Our American foreign policy must be based on these fundamental economic facts.

The European Recovery Program has been discussed largely in terms of the extent to which exports to western Europe from the Western Hemisphere are necessary for the economic operation and recovery of these war-devastated areas. However, the fundamental economic objective of the European Recovery Program is the reestablishment of the ability of European countries to support themselves without outside assistance. The fact is that Europe, and particularly western Europe, is a workshop and must import materials and export finished goods in order to live. The report of the Committee on European Economic Co-operation recorded last summer the intention of the member countries to increase their exports to the United States in the course of the next four years from an estimated 848 million dollars in 1948-49 to 1,484 million dollars in 1951-52. Greater increases were planned for other areas of the world so as to reestablish the prewar pattern which made it possible for Europe to live. The

¹ Address made before the National Council of American Importers in New York City on Apr. 22, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

estimates for European exports to the United States which have been presented to the appropriations committees by the Executive branch of the Government are somewhat higher, namely 1,587 million dollars for 1948-49 (measured at July 1, 1947, prices). The comparable figure for 1947 was 1,279 million dollars and the target for 1951-52, a most uncertain estimate of course, is 2,759 million dollars. These new figures are on a different basis from the CEEC estimates, since they include western Germany as well as substantial quantities of raw materials such as rubber and tin from colonies and dependencies of the 16 countries.

European exports to the United States are of particular importance at the moment because payments are made in dollars, which may be used anywhere in the world as needed. Europe used to export more substantially to other parts of the world, which in turn frequently earned their capacity to pay Europe in dollars by exporting to the United States in greater volume than they imported from us. Europe also had a substantial invisible income from these other sources. However, the non-European countries which used to transfer dollars to Europe in such quantities are now also in trouble with respect to trade with the United States, i.e., they also have import surpluses, and are unable to do an adequate job of financing even their own dollar needs. Hence, they are reluctant to pay Europe in dollars or other convertible currency. The salvation of European countries in terms of self-support cannot immediately be achieved by means of exports to non-European areas outside the United States. However, one of the more hopeful aspects of the situation is the expectation that the deficit between the European countries and countries outside the Western Hemisphere will change to a surplus after about two years, and the triangular process of balancing payments can be gradually resumed.

It therefore becomes clear that importing by the United States of increased quantities of goods from Europe is one step which can assist the Europeans in achieving their recovery objectives. It is equally clear that American imports from other parts of the world which trade with Europe are of similar consequence in terms of European recovery. In a general economic sense, as we increase our imports from any part of the world, we make it more possible for other countries to recover their equilibrium and to make further progress.

This is the determinant of our immediate and short-run foreign economic policy. Our imbalance of trade is so great that we must finance the deficit, not to keep ourselves going, but to enable other countries to obtain absolute necessities for their consumers and their recovery. Our objective should be not to get accustomed to this sort of arrangement ourselves, nor allow our friends abroad to get accustomed to it. It is

possible for us to give this assistance temporarily because of the rich and varied nature of our economy, but it is not a sound policy to allow such a procedure to continue for any longer than is absolutely necessary. We must think always in terms of getting other nations on their feet and never in terms of long-continued subsidies to them. The most positive way in which we can act is by importing their goods. We can use the goods to make a richer and more comfortable life for ourselves as consumers, and we can use their raw materials and fuels to replenish our strength, which was to some extent depleted during the war. If we are to act in accord with our position as a creditor nation, this must come about.

There are other types of imports in the field of services, the so-called invisibles. Europe used to gain a substantial part of its foreign trade income from such invisibles, and the losses in this category have contributed heavily to the present great deficit of European payments. Income from investments have had to be sacrificed. Merchant fleets have been sharply reduced, and now indeed one of the large items of dollar payments which European countries must make is that of ocean freight for the use of ships which we own, and for which we charge freight in dollars. Other invisibles which are important are banking and insurance services, and tourism. In at least some of these categories, the European countries have hopes of restoring them to a substantial extent. Therefore, when we talk about imports we must bear in mind that we should include in this concept the invisible items which can do much to rectify the imbalance of trade.

Accepting then the economic significance of imports as contributing to economic and political stability abroad, and to achieving the objective of the European Recovery Program, we may well examine what it is that keeps these imports at a low level at the present time—not particularly low in terms of the level of imports into the United States at some time in the past, but low in terms of our present level of economic activity and our present export flood. Certain of these limitations are matters which must be dealt with by the European countries themselves. In the first place, countries afflicted by the war have not fully restored their productivity. They lack raw materials and fuel, and they sometimes lack labor. When they do restore their productive capacity, frequently the needs of their domestic economies for reconstruction are so great that they must first allocate the goods produced to satisfy this requirement. Another factor which has reduced the availability of European export goods has been the growth of population, including the millions of refugees and displaced persons now in western Europe. This population increase means that European productivity must be higher than it was

prior to the war, if prewar standards of living are to be reestablished, and if Europe is to become self-supporting. The result of all these factors is that goods which should be available for export to us and to other countries are delayed in appearing on the world market.

Another reason for the lack of availability of goods for export from Europe is the difficulty which many European countries have been experiencing with respect to their currencies. High price levels, creeping or racing inflation, and black market operations mean hoarded commodities, lowered productivity, and the over-pricing of goods, particularly in relation to export markets. For example, traditional French exports to the United States were offered at such high prices during 1947 that, in most instances, they were priced out of the market. The devaluation of the franc is, of course, a major step in the direction of correcting this tendency. The European countries have pledged themselves "to apply all necessary measures leading to the rapid achievement of internal financial monetary and economic stability." Their report summarizes their attitude as follows: "In general terms, the restoration of a healthy economic and monetary situation with appropriate rates of exchange will stimulate production and exports and open new possibilities of foreign investment and commercial credits." As their recovery progresses, these difficulties should tend to be overcome.

At the moment, much of the world's trade moves in terms of quotas and exchange controls. Bilateral arrangements and shipments on the basis of grant or credit tend to be determined without much reference to monetary machinery, except as a method of record-keeping. But in more normal operations, foreign exchange rates are a most important balancing factor. The price level in each country is translated into the price levels of other countries through the foreign exchange mechanism. Depending upon the relative position of the price levels and the rate of exchange, goods will be encouraged to flow in one direction or the other. At the present moment, this dynamic force is not operating with any real effectiveness. American prices should be high relative to those in every other country when translated through the exchange rates, to retard our exports and encourage imports to this country. But present rates in most countries are arbitrarily fixed and quite unrelated to the relative price-level ratio. The beneficial effects which foreign exchange rates can exert are not present. This is one of the problems calling for early action as an integral part in an effective program for wide-spread economic recovery.

Nor can we disregard the fact that, if we are to import, we must make the path easier by reducing direct government interference with trade as much

as possible. High tariffs are inconsistent with our position as a creditor nation. We have made significant progress along this line since the enactment of the reciprocal trade agreements act in 1934. The most recent major step in this direction was, of course, the signature of the general agreement on tariffs and trade at Geneva in 1947, with the consequent duty reductions which were put into effect on January 1 of this year. The charter recently initialed in Geneva provides the long-run program for permitting the expansion of trade by the reduction of trade barriers.

But all these conditions of which I have been speaking are not enough to meet the problem. Goods do not move of their own accord. The American importer is the hero in the piece. Traditionally, our major efforts in foreign trade have been oriented in the direction of our exports, and too little attention has been directed toward increasing our purchases from other countries. The well-known American skill in salesmanship must be brought into play to show the American people the desirability of acquiring goods from abroad. Many products of European countries are highly desirable for consumers in the United States. There is great importance in the possibilities of increased imports of raw materials and industrial goods from European countries and their dependencies. The future health of our foreign trade, as well as our ability to benefit from our creditor position, depends primarily upon our imports and our importers.

It is true that foreign goods in various lines compete with our own products, but our system is one which has always believed that competition is the life of trade, and it is clear that if we do not buy other people's exports, they will not be able to buy ours. The European Recovery Program has been called a calculated risk, and the United States has accepted this risk as a major feature of foreign policy. To the extent that we buy goods produced by other countries in increasing quantities, so that we enable other countries to gain in their ability to support themselves, we reduce the element of risk in our foreign economic operations. Nor is it enough to call it a reduction of risk. It is also the path to the expansion of trade with the concurrent promise of rising standards of living both at home and abroad.

Address on Reciprocal Trade Agreements

On April 16 Winthrop G. Brown, Acting Director, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State, made an address on reciprocal trade agreements and their effects on imports before the Import Session of the Third Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference in New Orleans; for the text of this address, see Department of State press release 293 of April 16, 1948.

International Wheat Agreement Transmitted to the Senate

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE SENATE

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith, in certified form, the International Wheat Agreement,¹ in the English and French languages, which was open for signature in Washington from March 6, 1948 until April 1, 1948 and was signed, during that period, by representatives of this Government and the governments of 35 other countries.

The purpose of the Agreement, described in greater detail in the enclosed report of the Secretary of State and letter from the Acting Secretary

of Agriculture, is to provide supplies of wheat to importing countries and to assure markets to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices.

In view of the fact that the Agreement requires formal acceptance by the signatory governments by July 1, 1948, I urge that the Senate give the Agreement the earliest possible consideration.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 30, 1948.

(Enclosures: (1) Report by the Secretary of State; (2) Letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture.)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

April 29, 1948

THE PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a certified copy of the International Wheat Agreement which was open for signature in Washington from March 6, 1948 until April 1, 1948 and was signed, during that period, by representatives of the Government of the United States of America and representatives of the Governments of 35 other countries.

The Agreement is the result of approximately fifteen years of negotiation in an effort to conclude an agreement providing a framework within which there might be stabilized the greatest possible portion of the international wheat trade. Negotiations reached a successful conclusion at the Special Session of the International Wheat Council held in Washington from January 28, 1948 until March 6, 1948.

The objectives of the Agreement, as set forth in Article I thereof, are "to assure supplies of wheat to importing countries and to assure markets to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices." In general the Agreement is in the nature of a multilateral contract requiring member exporting countries to supply designated quantities of wheat to member importing countries, when requested to do so by those importing countries, at the maxi-

imum prices established in the Agreement and, conversely, requiring member importing countries to purchase designated quantities of wheat from member exporting countries, when requested to do so by those exporting countries, at the minimum prices established in the Agreement. The market which the Agreement assures to United States producers of wheat should eliminate to a great extent the serious disadvantages to those producers which are the result of bilateral contracts between other exporting countries and certain of the importing countries signatory to the Agreement. The number and coverage of such bilateral contracts, moreover, undoubtedly would have been increased if the Agreement had not been negotiated.

It is believed that in addition to assuring markets, at guaranteed prices, to exporting countries for a substantial portion of the exportable wheat production of those countries, thus encouraging the maintenance of production during the current cereals shortage, the Agreement will have the effect, by assuring importing countries of designated quantities of wheat at specified prices, of encouraging those countries whose cost of wheat production is relatively high to meet a larger part of their requirements with imported wheat and, accordingly, to plan their agricultural production with a view to increased diversification of crops and employment of land resources to greater advantage.

The Agreement, in accordance with the provisions of Article XXII thereof, is to remain in force for a five-year period. Provision is made in

¹See *Documents and State Papers*, May 1948, pp. 102-111.

Article XXII for recommendations by the International Wheat Council with respect to renewal of the Agreement upon the expiration of the five-year period.

The more important substantive provisions of the Agreement are contained in Articles I to IX, inclusive. Articles X to XXII, inclusive, deal with administrative and procedural matters. The Agreement is explained in greater detail in the enclosed article-by-article summary. Also transmitted herewith is a letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture which sets forth the views of the Department of Agriculture with respect to the Agreement.

In the course of the negotiation it was found necessary, in order that the Agreement might be

in effect during the next wheat-marketing year, to provide, in Article XX, that instruments of acceptance of the Agreement be deposited no later than July 1, 1948 by all Governments except those of importing countries which are prevented by a recess of their respective legislatures from accepting the Agreement by that date. In order to bring the Agreement into force on the part of the United States it is necessary, therefore, that the United States instrument of acceptance be deposited by July 1, 1948. Accordingly it is recommended that the Senate be requested to give consideration to the Agreement at the earliest opportunity.

Respectfully submitted,

G. C. MARSHALL

INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT

Summary of Principal Provisions

Article I sets forth the objectives of the Agreement, i.e. the assurance of wheat supplies to importing countries and wheat markets to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices.

Article II relates to the rights and obligations of importing and exporting countries and establishes, in Annexes I and II, respectively, the purchases which each contracting importing country, and the sales which each contracting exporting country, guarantees to make.

Article III provides that the contracting countries shall supply to the International Wheat Council, established by Article XI, with respect to imports and purchases for import, and exports and sales for export, of wheat, the information which is necessary for the maintenance by the Council of records required in the administration of the Agreement.

Article IV, relating to enforcement of rights, establishes the procedure to be followed by the contracting countries in requesting fulfillment of obligations, namely, that any importing country which at any time finds difficulty in making its guaranteed purchases at the maximum price may, through the Council, call upon the exporting countries to supply wheat at the maximum price up to the amount that the exporting countries have guaranteed to supply the importing country in question and that any exporting country which at any time finds difficulty in making its guaranteed sales at the minimum price may, through the Council, call upon the importing countries to purchase wheat at the minimum price up to the amount that the importing countries have guaranteed to purchase from the exporting country in question.

Article V, concerning adjustment of obligations,

provides for the reporting to the Council by a country which fears that it may be prevented by circumstances from fulfilling its obligations under the Agreement; for a finding by the Council as to whether that country's representations in this connection are well-founded; and, if so, for an adjustment in the obligations in question, through the voluntary assumption of those obligations by other contracting countries, if this is possible, and, if it is not, through a reduction by the Council, on a pro rata basis, of the quantities in the appropriate annex to Article II.

Article VI establishes the following minimum and maximum prices for the duration of the Agreement for no. 1 Manitoba Northern wheat in store at Fort William or Port Arthur:

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>
1948/49	\$1.50	\$2.00
1949/50	1.40	2.00
1950/51	1.30	2.00
1951/52	1.20	2.00
1952/53	1.10	2.00

The Article provides further that during the last three years of the five-year period during which the Agreement is to remain in force the price range may be narrowed, within the minimum and maximum limits, by the Council by a two-thirds majority of the votes held by the exporting and importing countries voting separately.

There are established in Article VI formulas for determining the price equivalents for no. 1 Manitoba Northern wheat in store in Vancouver, f. a. q. wheat f. o. b. Australia, no. 1 Hard Winter wheat f. o. b. Gulf/Atlantic ports of the United States, and no. 1 Soft White/no. 1 Hard Winter wheat f. o. b. Pacific ports of the United States. Article VI provides also that the Executive Committee, in consultation with the Standing Technical Advisory Committee on Price Equivalents, estab-

lished by Article XV, may determine the price equivalents for other descriptions of wheat.

Article VII authorizes the Council, upon request by a member country, to use its good offices in facilitating transactions in wheat in amounts in addition to those provided for elsewhere in the Agreement.

Article VIII authorizes any exporting country to export wheat at special prices for use in nutritional programs that are approved by the Food and Agriculture Organization, provided the wheat is exported under conditions that are approved by the Council, it being understood that the Council will not give its approval unless it is satisfied that the full commercial demand of the importing countries will be met throughout the period in question at not more than the minimum price.

Article IX provides that the minimum stockholdings of the exporting countries shall be as follows, subject to the proviso that stocks may be permitted to fall below these figures if the Council decides that this is necessary in order to provide the quantity of wheat needed to meet either the domestic requirements of the exporting countries or the import requirements of the importing countries:

Australia . . .	25 millions of bushels (excluding farm stocks).
Canada . . .	70 millions of bushels (excluding farm stocks).
United States .	170 millions of bushels (including farm stocks).

This Article further places an obligation upon exporting and importing countries to operate price-stabilization reserves up to 10 percent of their guaranteed export and import quantities, respectively.

Article X sets forth the areas to which the Agreement applies with respect to each contracting country.

Article XI establishes an International Wheat Council, provides that each contracting government shall be a member thereof, and makes provision for such administrative matters as frequency of meetings, election of officers, and rules of procedure.

Article XII provides for the distribution among importing and exporting countries of votes in the Council on the basis of the quantities of wheat which those countries have guaranteed to purchase or sell under the Agreement.

Article XIII requires the Council to perform the duties assigned to it under the Agreement and confers on the Council such powers in addition to those expressly conferred upon it as may be necessary to achieve its effective operation and to realize its objectives. Article XIII provides also for the settlement by the Council of any dispute arising out of the interpretation of the Agreement or regarding an alleged breach of its provisions.

Article XIV requires the Council to elect annually an Executive Committee which is to be responsible to and work under its general direction and on which representatives of the exporting and importing countries, respectively, shall have the same number of votes.

Article XV requires the Council to establish a Standing Technical Advisory Committee on Price Equivalents to advise the Council or the Executive Committee regarding the establishment or revision of price equivalents.

Article XVI provides that expenses necessary for the administration of the Agreement (except those incident to national representation on the Council, the Executive Committee, and the Standing Technical Advisory Committee on Price Equivalents) shall be met by annual contributions by contracting governments, such contributions to be proportionate to the number of votes held by those governments.

Article XVII provides that the Agreement shall prevail over any provisions inconsistent therewith which may be contained in any other agreement previously concluded between any of the contracting governments, provided that any two contracting governments which may be parties to an agreement, entered into before March 1, 1947, for the purchase and sale of wheat, shall supply full particulars of transactions under such agreement so that the quantities, irrespective of prices involved, may be recorded by the Council and be counted toward the fulfillment of obligations of importing and exporting countries.

Article XVIII requires the Council to make whatever arrangements are required to ensure cooperation with the appropriate organs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Article XIX defines the words and expressions which are used in the Agreement in a technical or specialized sense.

Article XX provides that the Agreement shall remain open for signature until April 1, 1948; that it shall be subject to formal acceptance by the signatory governments; and that Articles X to XXII, inclusive, shall come into force on July 1, 1948 and Articles I to IX, inclusive, shall come into force on August 1, 1948, between the governments which have deposited their instruments of acceptance by July 1, 1948, provided that any such government may, at the opening of the first session of the Council, which is to be convened in Washington early in July 1948, effect its withdrawal by notification to the Government of the United States of America if in the opinion of such government the guaranteed purchases or guaranteed sales of the countries whose governments have formally accepted the Agreement are insufficient to ensure its successful operation.

Article XXI provides that any government may accede to the Agreement by unanimous vote of the

Council and upon such conditions as the Council may lay down.

Article XXII provides that the Agreement shall remain in force until July 31, 1953; that the Council, not later than July 31, 1952, shall communicate to the contracting governments its recommendations regarding renewal of the Agreement; that the Council may recommend an amendment to the Agreement by a simple majority of the votes held by the exporting countries and by a simple majority of the votes held by the importing countries; that such an amendment shall become

effective upon its acceptance by importing countries which hold a simple majority of the votes of the importing countries (including the Government of the United Kingdom) and by acceptance by the Governments of Australia, Canada, and the United States; that any government not accepting the amendment may withdraw from the Agreement at the end of the current crop year; and that any contracting government which considers its national security endangered by the outbreak of hostilities may withdraw from the Agreement upon the expiry of 30 days' written notice to the Council.

**LETTER FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE**

April 22, 1948

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

The proposed International Wheat Agreement, which you plan to submit to the Senate for approval, is of far-reaching significance to our national economy. It is a unique document—combining the advantages of a commercial contract and of a multilateral agreement between governments. As such, it provides a concrete, practical approach not only to international economic cooperation, but also to the achievement of our long-range domestic agricultural policy. It is with the mutual interests of both the Departments of State and Agriculture in mind, therefore, that I take this opportunity of presenting formally to you the views of this Department in the matter.

The basic objective of our long-term domestic agricultural policy is that of organized, sustained, and realistic abundance. Opportunities offered by the proposed agreement, for expanded trade in wheat through international cooperation, hold excellent promise for meeting this objective for a basic agricultural commodity, and avoiding the need for restrictive measures.

The 1945 census of agriculture reported over 1.2 million farms growing significant quantities of wheat. There is a substantial number of wheat growers in practically every State in the Union. Production of wheat in the United States during each of the past 4 seasons has exceeded one billion bushels, and current indications point to another large crop in 1948. Our farm economy is now geared to this high level of wheat production. We have reached this production through the response of the American farmer to the need for increased food production during World War II, and to meet the critical postwar world food shortage. Improved seed and new varieties, increased mechanization, and generally improved farming prac-

tices, have also helped our wheat growers to reach this goal of organized and realistic abundance. But the problem posed by the production level achieved in this effort involves ways and means of gaining our further objective of *sustained* abundance.

The problem is particularly significant in the large specialized areas of the Pacific Northwest and the Great Plains. In these areas, crop shifts are limited and full employment of agricultural resources involves production of considerable quantities of wheat in excess of normal domestic needs. Measured in terms of acreage, the United States has at present several million acres producing wheat for export or for non-food uses other than feed and seed. The impact of this acreage holds in large measure the key to the well-being of American agriculture. Markets which the proposed Agreement helps to assure, however, would absorb this excess and would minimize the need for considering costly restrictions on the production of wheat in the United States for several years to come.

Our stake in the world wheat market is important. The average annual value of United States exports of wheat and flour during the past 25 years exceeds 200 million dollars or nearly 14 percent of the total value of exports of agricultural products during that period. We all remember the effects of economic developments in many of our formerly important foreign markets for wheat during the decade of the thirties. It was during this period that a natural tendency towards self-sufficiency developed in many of the principal importing countries of Europe by increasing domestic production of bread grains. This development was accompanied, in turn, by increasing trade barriers and restrictions that resulted in

(Continued on page 611)

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade With Czechoslovakia Proclaimed

The President issued on April 22 a proclamation putting into effect as of April 21, 1948, the provisions of the general agreement on tariffs and trade with respect to Czechoslovakia.¹ The proclamation implements an obligation entered into by this Government last October 30 when the general agreement was concluded at Geneva with 22 other countries.

The attitude of the Government of the United States towards the events of last February in Czechoslovakia was publicly indicated in the joint statement of February 26, 1948, by the Secretary of State of this Government and by the Foreign Ministers of the Governments of the United Kingdom and France. It has not changed. These events, however, do not directly affect the legal status of the reciprocal obligations under the general agreement.

The President's action followed receipt of a communication from the Secretary-General of the United Nations informing this Government that the Government of Czechoslovakia had signed the protocol of provisional application of the general agreement and had thereby obligated itself to put the general agreement into effect. Since Czechoslovakia has now placed the general agreement in effect with respect to the United States and the other contracting parties, this country as well as the other contracting parties are obligated to apply the agreement to Czechoslovakia.

It is part of a world-wide program, sponsored by the United Nations and actively participated in by the United States, designed to reduce trade barriers and to restore international trade to an orderly and stable basis. It is the most comprehensive agreement with respect to tariffs and other trade barriers ever negotiated.

Czechoslovakia is the tenth of the Geneva countries to give effect to this agreement. The other countries which have done so, in addition to the United States, are the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Australia, and Cuba. The remainder of the 23 participants in the negotiations have until June 30, 1948, to put the agreement provisionally into effect. The obligations assumed by Czechoslovakia under this agreement and those assumed by other countries to Czechoslovakia are integral parts of the agreement.

Under the general agreement, Czechoslovakia grants concessions on products of interest to the

United States representing approximately 31.6 million dollars in terms of 1937 trade and covering approximately 80 percent of Czechoslovakia's total prewar imports from the United States. The agreement includes substantial duty reductions by Czechoslovakia on a number of important items, such as apples and pears, raisins, prunes and certain other dried fruits, canned fruits and fruit juices, canned vegetables, passenger automobiles, and certain types of office machines.

Czechoslovakia and the other contracting parties to the agreement are committed to certain limitations with respect to the application of quotas, import restrictions, exchange control, and the conduct of state trading, which are important since they commit Czechoslovakia as well as other parties to the agreement to accord fair treatment to the trade of the United States. Should Czechoslovakia or any other contracting party fail to fulfil these obligations of the agreement or adopt any policy which nullifies or impairs the tariff concessions, the application by the United States to that country of such obligations or concessions under the agreement as may be appropriate in the circumstances may be suspended.

The concessions made by the United States in the general agreement on products of interest to Czechoslovakia represent approximately 22.7 million dollars in terms of 1937 trade and cover approximately 64 percent of United States prewar imports from Czechoslovakia. Of the concessions granted by the United States, those on household china, table and kitchen glassware, jewelry, certain types of shoes and gloves, and hops are the items of principal interest to Czechoslovakia.

These concessions were granted only after public hearings and the most careful and considerate deliberation by various government agencies acting in consultation to assure that domestic producers would not suffer serious injury as a result of the concessions. If, however, as a result of unforeseen circumstances, any of these concessions should result in such increased imports from Czechoslovakia as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers in this country, the United States is free to withdraw or modify the concessions to the extent necessary to prevent or remedy the injury. This provision thus safeguards the interests of domestic producers in this country.

These export controls prevent shipment of goods contrary to the national interests of the United States.

¹ 13 Fed. Reg. 2211.

American Wheat Shipped to the Netherlands*Message From the Queen of the Netherlands to the President*

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

The President received on April 26 the following message from Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands:

"Today on the arrival of the first shipment of American wheat under the Marshall Plan on board the SS *Noordam* I should like to express to you Mr. President personally and to the people of the United States my heartfelt gratitude for their generosity in contributing so magnanimously to the recovery of my country and the whole of Europe. I wish to assure you that the Netherlands will give their fullest support to the execution of the European Reconstruction Program."

Shipment of Streptomycin Sent to Austria

[Released to the press April 29]

The Department of State announced on April 29 that a special shipment of 10,000 grams of streptomycin is being sent to Austria by air under the Interim Aid Program.

The drug was requested under interim aid by the Government of Austria due to the fact that Austria's streptomycin supply was exhausted. The special shipment, costing \$20,000 was scheduled to be flown from St. Louis, Mo., on April 20 to New York City, then shipped by air to Vienna.

Streptomycin is used in the treatment of spinal meningitis and pulmonary tuberculosis.

Wheat Agreement—Continued from page 609

the loss of a large part of our foreign trade in wheat. It is essential that a constructive alternative be provided, if a return to those chaotic conditions is to be avoided in the future. With the European Recovery Program providing the impetus for economic recovery in Europe during the emergency period, and with the proposed Agreement implementing the more permanent multi-lateral approach to world trade envisioned by the International Trade Organization, by assuring supplies of wheat to importing countries at stable prices, I am confident that such an alternative is now available.

In view of the foregoing, the Department of Agriculture strongly recommends Senate approval of the Agreement.

Sincerely yours,

N. E. DODD
Acting Secretary

Income Tax Convention With the Netherlands Signed

[Released to the press April 29]

A convention between the United States and the Netherlands for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income and certain other taxes was signed at Washington on April 29, 1948, by Secretary Marshall and E. N. van Kleffens, Netherlands Ambassador in Washington.

Statement by Secretary Marshall

[Released to the press April 29]

Mr. Ambassador, the signing of this treaty represents the culmination of a long period of negotiations.

Double taxation upon the same income is a major obstacle to international trade. When this treaty enters into force, that obstacle will be eliminated to a very large extent as between our two countries. The nationals and corporations of both countries will benefit.

It has been a pleasure for me to join with you in signing the treaty.

The provisions of the convention are similar in general to those contained in conventions now in force between the United States and the United Kingdom, Canada, France, and Sweden.

The convention provides that it shall be ratified and that it shall become effective on January 1 of the year last preceding the year in which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

Mexican Housing Authority Visits U.S.

Adolfo Zamora, Managing Director of the Banco de Fomento de la Habitación, S.A., of Mexico, D.F., arrived in Washington April 10 for a series of conferences with the officials of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Mr. Zamora is visiting this country as the recipient of a grant-in-aid from the Department of State under the program administered by the Division of International Exchange of Persons for the interchange of specialists and professors with the other American republics. His visit is being planned in cooperation with the Housing and Home Finance Agency. After two weeks in Washington he expects to spend some time in New York studying further the housing program as it is administered in the United States. He is particularly interested in the problems of finance, administration, and organization of the program.

Status of Civil Aviation Documents as of April 1, 1948

DATES OF SIGNATURES

Country	Final Act	Interim Agreement	Convention	Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms)	Transport Agreement (Five Freedoms)
Afghanistan	¹ S	S	S	S	S
Australia	S	S	S	7/4/45	
Belgium	S	4/9/45	4/9/45	4/9/45	
Bolivia	S	S	S	S	S
Brazil	S	5/29/45	5/29/45		
Canada	S	S	S	2/10/45	
Chile	S	S	S	S	
China	S	S	S		S
Colombia	S	5/24/45	10/31/47		
Costa Rica	S	3/10/45	3/10/45	3/10/45	3/10/45
Cuba	S	4/20/45	4/20/45	4/20/45	4/20/45
Czechoslovakia	S	4/18/45	4/18/45	4/18/45	
Dominican Republic	S	S	S		S
Ecuador	S	S	S	S	S
Egypt	S	S	S	S	
El Salvador	S	5/9/45	5/9/45	5/9/45	5/9/45
Ethiopia	S	3/22/45	2/10/47	3/22/45	3/22/45
France	S	S	S	S	
Greece	S	S	S	S	
Guatemala	S	1/30/45	1/30/45	1/30/45	1/30/45
Haiti	S	S	S	S	S
Honduras	S	S	S	S	S
Iceland	S	S	S	4/4/45	4/4/45
India	S	S	S	S	
Iran	S	S	S	S	S/13/46
Iraq	S	S	S	S	
Ireland	S	S	S		
Lebanon	S	S	S	S	² S
Liberia	S	S	S	S	S
Luxembourg	S	7/9/45	7/9/45	7/9/45	
Mexico	S	S	S	S	S
Netherlands	S	S	S	S	³ S
New Zealand	S	S	S	S	
Nicaragua	S	S	S	S	S
Norway	S	1/30/45	1/30/45	1/30/45	
Panama	S	5/14/45			
Paraguay	S	7/27/45	7/27/45	7/27/45	7/27/45
Peru	S	S	S	S	S
Philippines	S	S	S	S	
Poland	S	S	S	S	
Portugal	S	S	S	S	
Spain	S	S	S	S	
Sweden	S	S	S	S	S
Switzerland	S	S	7/6/45	7/6/45	
Syria	S	S	S	7/6/45	⁴ 7/6/45
Turkey	S	S	S	S	⁵ S
Union of South Africa	S	6/4/45	6/4/45	6/4/45	

¹ S indicates signature under date of Dec. 7, 1944.

² Reservation accompanying signature of *Lebanon*: "Ad referendum concerning the fifth freedom enumerated in Art. I Section 1."

³ Reservation accompanying signature of the *Netherlands*: "In accordance with the provisions of Art. IV Section 1 of this agreement the Netherlands Delegation hereby accept only the first four privileges in Art. I Section 1". (Reservation relinquished by the Netherlands Sept. 21, 1945.)

⁴ Reservation accompanying signature of *Syria*: "In

accordance with Art. IV Section 1 of this agreement, Syria accepts only the first four privileges in Art. I Section 1."

⁵ Reservation accompanying signature of *Turkey*: "In accordance with the provisions of Art. IV Section 1 of this agreement the Turkish delegation hereby accept only the first four privileges in Art. I sect. 1 and leave the acceptance of the fifth privilege to the discretion of their government."

DATES OF SIGNATURES—Continued

Country	Final Act	Interim Agreement	Convention	Transit Agreement (Two Freedoms)	Transport Agreement (Five Freedoms)
United Kingdom	S	S	S	⁶ S	
United States	S	S	S	S	S
Uruguay	S	S	S	S	S
Venezuela	S	⁷ S		⁷ S	⁷ S
Yugoslavia	S				
Danish Minister	S		S	S	S
Thai Minister	S	S	S	S	S

⁶ Reservation accompanying signature of the *United Kingdom*: "I declare that, failing later notification of inclusion, my signature to this Agreement does not cover Newfoundland". (Reservation withdrawn by United Kingdom Feb. 7, 1945.)

"La Delegación de Venezuela firma *ad referendum* y deja constancia de que la aprobación de este documento por su Gobierno está sujeta a las disposiciones constitucionales de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela." (Interim, transit, and transport agreements accepted by Venezuela Mar. 28, 1946.)

⁷ Reservation accompanying signature of *Venezuela*:

SUBSEQUENT ACTION TAKEN

Country	Interim Agreement (Date of Acceptance)	Convention ¹ (Date of Deposit of Ratification or Adherence)	Transit Agreement (Date of Receipt of Note of Acceptance)	Transport Agreement (Date of Receipt of Note of Acceptance)
Afghanistan	5/16/45	4/ 4/47	5/17/45	² 5/17/45
Argentina	6/ 4/46	^A 6/ 4/46	6/ 4/46	
Australia	5/19/45	3/ 1/47	8/28/45	
Belgium	4/17/45	5/ 5/47	7/19/45	
Bolivia	5/17/46	4/ 4/47	4/ 4/47	4/ 4/47
Brazil	5/29/45	7/ 8/46		
Canada	12/30/44	2/13/46	2/10/45	
Chile	6/ 4/45	3/11/47		
China	6/ 6/45	2/20/46		³ 6/ 6/45
Colombia	6/ 6/45	10/31/47		
Costa Rica				
Cuba	6/20/47		6/20/47	
Czechoslovakia	4/18/45	⁴ 3/ 1/47	4/18/45	
Denmark	11/13/45	2/28/47		
Dominican Republic	1/25/46	1/25/46		⁶ 1/25/46
Ecuador				
Egypt	4/26/45	3/13/47	3/13/47	
El Salvador	5/31/45	6/11/47	6/ 1/45	6/ 1/45
Ethiopia	3/22/45	3/ 1/47	3/22/45	3/22/45
France	6/ 5/45	3/25/47		
Greece	9/21/45	3/13/47	9/21/45	⁶ 2/28/46

¹ The convention entered into force Apr. 4, 1947.

^A indicates adherence.

² *Afghanistan* denounced the International Air Transport Agreement Mar. 18, 1948; effective Mar. 18, 1949.

³ Reservation accompanying acceptance of *China*: "The acceptances are given with the understanding that the provisions of Article IV Section 3 of the International Air Transport Agreement shall become operative in so far as the Government of China is concerned at such time as the Convention on International Civil Aviation . . . shall be ratified by the Government of China." (Chinese instrument of ratification of the Convention on International Civil Aviation deposited Feb. 20, 1946. China denounced the International Air Transport Agreement Dec. 11, 1946; effective Dec. 11, 1947.)

⁴ The Ambassador of *Czechoslovakia* made the following statement in the note transmitting the Czechoslovak instrument of ratification: "The Czechoslovak Ambassador

wishes to bring to the attention of His Excellency that the Convention on International Civil Aviation was ratified by the President of the Czechoslovak Republic on the assumption that the International Civil Aviation Organization will carry out fully the resolution passed by the United Nations Organization on December 12, 1946 concerning the exclusion of the Franco Spain from cooperation with the United Nations".

⁵ The *Dominican Republic* denounced the International Air Transport Agreement Oct. 14, 1946; effective Oct. 14, 1947.

⁶ Reservation accompanying acceptance of *Greece*: "In accepting this Agreement [transport] in accordance with Article VIII, paragraph two thereof, I am directed to make a reservation with respect to the rights and obligations contained in Article I, Section 1, paragraph (5) of the Agreement, which, under Article IV, Section 1, Greece does not wish, for the time being to grant or receive."

SUBSEQUENT ACTION TAKEN—Continued

Country	Interim Agreement (Date of Acceptance)	Convention ¹ (Date of Ratification or Adherence)	Transit Agreement (Date of Receipt of Note of Acceptance)	Transport Agreement (Date of Receipt of Note of Acceptance)
Guatemala	4/28/47	4/28/47	4/28/47	
Haiti	6/ 2/45	3/25/48		
Honduras	11/13/45		11/13/45	11/13/45
Iceland	6/ 4/45	3/21/47	3/21/47	
India	⁷ 5/ 1/45	3/ 1/47	⁷ 5/ 2/45	
Iran	12/30/46			
Iraq	6/ 4/45	6/ 2/47	6/15/45	
Ireland	4/27/45	10/31/46		
Italy		⁸ 10/31/47		
Lebanon	6/ 4/45			
Liberia	3/17/45	2/11/47	3/19/45	3/19/45
Luxembourg	7/ 9/45			
Mexico	5/22/45	6/25/46	6/25/46	
Netherlands	1/11/45	3/26/47	1/12/45	⁹ 1/12/45
New Zealand	¹⁰ 4/18/45	3/ 7/47	¹⁰ 4/19/45	
Nicaragua	12/28/45	12/28/45	12/28/45	¹¹ 12/28/45
Norway	1/30/45	5/ 5/47	1/30/45	
Pakistan		^A 11/ 6/47	¹² 8/15/47	
Panama				
Paraguay	7/27/45	1/21/46	7/27/45	7/27/45
Peru	5/ 4/45	4/ 8/46		
Philippines	3/22/46	3/ 1/47	¹³ 3/22/46	
Poland	4/ 6/45	4/ 6/45	4/ 6/45	
Portugal	5/29/45	2/27/47		
Siam	3/ 6/47	4/ 4/47	3/ 6/47	3/ 6/47
Spain	7/30/45	3/ 5/47	7/30/45	
Sweden	7/ 9/45	11/ 7/46	11/19/45	11/19/45
Switzerland	7/ 6/45	¹⁴ 2/ 6/47	7/ 6/45	
Syria	7/ 6/45			
Transjordan	3/18/47	^A 3/18/47	3/18/47	
Turkey	6/ 6/45	12/20/45	6/ 6/45	¹⁵ 6/ 6/45
Union of South Africa	11/30/45	3/ 1/47	11/30/45	
United Kingdom	¹⁶ 5/31/45	3/ 1/47	¹⁶ 5/31/45	
United States	2/ 8/45	8/ 9/46	¹⁷ 2/ 8/45	¹⁷ 2/ 8/45
Uruguay				
Venezuela	3/28/46	^A 4/ 1/47	3/28/46	3/28/46
Yugoslavia				

A indicates adherence.

⁷ Reservation accompanying acceptance of *India*: "In signifying their acceptance of these agreements [interim and transit], the Government of India . . . do not regard Denmark or Thailand as being parties thereto . . .". (Reservation respecting Denmark on interim agreement withdrawn by India July 18, 1946. Reservation respecting Siam on transit agreement withdrawn by India June 6, 1947.)

⁸ The participation of *Italy* effected in accordance with the provisions of Article 93 of the convention and resolution of May 16, 1947, by Assembly of Icao. Effective Nov. 30, 1947.

⁹ Reservation accompanying acceptance of the *Netherlands*: ". . . the signatures . . . affixed to the . . . International Air Transport Agreement (with reservation set forth in Article IV Section 1) constitute an acceptance . . . by the Netherlands Government and an obligation binding upon it." (Reservation relinquished by the Netherlands Sept. 21, 1945.)

¹⁰ Reservation accompanying acceptance of *New Zealand*: ". . . the New Zealand Government does not regard Denmark or Thailand as being parties to the Agreements mentioned [interim and transit] . . .". (Reservation respecting Denmark on interim agreement withdrawn by New Zealand Apr. 29, 1946.)

¹¹ *Nicaragua* denounced the International Air Transport Agreement Oct. 7, 1946; effective Oct. 7, 1947.

¹² The Ambassador of *Pakistan* informed the Secretary of State by note no. F 96/48/1 of March 24, 1948 ". . . that by virtue of the provisions in Clause 4 of the Schedule of the Indian Independence (International Arrangements) Order, 1947, the International Air Services Transit Agreement signed by United India continues to be binding after the partition on the Dominion of Pakistan." The acceptance by India on May 2, 1945, of the transit agreement applied also to the territory, then a part of India, which later, on Aug. 15, 1947, became Pakistan.

¹³ Reservation accompanying acceptance of the *Philippines*: "The above acceptance is based on the understanding . . . that the provisions of Article II, Section 2 of the International Air Services Transit Agreement shall become operative as to the Commonwealth of the Philippines at such time as the Convention on International Civil Aviation shall be ratified in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Philippines." (Philippine instrument of ratification of the Convention on International Civil Aviation deposited Mar. 1, 1947.)

¹⁴ The Minister of *Switzerland* made the following statement in the note transmitting the Swiss instrument of ratification: "My government has instructed me to notify you that the authorities in Switzerland have agreed

(Continued on next page)

Reorganization of the Public Affairs Area

(a) The Department announced on April 22 the following organization changes in the area under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs, effective as of April 22, 1948:

(1) The Office of Information and Educational Exchange (OIE) is abolished.

(2) The Office of International Information, the Office of Educational Exchange, and an Executive Staff are established.

(3) The organization units and special assistants previously reporting to the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs or the Office of Information and Educational Exchange will be under the following jurisdiction:

Office of International Information: Program Coordinator (now acting as Chief of Staff for the International Policy Programming Staff (IPPS); Special Assistant for Freedom of Information; Special Assistant for Interdepartmental Information Coordination; Special Assistant for Interdepartmental information Planning; Special Assistant for Utilization of Private Information Media; Division of International Broadcasting; Division of International Motion Pictures; Division of International Press and Publications.

Office of Educational Exchange: Secretariat of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation; Division of Libraries and Institutes; Division of Exchange of Persons (including the Special Assistant for the Fulbright Program).

Executive Staff: Area Divisions (RPD); all special assistants and staff of the immediate office of the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs except as noted below.

(Continued from preceding page)

with the authorities in the Principality of Liechtenstein that this Convention will be applicable to the territory of the Principality as well as to that of the Swiss Confederation, as long as the Treaty of March 29, 1923 integrating the whole territory of Liechtenstein with the Swiss customs territory will remain in force."

¹⁵Reservation accompanying acceptance of *Turkey*: "... the reservation made by the Turkish Delegation on the fifth freedom of the air contained in the International Air Transport Agreement is explained in the following article of the law by which the aforementioned instruments have been ratified: 'The Turkish Government, when concluding bilateral agreements, shall have the authority to accept and apply for temporary periods the provision regarding the fifth freedom of the air contained in the International Air Transport Agreement.'"

¹⁶Reservation accompanying acceptance of the *United Kingdom*: "In signifying their acceptance of the said

(4) No change will be made in the organization of the Office of Public Affairs (PA) and the UNESCO Relations Staff.

(b) The following Officers are hereby designated to assume responsibility in the key positions listed below in an acting capacity, other existing appointments remaining unchanged until further notice:

(1) Director, Office of International Information (OII)—William T. Stone; Executive Officer—Parker May.

(2) Director, Office of Educational Exchange (OEX)—Kenneth Holland; Executive Officer—(to be announced later; pending such announcement, all OEX Executive Officer functions will be carried out by the OII Executive Officer).

(3) Director, Executive Staff—Leland Barrows.

Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs

(a) *Purpose.* To advise and assist the Secretary in the development and implementation of United States foreign policy with respect to programs for international information and educational exchange and to domestic programs designed to inform the American public concerning foreign relations.

(b) *Major functions.* The Assistant Secretary, in coordinating and supervising the activities of the offices under his supervision, performs the following functions:

(1) Plans and develops the information and educational exchange policies of the Department.

(2) Directs the relations of the Department of

Agreement [interim and transit], the Government of the United Kingdom . . . neither regard the Governments of Denmark and Siam as being parties thereto . . .". (Reservation respecting Denmark on interim agreement withdrawn by United Kingdom Mar. 30, 1946.)

¹⁷Reservation accompanying acceptance of the *United States*: "These acceptances by the Government of the United States of America are given with the understanding that the provisions of Article II, Section 2, of the International Air Services Transit Agreement and the provisions of Article IV, Section 3, of the International Air Transport Agreement shall become operative as to the United States of America at such time as the Convention on International Civil Aviation . . . shall be ratified by the United States of America". (The United States of America denounced the International Air Transport Agreement July 25, 1946; effective July 25, 1947. United States instrument of ratification of the Convention on International Civil Aviation deposited Aug. 9, 1946.)

State with other Federal agencies on all matters of international information and educational exchange policies.

(3) Stimulates and facilitates the activities of public and private information and educational exchange agencies in the foreign field and services domestic private and public agencies as they deal with foreign relations.

(4) Insures that the programs and policies recommended by the United States Advisory Commissions on Information and Educational Exchange are considered in the development and execution of the international information and educational exchange program; insures that the Secretary of State's responsibilities are discharged with respect to the National Commission for UNESCO, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and other advisory boards and commissions.

(c) *Organization.* The Assistant Secretary, assisted by a deputy, directs the work of the UNESCO Relations Staff, the Office of Public Affairs, the Office of International Information, the Office of Educational Exchange, and an Executive Staff.

(1) The Deputy Assistant Secretary is authorized to take all necessary action relating to international programs for information and educational exchange and to domestic programs designed to inform the American people concerning foreign relations.

(a) Such delegation of authority does not extend to any duties or functions which, under existing law, can only be exercised by the Secretary of State or by an Assistant Secretary of State in his behalf. In the absence of the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs, such duties are performed by the Assistant Secretary—Political Affairs, or, in his absence, the Assistant Secretary—Economic Affairs.

(b) Such delegation of authority is exercised under the general direction and control of the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs, or during his absence, the Secretary of State.

(c) Such delegation of authority does not affect any delegation of authority to any subordinate officials below the rank of Assistant Secretary of State.

(d) *Relationships with other agencies.* The Assistant Secretary serves as—

(1) Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.

(2) A member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs.

Office of International Information

(a) *Purpose.* To support United States foreign policy by giving foreign peoples a true pic-

ture of the aims, policies, and institutions of the United States and by promoting mutual understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples as an essential foundation for durable peace; and to assist private activities contributing to this objective.

(b) *Major functions.* The Office, in coordinating and supervising the activities of the organizational units under its jurisdiction, performs the following functions:

(1) Plans and develops for final approval by the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs, the international information policies of the Department.

(2) Develops, coordinates policy for, and supervises the execution of, United States program in the field of international information.

(3) Disseminates abroad information about the United States through all appropriate media.

(4) Promotes freedom of information.

(5) Encourages and assists private agencies in their international information activities; insures the use of private facilities wherever practicable in carrying out the Department's international information program.

(6) Assists the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs to discharge his responsibilities in connection with the United States Advisory Commission on Information and, on his behalf, insures Departmental leadership of all interdepartmental international information committees.

(c) *Organization.* The Office consists of the Office of the Director, which includes the Executive Office, the Secretariat of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, a Program Coordinator who assists the Director and the division chiefs in developing advance plans, a Special Assistant on Freedom of Information, a Special Assistant on Interdepartmental Information Planning, a Special Assistant for Interdepartmental Information Coordination, and a Special Assistant for Utilization of Private Information Media.

(1) Division of International Press and Publications.

(2) Division of International Broadcasting.

(3) Division of International Motion Pictures.

Office of Educational Exchange

(a) *Purpose.* To promote the foreign relations of the United States in the field of educational, scientific, and cultural affairs by cooperating with other nations in the interchange of knowledge and skills, the rendering of technical services and the dissemination and the interchange of developments in education, the arts, and sciences.

(b) *Major functions.* The Office, in coordinating and supervising the activities of the organizational units under its jurisdiction, performs the following functions:

(1) Plans and develops for final approval by the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs, the international educational exchange policies of the Department.

(2) Develops, coordinates policies for, and supervises the execution of, United States programs in the field of international educational exchange undertaken by the Department of State and other Federal agencies, including programs for the interchange of persons, for the exchange and dissemination of educational, scientific, and cultural materials, for operation of American libraries abroad, for assistance to American sponsored institutions abroad, and for the assignment of United States Government specialists for service with the governments of other countries.

(3) Stimulates and facilitates the international educational exchange activities of private agencies and unofficial organizations in the United States and abroad; insures the use of private facilities wherever practicable in carrying out the international educational exchange program for which the Department of State is responsible.

(4) Assists the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs to discharge his responsibilities in connection with the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, insuring on behalf of the Assistant Secretary, Departmental leadership of all interdepartmental activities concerned with international educational exchange; serves as Deputy Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.

(c) *Organization.* The Office consists of the office of the Director which includes the executive office and the Secretariat of the United States Advisory Commission for Educational Exchange, and the Secretariat of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.

(1) Division of International Exchange of Persons.

(2) Division of Libraries and Institutes.

Executive Staff

(a) *Purpose.* To assist the Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs and the Deputy Assistant Secretary in coordinating the programs and administration of the Offices of International Information, Educational Exchange, and Public Affairs in order to insure that the information and educational exchange activities in the United States and abroad are treated as a total program and that necessary geographic considerations are applied to the operations of the Office of International Information and the Office of Educational Exchange; in concert with and in behalf of the central man-

agement units of the Department, to insure that over-all management policies and methods of the Department are applied in the Offices under the Assistant Secretary's jurisdiction.

(b) *Major functions.*

(1) Prescribes and insures the effective execution of a system of field and departmental reporting and a system of program evaluation; maintains Congressional liaison, under the auspices of the Office of the Counselor, and prepares any necessary reports for the Secretary, the Congress, and the general public.

(2) Prescribes and insures the application of a system of administrative reports for the Offices under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Secretary; maintains liaison, on behalf of the Assistant Secretary and the Deputy, with the Office of Foreign Service and the several offices of the Assistant Secretary—Administration; directs the internal administration and procedures of the immediate Office of the Assistant Secretary and Deputy Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs; coordinates and reviews for the Assistant Secretary the preparation of the annual budgets for the Offices under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Secretary.

(3) Maintains liaison with the geographic offices of the Department and provides regional guidance to the Office of International Information and the Office of Educational Exchange; in collaboration with the appropriate administrative divisions of the Department, and with the concurrence of the two previously named offices, has responsibility for, (a) initiating and processing requests concerning foreign service personnel actions and administrative services for the program overseas, (b) preparation of the budget for foreign activities.

(c) *Organization.* The Director of the Executive Staff is responsible to the Assistant Secretary and the Deputy Assistant Secretary—Public Affairs. The Director's Staff includes officers responsible for activities in the following fields: Reports and Evaluation; Administrative Coordination and Liaison; Regional Program Guidance.

Edward W. Beattie, Jr., Will Head News Operations of International Broadcasting Division

George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, announced on April 29 the appointment of Edward W. Beattie, Jr., as head of the news operations of the State Department's International Broadcasting Division.

Mr. Beattie, a veteran of 15 years of service with the United Press, will assume his new duties immediately with headquarters in New York City (224 West 57th Street). He will direct all news operations for the broadcasts of the Voice of the United States of America.

John H. Hilldring Appointed as Special Assistant for Palestine Affairs

[Released to the press April 28]

John H. Hilldring, former Assistant Secretary of State for occupied areas, on April 28 accepted appointment as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Palestine Affairs.

General Hilldring served as Assistant Secretary of State for occupied areas from April 17, 1946, until his resignation on August 31, 1947. He was appointed an adviser to the United States Delegation to the Second Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 10, 1947, and four days later was appointed an alternate representative on the Delegation, in which capacity he was a principal spokesman for this Government on matters pertaining to the Palestine question. His services terminated on December 2, 1947.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Teaching of Arabic in Foreign Service Institute

[Released to the press May 11]

The Foreign Service Institute, which for the past year has gone all out to provide overseas personnel with instruction in some three dozen languages so as to make them more useful in representing American political and economic interest abroad, has launched a course in a real "toughie"—Arabic.

Five officers of the Foreign Service, selected from among those desiring to specialize in Near Eastern affairs, are working eight hours a day with native speakers of Arabic, seeking to imitate and master the un-English sounds which some day they will use in communicating with the peoples of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and other Arabic-speaking areas. In the course, which will last six months, the officers concentrate on the spoken language, with the objective of speaking Arabic as the Arab speaks it. By September it is expected that they will be well along in conversational Arabic, and they should be able to carry on talks in the language and make sense of what they hear in the streets of Damascus, Jidda, Baghdad, or Cairo.

In this new course, the textbook is tossed out the window. Dr. Charles Ferguson, 26-year-old Philadelphian who supervises the instruction, is applying the new techniques and insights developed by modern linguistic science and uses his own scientific transcriptions. His students won't see an alphabet until the course is three fourths completed. Nor will there be much in the way of writing, since his theory is that "language is the

noise you make with your face and not the scratches you make with your fist".

Arabic has long been one of the most troublesome language problems of the Foreign Service. Last year Dr. Ferguson, an experienced instructor in Arabic, Japanese, and Bengali with the U.S. Army Specialized Training Program and the Office of Strategic Services, was sent to the Near East to gather material from the daily speech of the Arabs for a proposed new course at the Foreign Service Institute. He returned to Washington a few months ago and started putting his findings into practical use.

Of the five officers now studying the course, three, by the oddest coincidence, are 1942 B.A. graduates of the University of California. They are Rodger P. Davies and David L. Gamon, both of whom still make their home in Berkeley, and Milton C. Walstrom of Honolulu, formerly vice consuls at Jidda, Asunción, and Kingston (Jamaica), respectively. The other two are A. David Fritzlan of Wilmore, Ky., formerly vice consul at Tangier, and Dayton S. Mak of Waterloo, Iowa, formerly vice consul at Hamburg. Harlan B. Clark of Brookfield, Ohio, who received a head start under Dr. Ferguson's tutelage at Beirut last year, will join the Washington group of pioneer Arabic students sometime in May. Mr. Clark is presently assigned to the Legation at Beirut as consul.

Ordinarily, an officer who needs special linguistic training is "farmed out" to universities and colleges in the United States. Since no institution offering an adequate course in Arabic could be found, it was necessary to provide for such training at the Institute. The course in Arabic is the only one of the Institute's full-time intensive studies which lasts six months, although some others take up to four months. There are several semi-intensive part-time language courses consisting of two to four hours daily instruction and running from two to four months, and there are many classes of one or two hours a day which are supervised by instructors and which operate for varying periods ranging from one week to six weeks. Generally, there are about 100 Foreign Service employees, many of them new appointees, participating in these courses.

The teaching of Arabic is greatly complicated by the fact that written and spoken Arabic are poles apart. From country to country, and even from locality to locality, spoken Arabic varies greatly. On the other hand, written Arabic is traditionally the classic Arabic of the early Middle Ages.

The classical written language has a prestige in Arab lands completely unlike the prestige which any written language of our own past has with English-speaking peoples. For example, when an Arab ruler addresses any kind of governmental

assembly, he reads an eloquent speech composed by a classical scholar. When the extemporaneous remarks of assembly members are put in the record, they are phrased in classical Arabic to match the ruler's address.

Radio programs in Arab countries are also written in classical Arabic. Hence, only the educated can understand them. Script writers find that if they try to reach a wider audience by using a modern vernacular they run into difficulties since the program, while far more intelligible locally, lacks prestige and commands little confidence or respect.

Confronted by such a complex situation, the Institute has had to take the bull by the horns and make a start on some one dialect of spoken Arabic. The one chosen is that of the Beirut-Damascus-Jerusalem area. While this dialect has its limitations, it is intelligible to most Eastern Arabs. The plan of approach is to teach students how to move from their knowledge of this dialect into other related dialects, such as those of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, and that of the Bedouin tribesmen of the desert.

In midsummer, instruction will be launched in the written language through the medium of newspapers and other popular publications. From this, students will move to a consideration of classical books and documents. The transition is helped by the fact that modern newspaper Arabic is intermediate between spoken Arabic and the written classical language.

From the study of the language, acquired in direct daily contact with native Arabic speakers, it is easy to move on into consideration of the psychology of the Arabs and their social patterns. The Institute's course will contain as much material of this kind as time limitations permit.

Consular Offices

An American Consulate at Haifa, Palestine, was officially opened to the public April 1, 1948.

The office at Palermo, Italy, will be raised to the rank of Consulate General, effective April 8, 1948.

An American Consulate was established at Elizabethville, Belgian Congo, on March 30, 1948.

An American Consulate was established at Nicosia, Cyprus, on April 13, 1948.

Confirmation

On April 26, 1948, the Senate confirmed the nomination of W. Averell Harriman to be the United States special representative in Europe, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

THE CONGRESS

Authorizing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to have Printed Additional Copies of a Special Subcommittee Report and Appendix on the United States Information Service in Europe. H. Rept. 1544, 80th Cong., 2d sess., to accompany H. Con. Res. 144.

May 9, 1948

Department of State

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

Health and Sanitation: Cooperative Program in Venezuela. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1661. Pub. 2988. 13 pp. 5¢.

Agreement Between the United States of America and Venezuela Extending Agreement of February 18, 1943, as amended, until June 30, 1948—Effected by Exchange of Notes Signed at Caracas June 30, 1947; entered into force June 30, 1947, effective January 1, 1947.

Settlement of Certain War Accounts and Claims. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1675. Pub. 3027. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement and Accompanying Notes Between the United States of America and Czechoslovakia—Signed at Praha July 25, 1947; entered into force July 25, 1947.

Headquarters of the United Nations. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1677. Pub. 3038. 5 pp. 5¢.

Interim Agreement Between the United States of America and the United Nations—Signed at Lake Success, New York, December 18, 1947; entered into force December 18, 1947.

Exchange of Money Orders. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1682. Pub. 3045. iii, 35 pp. 15¢.

Agreement, and Final Protocol, Between the United States of America and Other Governments—Signed at Rio de Janeiro September 25, 1946; Ratified and Approved by the Postmaster General of the United States of America February 20, 1947; Approved by the President of the United States of America February 27, 1947; entered into force January 1, 1947.

National Commission News, May 1, 1948. Pub. 3120. 10 pp. 10¢ a copy; \$1 a year; foreign subscription \$1.35 a year.

Prepared monthly for the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

World Health Organization—Progress and Plans. International Organization and Conference Series IV, World Health Organization 1. Pub. 3126. 23 pp. 15¢.

A study of the World Health Organization, at the time of its becoming a specialized agency of the United Nations; an article on its progress and future plans, its constitution; an intergovernmental arrangement on the establishment of an interim commission; and a selected bibliography.

Address by the Secretary of State Before the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogotá, Colombia, April 1, 1948. International Organization and Conference Series II, American Republics 2. Pub. 3139. 14 pp. Free.

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The Department of State

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May 16, 1948

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The Department of State bulletin

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

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Strengthening the United Nations

STATEMENT BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL¹

Secretary of State

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN :

I will outline for the Committee the views of the State Department with respect to the structure of the United Nations and the relationship of this Government to the United Nations. I will try to place in perspective the steps which this Government has taken, and the proposals now before the Committee, on this subject.

The interest shown by the great majority of Americans in the United Nations and in increasing its effectiveness is an impressive fact. A vast amount of thought is being devoted throughout our country to means of furthering the objectives of the Charter in the prevailing world circumstances. The attitude of the United States towards the problems of the United Nations will have a profound effect on the future of the organization.

A clear understanding of the international situation is essential to decisions on the course we should pursue. Neither the United Nations nor any other form of world organization can exist as an abstraction without relation to the realities of a given world situation.

The United Nations was conceived on the assumption that certain conditions would develop following the war. These were: (1) that the major powers charged with responsibility for working out peace settlements would complete their task promptly and effectively; (2) that the critical postwar conditions in the economic and political fields would be brought to an end as speedily as possible; and (3) that the cooperation among the great powers pledged during the war and reflected in the Charter would be continuing.

The United Nations was specifically designed to preserve the peace and not to make the peace. The task of making the peace settlements was specifically recognized by article 107 of the Charter as one for the responsible victor powers. The United Nations can assist in this task, but the improve-

ment of the United Nations machinery would not in itself solve the problem. Since the most important of the peace settlements have not been agreed upon, the United Nations has been compelled to carry on its activities under world conditions far different from those contemplated by the Charter.

It was obvious to the framers of the Charter of the United Nations that an effective organization to preserve the peace must include every major power. The San Francisco conference created an organization, the purposes and principles of which corresponded with the objectives of the United States foreign policy. The organization as developed at San Francisco received the overwhelming endorsement of the American people and had the virtually unanimous approval of the United States Senate.

This organization was designed to consolidate and strengthen over a long period of time the foundations of peace through common action in solving political, economic, social, cultural, and health problems. Machinery was established for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means so that the advice and assistance of all members, and the mobilization of world public opinion, might be brought to bear in the pacific settlement of disputes. It was found possible to go considerably farther than the League of Nations in the establishment of enforcement machinery, but at the San Francisco conference none of the major powers was prepared to grant to this organization the right of enforcement against a major power.

When universal agreement to the Charter was achieved, the strength of the major powers in relation to one another was such that no one of them could safely break the peace if the others stood united in defense of the Charter. Under existing

¹ Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 5, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

world circumstances the maintenance of a comparable power relationship is fundamental to world security.

The aspirations of the people of the world as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations have been shaken by developments since the summer of 1945. It gradually became apparent that the post-war conditions anticipated at San Francisco were not being realized. The failure of concerted action by the major Allies rendered it necessary for the United States Government to attempt to create the desired postwar conditions in cooperation with other states willing to do so.

It became progressively clearer that serious misconceptions prevailed in the minds of the leaders of the Soviet Union concerning western civilization and the possibilities for developing stabilized working relations between the Soviet Union and the other members of the community of nations. It is a misconception to suppose that domination of the world by a single system is inevitable. It is a misconception to suppose that differing systems cannot live side by side in peace under the basic rules of international conduct prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations. These rules are obligatory upon all members.

A fundamental task of the United Nations and of our foreign policy is to dispel the misconceptions of the Soviet leaders and to bring about a more realistic view of what is possible and what is impossible in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the world at large. In this way there can be restored to international society the equilibrium necessary to permit the United Nations to function as contemplated at San Francisco.

Our realization of the need for this equilibrium has led to action along several lines, all designed to create conditions favorable to the working of the United Nations. The first necessary step was to insure the freedom and independence of the members. The ability of democratic peoples to preserve their independence in the face of totalitarian threats depends upon their determination to do so. That determination in turn depends upon the development of a healthy economic and political life and a genuine sense of security.

Therefore, the United States Government is responding to requests to provide economic assistance to various countries in Europe and elsewhere. The United States is cooperating with 16 European countries in a recovery program providing for self-help and mutual aid.

The United States Government is now considering the steps necessary to bring the national military establishment to the minimum level necessary to restore the balance of power relationships required for international security.

The United States is acutely aware that the return of a sense of security to the free nations of the world is essential for the promotion of con-

ditions under which the United Nations can function. The necessary steps for self-protection against aggression can be taken within the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter recognizes in article 51 the right of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to preserve peace and security. Articles 52, 53, and 54 provide for regional arrangements dealing with the maintenance of international peace and security, on condition that such arrangements are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

In recognition of the possibility foreseen in the Charter that an armed attack might occur upon a member of the United Nations, despite the binding obligations accepted by every member to refrain from the threat or use of force against another state, the United States and the other American republics concluded at Rio de Janeiro last year a treaty for individual and collective self-defense. Certain countries of western Europe likewise have organized themselves into a Western Union, for their individual and collective self-defense. By such arrangements under article 51 of the Charter and the articles providing for regional arrangements, constructive steps have been taken to bulwark international security and the maintenance of peace. Our intention to afford encouragement and support to arrangements made by free nations for the preservation of their independence and liberty has already been stated by the President in his message to the Congress on March 17th.

The United States Government has followed an active policy of strengthening the existing machinery of the United Nations.

(1) We have endeavored to assure that the United Nations would carry out its responsibilities in dealing with the dangerous political issues which have arisen in various quarters of the world. We have sought to promote its basic work on economic problems, human rights, freedom of information, health, and related needs.

(2) We have made proposals toward restraining the use of the veto in the Security Council and reducing the scope of the veto through its elimination from matters of pacific settlement and the admission of new members.

(3) We proposed the establishment of an Interim Committee of the General Assembly, popularly known as the Little Assembly, to consider various possibilities for improving international cooperation and to put to work the undeveloped powers of the General Assembly in the field of international security. By means of this Committee the far-reaching influence of the General Assembly is being brought more effectively to bear in fulfilling the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The United Nations is the forum of daily world negotiation. It is the world's vehicle for dealing with basic economic and social maladjustments, for developing safeguards of essential freedoms, for advancing the development of dependent peoples and areas.

On several occasions negotiation in the United Nations, even during its short history, has postponed fighting long enough to remove the cause for fighting. It is a forum of negotiation where charges or distortions are held answerable, where violations of treaty obligations must meet the verdict of world opinion, and where those responsible must answer for their conduct. It is a forum where the nations of the world are called upon to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter. United Nations negotiation affords continuing working contacts in international relations and an open door to communication between the East and the West.

A number of projects designed to improve international conditions by new forms of international organization have been proposed. These projects envisage radical changes in the existing United Nations Charter. Some propose the elimination of a veto on enforcement measures, the establishment of inequality of voting among the major powers, and the virtual elimination of the influence of small nations in Security Council decisions. Others go beyond the revision of the United Nations Charter and call for the establishment of new forms of international structure along the lines of world government. In general, the proponents of these projects recognize the probability that the proposals would not be accepted by at least one of the major powers and by a number of other governments now members of the United Nations. They advocate that in this case the respective projects be put into effect among such nations as would accept them.

All of these projects appear to rest on the assumption that the present unsatisfactory state of world affairs is a result of inability on the part of the United Nations to prevent aggression; that this inability arises from the exercise of the veto power in the Security Council and the lack of a United Nations police force; that if the veto power on enforcement decisions could be removed and the United Nations provided with armed forces, aggression could be prevented; and that the principal barrier to world peace would thereby cease to exist.

The general assumption rests I think on an incomplete analysis of our main problems of foreign policy at this juncture and of the part which international organization can play in solving them.

The underlying problem in the immediate future is to bring about the restoration of economic, social, and political health in the world and to give to the peoples of the world a sense of security which is essential for them to carry on the

task of recovery. What is needed for the achievement of a world order based on law and dedicated to peace and progress is a widespread improvement in the material and social well-being of the peoples of the world. The responsibility for such improvement will always rest primarily upon the peoples and governments themselves. In this field the United Nations, however, can play an increasingly active role.

The factor of military strength is of immediate and major importance in the present world situation, but is not the element which will be paramount in the long run. The emphasis often placed solely on the military aspects of world affairs does a disservice to the cause of peace. The more that present differences are talked about and treated exclusively as a military problem, the more they tend to become so.

The problems today presented to those who desire peace are not questions of structure. Nor are they problems solvable merely by new forms of organization. They require performance of obligations already undertaken, fidelity to pledges already given. Basic human frailties cannot be overcome by Charter provisions alone, for they exist in the behavior of men and governments.

The suggestion that a revised United Nations, or some form of world government, should be achieved, if necessary, without those nations which would be unwilling to join, deserves special attention. Such a procedure would probably destroy the present United Nations organization. The result would be a dispersal of the community of nations, followed by the formation of rival military alliances and isolated groups of states. This result would weaken us and expose us to even greater dangers from those who seek domination of other states.

It is not changes in the *form* of international intercourse which we now require. It is to changes of *substance* that we must look for an improvement of the world situation. And it is to those changes of substance that our policy has been directed. When the substance of the world situation improves, the United Nations will be able to function with full effectiveness. Meanwhile we will continue our efforts in cooperation with other governments to improve the working of the United Nations under the Charter.

The United Nations was created after years of study and after many months of difficult negotiations. It now has 58 members. It is the symbol of the aspirations of mankind. Its success is the hope of mankind. All new efforts to attain order and organization in the affairs of men require time to grow roots in the loyalties of men. The history of our own people testifies to this necessity. Let us not in our impatience and our fears sacrifice the hard-won gains that we now possess in the United Nations organization.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN ²

U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations

I am deeply moved by the desire to strengthen the United Nations that is demonstrated by the Congress in calling these hearings. Earnest and continuing support of the United Nations is clearly needed in a world which has suffered two devastating wars in 25 years, which faces the danger (which is filled with fear) of a third, and in which over half the people are both hungry and illiterate.

Building peace and security in such a world is a tremendous job. Fortunately, the work of securing agreement among sovereign nations on the plan for an international organization to maintain peace was begun while a majority of them were united in fighting a common enemy.

Structure of the United Nations

The men who wrote the Charter at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco realized that an international organization formed to preserve the peace must include every major power in its membership, with no exceptions. That was true in 1945; it is true today. To attain that goal, each member had to pay a price. Each had to yield on some of its own desires as to the shape of the Organization and to accommodate itself to the wishes of others.

The Charter which resulted clearly defined the effort which would be required if the peoples of the world were to find the peace, the freedom, and the decent living which they earnestly sought.

The first task was the removal of the causes of war.

The Charter was framed to combine the efforts of the members of the United Nations in creating the conditions of peace through joint action.

The second task was to substitute for war pacific settlement of disputes.

The third task was to insure collective security by peace forces voluntarily agreed upon by members.

Assuming that the numerous and varied efforts of the Congress, of state legislatures, of towns and cities, as well as of important civic organizations, recognize the need for the United Nations and are intended to strengthen it—then there must be a reconciliation among them and with the members of the United Nations which is based on reality. It goes without saying that such a reconciliation cannot occur if the purpose is something else. If the purpose should be to discredit the United Nations as impotent or to dissolve it in order to try erecting a new organization with its rubble, there cannot be reconciliation.

What I have to say is based upon the assumption that we all seek to take measures that are practicable and feasible for preserving and strengthening the United Nations.

In the beginning, we must consider the reality of the unanimity rule bearing upon amendment of the Charter. Article 108 provides that amendments cannot come into force without ratification by all of the permanent members of the Security Council. I can give you positive evidence that such unanimity is not now possible.

On January 19, 1948, the five permanent members met at my request and considered suggestions to amend the Charter with respect to the use of the veto on matters of pacific settlement and upon petitions for membership. You will recognize that these suggestions are far less drastic than any of the proposals for revision now before you. Only one of the five was willing to amend the Charter in this regard: that was the United States of America.

It is my firm conviction that, in the present conditions confronting the world, at least four of the permanent members will exert their influence to prevent a convention being called under article 109 for reviewing the present Charter with a view of amending it.

Therefore, what procedure should we adopt? In the first place, we have to know where our trouble is and the specific objective we are aiming at. If experience for the brief life of the United Nations is a guide safe to be followed, then we ought right here and now to consider that experience. What is it?

Let us look at what has been accomplished in connection with the first task, namely, removal of the causes of war.

Accomplishments

The Economic and Social Council now has 12 commissions of experts at work. These include three regional economic commissions which are studying the feasibility of concerted regional action for raising levels of economic activity. A fourth is starting. Rules have been agreed upon for increasing international trade in a changing world economy and organizing to make these rules effective. Specialized agencies are at work on financial problems, on health problems, on problems of human rights and the freedom of information.

The three postwar years have seen the building of more instruments for constructive international cooperation than ever before in history. During this year, the United Nations network of international organizations is bringing governmental representatives together at more than 2,500 meetings.

² Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 5, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

The Food and Agriculture Organization provides a good example of what is actually being done.

Its studies have revealed that with the expected increase in population, food production in the next 25 years must be increased 110 percent if we are to avoid mass starvation with all its accompanying hazards to peace and stability.

Consequently, it has established the World Food Council to help allocate exportable food surpluses and fertilizers, to promote the production and distribution of farm machinery, and to focus attention on dangerous food situations.

It has sent agricultural experts on special missions to Greece, Poland, and Siam to work out plans for increased agricultural production in these countries.

It has held international conferences to increase production of rice, cereals, and timber. It has helped countries in the Near East to begin deep-well irrigation and swamp-drainage projects.

It is aiding Peru to establish refrigeration and storage facilities for its fishing industry. Iran, Czechoslovakia, and China have received help on specific projects to increase their food supplies.

It has undertaken other food-producing measures such as field demonstration schools in western Europe on hybrid corn, artificial insemination, and veterinary techniques.

It has given advice to the International Bank on loans for the purchase of agricultural and industrial machinery.

These positive accomplishments are little known. The conflicts that have been prevented never make the headlines. A single veto in the Security Council gets more publicity than an entire session of the Trusteeship Council or the Economic and Social Council. And it is easy to forget that there is no veto in any of the United Nations agencies which are advancing the economic, social, and ethical standards of mankind. Collective effort to remove the causes of war and create the conditions of peace cannot be vetoed.

We have given only a partial survey of the work which one of the 12 specialized agencies of the United Nations has under way to remove conditions that lead to conflict. These agencies are at work removing ill health, poverty, ignorance, economic conflict, and intolerance, which are causes of shooting war. Let us encourage and not hinder them. Let us support the United Nations instead of destroying it.

The second task is comprehended in chapter VI, "Pacific Settlement of Disputes." This task is being performed, but here help is needed.

War cannot be abolished without substituting something for it. Historically, it has been a means of determining political solutions. Yet, its results are so tragic that other means must be found to arrive at real solutions. The dreadful curse of massacre is an impelling force which drives us

forward toward all reasonable measures for strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to perform its second task.

Chapter VI, "Pacific Settlement of Disputes," is by far the most important part of the Charter. Experience in the United Nations with disputes, "the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security", leads to the judgment that we should stay within chapter VI just as long as it is humanly possible to do so.

The frailty in the Security Council to which I wish to point is one of procedure. We have encountered a misuse of the veto. It is in chapter VI, where we seek to substitute for war the great principle of agreement, that the misuse of the veto has caused skepticism, criticism, and search for improvement. Right here it is necessary to reconcile with the facts the efforts at strengthening the United Nations.

The Soviet Union has exercised the veto 23 times—eleven times on membership applications, nine times on issues of pacific settlement, and three times on the Balkan issue.

It is not true that the United Nations has failed because of this veto. On the contrary, it has succeeded in spite of the veto, as I will demonstrate. However, it is true that the United Nations could expedite its service and accomplish more effective solutions of disputes and situations if the veto privilege were not permitted to interfere with pacific settlement of disputes.

I wish to persuade you, from the facts. Your earnest work toward strengthening the United Nations is encouraging because of the influence which your views may have upon the adoption of improved practices and procedures within the Charter. When it becomes feasible to amend the Charter in respect of chapter VI, as well as in respect of admission of new members, the strong position you will have taken in criticism of this frailty should prove to be of great assistance to the members of the United Nations. That time has not arrived, as I will point out.

Now, first let me show what has actually happened in the use of the United Nations to substitute pacific solutions for war.

1. The Security Council succeeded in inducing the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from the territory of Iran.

2. The withdrawal of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon was a result of a Security Council expression of strong views.

3. The Security Council has helped to protect the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece, even though the Soviet Union three times vetoed efforts to deal with the situation. Twice the vetoes overcame a majority of nine, which supported resolutions finding that assistance to and support of guerrillas on the northern bor-

ders of Greece constituted a threat to the peace within the meaning of chapter VII of the Charter. The third veto was on a resolution requesting the General Assembly to make recommendations in the Greek case. The veto failed in its purpose; it did not bar all United Nations service for peace. The Security Council merely divested itself of the subject, and the General Assembly, five weeks later, passed a resolution calling upon Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia to do nothing which could furnish assistance to the guerrillas.

The General Assembly also established the Balkan Commission with headquarters at Salonika to observe the compliance with the recommendations and to assist in implementing them. These recommendations outlined specific methods for settlement of their disputes by peaceful means. This Balkan Commission is now at work on the ground. The tremendous moral effect of surveillance by all of the rest of the world is now being witnessed.

The United Nations certainly has upset the timetable of the aggression of Communism in Greece. The United Nations is helping Greece in her struggle for freedom. The United States in cooperation with the United Nations has helped Greece to preserve her independence.

4. Indonesia was another situation, the continuance of which might have led to a threat to international security and peace. War had already begun between the Dutch and Indonesians, but the Security Council was able to obtain a truce. Moreover, a Good Offices Committee was set up, which helped to determine lines of demarcation between the forces and to obtain agreement on 18 principles to guide the setting up of the United States of Indonesia. Progress is now being made on the basis of those principles. This was an achievement which involved the peace and security of a population equal to half of that of the United States. In addition, one of the great consequences of the pacific settlement of this dispute is to give strength to the movement away from the old colonial system toward self-government and independence. This movement is of critical importance to a vast area both in Asia and Africa. We find it involved indirectly in the next item—India-Pakistan.

5. India and Pakistan brought their dispute over Kashmir to the Security Council with representations that, if the conditions continued, war of communal intensity might break out all over the subcontinent. Four hundred million inhabitants of the newly established free dominions of India and Pakistan were on the verge of war. If the United Nations had not been available to them, the conditions, now bad enough, would certainly have been much worse by this time.

Their case was kept within chapter VI. Prolonged, difficult negotiations were tried without agreement between the parties; whereupon the Security Council adopted recommendations for a

truce and a plebiscite. These recommendations are not compulsory but are a guide and help to the parties if they acquiesce in them. This matter is still pending. But already it has rendered a great service in cooling off the parties and in keeping the violence from spreading.

In both of these last two cases the veto privilege existed but was not exercised. The Soviet Union opposed but did not veto. Instead, it followed the procedure of abstaining from voting. In passing, let me point out that this procedure has grown out of experience and has whatever validity custom can give, because it has been employed by all of the great powers several times.

6. In the Korean case, the General Assembly was called upon for help when negotiations between ourselves and the Soviet Union on establishing a government in Korea reached an impasse. Now, a General Assembly commission is in operation in Korea preparing for a plebiscite. This plebiscite, under United Nations observation, will be held in the whole of Korea, if possible; but if not possible, it will be held in the southern zone which contains at least two thirds of Korea's total population.

The Soviet Union is not participating in this Korean Commission; but at no time in its history did the veto apply because the Commission is a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly under article 22.

7. The Palestine case illustrates the basic doctrine that General Assembly recommendations depend wholly on voluntary cooperation. It was brought by Great Britain, the mandatory power, to the General Assembly for recommendation respecting the future government of Palestine. On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending the partition of Palestine; but it referred the resolution to the Security Council for action of the following nature:

"The General Assembly, . . .

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

"(a) The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;

"(b) The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United

Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

“(c) The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;

“(d) The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;”

This was done by virtue of paragraph 2 of article 11, providing, among other things: “Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.”

This case is so well known that I need only point to the fact that the Security Council denied action. On the motion of the United States to accept the request of the General Assembly to implement the plan, only five votes could be obtained in support of it, namely: the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Belgium, and the Ukraine. Thereupon, the Security Council directed the five permanent members to consult on whether or not the situation in Palestine constituted a threat to international security and peace and also to report what recommendations ought to be made to the United Nations Palestinian Commission to carry out the partition plan. They found and reported that the partition plan could not be implemented by peaceful means, and they were unable to make the finding of a threat to international peace. Therefore, the problem of Palestine was again referred to a Special Session of the General Assembly where it is now under consideration.

8. In addition to the Security Council and the General Assembly, the resources of the International Court of Justice are being utilized in the pacific settlement of disputes.

British charges against Albania resulting from the damage by mines to two destroyers and the loss of 44 lives in the Corfu Channel are now before the Court. Here is another case where a Soviet veto failed to achieve its purpose. The Soviet Union vetoed a Security Council resolution fixing the blame upon Albania, but the case was referred to the International Court for adjudication nonetheless, and both parties have recognized the jurisdiction of the Court.

9. The Court also is considering the validity of Soviet vetoes of membership applications. Its findings should be ready in time for consideration by the regular session of the General Assembly in September.

10. Even when Security Council action is stymied by the misuse of the veto a great deal is accomplished nevertheless. The current Security

Council consideration of the coup in Czechoslovakia is a good example. This entire proceeding has been conducted in the face of Soviet veto threats. But their threats cannot halt the Council's examination of evidence. If and when the veto occurs, the evidence will become part of the record.

Changes Are Needed

Notwithstanding these accomplishments, changes are needed. There are ways of working for them within the Charter.

Vigorous efforts are under way now to improve the machinery of the United Nations for the pacific settlement of disputes.

The United States was largely responsible for the establishment of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly. This Little Assembly, as it is generally known, is now studying a number of proposals aimed toward strengthening the machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes. Moreover, it is working on a series of suggestions to restrict the application of the veto and liberalize the voting procedures of the Security Council. The results of this work will be taken up at the next regular session of the General Assembly in September.

I believe that this distinguished Committee has a copy of a provisional list of Security Council decisions which the United States proposes should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members whether or not such decisions are regarded as procedural or non-procedural. Your views touching this effort could stimulate it. They would strengthen us in our efforts to obtain what is really needed: agreement among the permanent members that such voting procedures could be followed and the establishment of these voting procedures by rules.

This approach has a chance of success, it is realistic, and it recognizes the one essential in building a genuine system of collective security—Big Power unity.

No abandonment of universality should be tolerated. There is no real security without universality. We must not tear down this powerful buttress of the world organization. Instead, the structure should be braced on the inside.

East and West Relations the Core

The core of the world-security problems is the relationship between the East and the West. Since the end of the war, the rift between these two powerful groups has gradually widened. No matter what the machinery, no matter how stringent the Charter limitations, the operators of the machinery would still be the member states. If these states will observe the obligations contained

in the present Charter and cooperate within the present framework of the Organization, its gravest problems will be solved.

Creation of additional machinery would not affect the basic political situation with which we are confronted. What is necessary is a fundamental adjustment between East and West. This will have to be undertaken at the suitable time.

The fact that in the short span of its existence, the United Nations has not been able to solve this basic problem has profoundly affected the thinking of many members of Congress and of some of our most forward-looking civic leaders and organizations. But I have yet to find a single radical revision of the United Nations Charter which could, as a practical matter, be adopted at this time by any appreciable number of states and which, if adopted, would solve that crucial problem which is at the basis of present world insecurity. The most likely result of revision, under the present circumstances, would be the destruction of the United Nations.

U.N.—The Bridge Between East and West

The end of the United Nations would lead to the complete destruction of the political, economic, social, and technical activities of the United Nations. The present effectiveness of these activities stems to a great degree from the fact that all major powers and an overwhelming majority of other states take part in the organization. Once this relative universality of membership is destroyed, such collaboration as now exists would cease, and a complete break between the East and the West would occur. The only possible bridge between the East and West would collapse; and yet, the problem of bridging the gap between the East and West is precisely the crucial problem of our time.

The U.S. and the U.N.

Meanwhile, the United Nations affords us an equal opportunity to mobilize world opinion and action against activities which threaten peace and security. It provides an unsurpassed forum for explaining our policies to other states and peoples and for mobilizing their support. It serves as an instrument of negotiation with other powers. It permits the United States to act in concert with other powers in carrying out enterprises which this country could not or would not undertake unilaterally. It is the outstanding instrumentality for solving economic and social problems, safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedom, and improving the welfare of all the peoples. It is and should continue to be the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Since the desire of the overwhelming majority of the American people is the strengthening of the United Nations, what, then, is the best course to pursue?

How To Strengthen the U.N.

Not one, but many acts are required.

One of the most important actions you have already initiated—I refer to the European Recovery Program. The United Nations is as strong as its members. An organization of economically weak and politically chaotic members cannot have strength itself. When only the United States and the Soviet Union are strong, rivalry between them is virtually inevitable. The successful completion of the European Recovery Program, in my opinion, will not only strengthen the United Nations but will reduce the rivalry which is a basic cause of today's difficulties.

Second, we should strengthen our own military posture. It is futile to talk about arming the United Nations when we know that our force is inadequate to fulfil existing commitments. If we strengthen our ability to protect international law and order, we strengthen collective as well as national security—we strengthen the United Nations.

Third, we should strengthen the military posture of our friends. History is full of evidence that the weakness of the just increases the malice of the wicked. We have acted to strengthen the economies of friendly states; now let us act to strengthen their military position.

Fourth, we should promote associations of like-minded states within the framework of the United Nations. The Act of Chapultepec, the Rio treaty and the Bogotá charter for the organization of American states are significant advances in this direction. Similar important associations are in the process of formation. There is, for example, the economic organization established by the 16 Marshall Plan countries. The unified defense system of the five western European states is another act which strengthens the United Nations.

Fifth, we should support specific efforts to strengthen the United Nations and help remove the causes of war. This means, I believe, that we should approve the loan for building the United Nations headquarters, join the World Health Organization, adopt S.J. Resolution 136 accepting the convention on privileges and immunities, and ratify the constitution of the proposed International Trade Organization.

Support for the United Nations, to be genuine and effective, must be constant. We should, as a leading member, negotiate and ratify specific conventions for the progressive development and codification of international law, for prevention of the crime of genocide, for the protection of human rights, and the promotion of freedom of information.

Wise, patient, and persistent action in efforts such as these will lead to the development of a strong United Nations and the fulfilment of its tasks.

The Headquarters Loan

The bill relating to the headquarters loan agreement has a significance which goes far beyond its terms. As a piece of financial legislation, it has some unusual features, but these are not of first-rank importance. The political implications of congressional action on the bill are important. Fifty-eight countries, besides the United States, have a stake in the United Nations. All of them will be observing carefully the action of the Congress in this matter.

They will do so because, in this period of tension and uncertainty, the decisions of this Congress can be of crucial importance for the future of the United Nations and for the success of international cooperation to keep the peace.

Nothing could be more crippling to the organization and to the attainment of its purposes than an official act of Congress which appeared to cast doubt on the wisdom and necessity of supporting the United Nations with all our energies.

Our willingness to play a leading part in the construction of the headquarters has always been regarded as a test of our faith in the United Nations.

History of Headquarters

The United States has never been found wanting in its material support for the organization. By the unanimous action of both Houses of Congress, on December 10 and 11, 1945, the United Nations was invited to make its headquarters in the United States. Through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the City of New York, a site in the heart of New York City was made available without cost. The Congress cooperated by passing legislation exempting the transaction from federal gift tax. The conditions under which the permanent headquarters are to be set up in New York have been established by the headquarters agreement between the United Nations and the United States and approved by the Congress on August 4, 1947. The necessary demolition on the site has been completed. Internationally famous architects have unanimously agreed upon plans for an imposing group of buildings which will be a suitable center for world collaboration. The city authorities are ready to proceed with plans involving the expenditures, by the city, of some 20 million dollars for development of the approaches and improvement of the surrounding areas.

Finally, the United States has offered, subject to the approval of Congress, to make an interest-free loan to the United Nations in an amount not to exceed 65 million dollars to meet construction costs. The offer has been gratefully accepted. The terms of the proposed loan are before you for examination.

Thus the proposal before the Congress is the last link in a chain of events stretching over a period of almost two and one-half years. The United

Nations is ready to begin construction. The "world capital" foreseen by Congress in 1945 can at last become a permanent physical reality.

No Political Strings to Hospitality

Through all this period, the United States has scrupulously refrained from attaching political conditions to its hospitality. We did not ask that the United Nations should take this or that course, or develop in a particular direction, or amend its Charter, or revise its organizational structure, before it could establish its headquarters in this country. We invited the United Nations to these shores in the full knowledge of its possible limitations. We had signed and ratified the Charter. We did not "buy a pig in a poke". (See the 723 pages of hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 79th Congress, 1st session.)

Now, however, the loan is associated with the Ferguson-Judd resolution. The implication is that until certain actions such as the calling of a special session of the General Assembly to debate a particular problem, or until the United Nations is reorganized so as to perform more effectively certain of its political functions, the loan may be retarded.

If the Congress should now take the view that we should not proceed with the loan agreement or begin construction of the headquarters until these things were done, a heavy blow would be struck both at the organization and at the sincerity and prestige of the United States. It would be unfortunate if other members of the United Nations should feel that we were attempting to use our financial resources in this case to achieve a political end. It would be equally unfortunate if they were to feel that we had so little faith in the United Nations that we were unwilling to make this demonstration of our support.

Provisions of the Loan

It is proposed that we lend the organization a sum not to exceed 65 million dollars. This will be repaid from the ordinary budget of the United Nations, to which we now contribute 39.89 percent of the total. What we would actually be advancing beyond our own proportionate share of the cost, therefore, is the balance over 60 percent of the principal of the loan. We would also, of course, in effect be making a gift to the United Nations of some 60 percent of the interest which might have been earned had the money been invested in some other enterprise.

It will be clear to the Congress, I am certain, that there is no feasible alternative to financing the construction of the headquarters by a loan.

Ordinarily it would have been desirable to raise the necessary funds through immediate cash contributions by all member states. But at this par-

ticular juncture, when so many are struggling to recover from the devastation of war and when all must contend with a critical shortage of dollar exchange abroad, dollar payments on the scale required would have imposed a very heavy burden on many states. Some would certainly have felt that, since the money was to be spent in this country, the United States might reasonably have been expected to make a higher proportionate contribution toward the cost of the buildings than it makes to the ordinary budget of the United Nations.

In my opinion, such an arrangement would have been most unfortunate. We have directed our efforts in the United Nations toward a reduction in our general budget quota. Our offer of an interest-free loan forestalled any suggestion that we should pay a disproportionate share of the construction costs.

Other Alternatives Surveyed

A number of possibilities for financing were explored before the United States consented to enter into the loan agreement. Arrangements for private financing would have been far from satisfactory. Under the most favorable terms, a large part of the total cost would still have had to be contributed in cash. The interest rate quoted was high. It would have been necessary to mortgage the buildings as security—a step which would have involved serious legal problems and which would have required legislative action by State and possibly Federal authorities. The plans themselves would have had to be reviewed with the lenders to assure the convertibility of the headquarters to other uses in the theoretical event of foreclosure. Finally, there is a strong psychological objection to placing the United Nations under obligation to private financial interests.

Other methods of financing were also canvassed without encouraging results. It was discovered that under its charter the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development could make loans only to member nations, or to business enterprises with a guaranty from the government concerned. Similarly, neither the Reconstruction Finance Corporation nor the Export-Import Bank appeared to have the statutory authority to make such a loan without specific congressional authorization.

These were the circumstances in which the United States Government entered the picture. A thorough study of the problem by experts in the Department of State and the Treasury resulted in the preparation of the plan suggested by the President to the United Nations.

Reasons for Interest-Free Feature

The interest-free feature of the proposed loan may be regarded as an offset to the financial advantages gained by the United States because the headquarters is located here. Quite apart from

considerations of prestige, the principal benefits to the United States may be summarized as follows:

First, there is a substantial inflow of funds from abroad to finance United Nations activities in New York. It is conservatively estimated that about \$20,500,000 was expended by foreign countries at the United Nations in 1947. This sum included the contributions of members to the United Nations budget, the expenditures necessary for maintaining permanent delegations in New York City, and expenses of the large delegations which attend the regular and special sessions of the General Assembly. There are also expenditures by delegates to smaller meetings, such as the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and many other gatherings held at the United Nations headquarters. This annual expenditure is likely to grow rather than to diminish.

Second, the United States Government makes an annual saving on the expenses of its own delegations because the United Nations headquarters is located in New York rather than in a foreign country. If the General Assembly were held each year in Europe, for example, the additional cost to the United States in travel, communications, and other conference expenses would be at least \$300,000 a year. Contact and communication between the Government in Washington and the United States Delegation would be far less speedy and satisfactory.

Third, the expenditures for construction of the headquarters will be made primarily in the United States. American labor will be employed on the project; American materials will go into the construction; and the furnishings and equipment for the buildings will be purchased from American manufacturers. Construction will extend over a period of several years.

Fourth, the headquarters, when completed, will be a permanent asset to the United States.

Present Headquarters Handicaps Work

Gentlemen, I most earnestly hope that the Congress will not see fit to impose any delay in carrying out this project. The United Nations has been functioning in the United States since the spring of 1946. Since that time, foreign delegations and the staff of the Secretariat have been living and working under crowded conditions in the New York area. The temporary headquarters at Lake Success, and the temporary General Assembly building at Flushing Meadows, were not designed for the use to which they are now being put. They are not the facilities the United Nations should have. Their location is inconvenient. I hesitate to attempt to compute the number of manhours lost in travel to, from, and between these buildings and the New York headquarters and residences of the various delegations.

(Continued on page 655)

Summary Statement by the Secretary-General ¹

MATTERS OF WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS SEIZED AND THE STAGE REACHED IN THEIR CONSIDERATION

A. Pursuant to Rule 11 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, I submit the following summary statement of matters of which the Security Council is seized and of the stage reached in their consideration on 24 April 1948. [For omitted materials, see U.N. doc. S/728 or consult the semiannual BULLETIN indexes.]

1. *The Iranian Question*
.....
 2. *Special Agreements under Article 43 and the Organization of the Armed forces made available to the Security Council*
.....
 3. *Rules of Procedure of the Security Council*
.....
- By letter dated 5 September 1947 (document S/540/Corr.1) the representative of the United Kingdom suggested several additional rules of procedure concerning meetings of the Security Council. This letter has not yet been considered by the Council.
4. *Statute and Rules of Procedure of the Military Staff Committee*
.....
 5. *The General Regulation and Reduction of Armaments and Information on Armed Forces of the United Nations*
.....
 6. *Appointment of a Governor of the Free Territory of Trieste*
.....

By letter dated 13 June 1947, the representative of the United Kingdom requested that an early date be fixed for the discussion by the Security Council of the question of the appointment of a Governor of the Free Territory of Trieste. The question was placed on the agenda at the 143rd meeting of the Security Council, and discussed in private at the 144th and 155th meetings on 20 June 1947 and 10 July 1947. The Council set up a sub-committee composed of the representatives of

Australia, Colombia and Poland to collect additional information about the candidate.

At its 203rd meeting held in private on 24 September 1947, the Council examined the report of its sub-committee and also examined a new candidate proposed by the representative of China. The Council decided to ask the permanent members to hold an informal consultation.

The Council took up this matter again at its 223rd meeting held in private on 18 December and decided in pursuance of Article 11 (paragraph 1) of the Permanent Statute for the Free Territory of Trieste to request the Governments of Italy and Yugoslavia to consult with each other in an effort to reach agreement on a candidate and to report on their progress to the Council not later than 5 January 1948.

At its two hundred and thirty-third meeting held in private, the Council discussed the replies from the Governments of Italy and Yugoslavia to the Security Council's request of 19 December. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics suggested that the members of the Council should express their opinion regarding the new candidates mentioned in the above replies. Some permanent members of the Council, however, declared that they were not yet in a position to discuss those candidates. The Council decided to ask the permanent members to have a further consideration on the matter next week and also decided to have another meeting of the Council on this question as soon as possible.

At its two hundred and sixty-fifth meeting held in private, the Security Council agreed, after some discussion, to postpone further consideration of this question until such time as it was requested by any Member of the Council.

7. *The Egyptian Question*

The Council further considered the question at its 201st meeting on 10 September 1947. A draft resolution submitted by the representative of China (document S/547) and amendments thereto submitted by the representative of Australia (document S/549) failed to receive a majority of votes

¹ U.N. doc. S/728, Apr. 27, 1948.

and were not adopted. The President then stated that the Egyptian question would remain on the agenda and that the Council would continue its consideration of the question at the request of any member of the Council or of either of the two parties concerned.

8. *The Indonesian Question*

At the 181st meeting the representative of Australia introduced a draft resolution (document S/488) and amendments to this resolution were submitted by the representative of Poland (document S/488/Add.1) and China (document S/488/Add.2) at the 185th and 187th meetings. At the 192nd meeting the representatives of Australia and China introduced a joint draft resolution (document S/513) and the representative of Australia introduced a new separate draft resolution (document S/512). The representative of the United States also submitted a draft resolution (document S/514). At the 193rd meeting the representative of Belgium introduced a draft resolution (document S/517).

At the 195th meeting the draft resolutions were put to a vote. An amendment submitted by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the joint Australian-Chinese resolution (S/513), providing for the establishment of a Commission of the Security Council to supervise the "cease fire" order received seven votes in favour, two against (Belgium and France) with two abstentions (China and the United Kingdom) and was not adopted since one of the permanent members voted against it. The joint Australian-Chinese resolution was then adopted by seven votes in favour with four abstentions (Colombia, Poland, United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

The Polish amendment (S/488/Add.1) to the original Australian draft resolution was re-submitted as an amendment to the second Australian resolution (S/512). The Polish amendment received three votes in favour, four against (Belgium, France, United Kingdom and the United States) with four abstentions (Australia, Brazil, China and Colombia), and was not adopted. The Australian resolution received three votes in favour (Australia, Colombia and Syria), none against with eight abstentions, and was not adopted.

The United States draft resolution (S/514) received eight votes in favour, none against with three abstentions (Poland, Syria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and was adopted.

The Belgian draft resolution (S/517) received four votes in favour, (Belgium, France, United Kingdom and the United States) one against (Poland) with six abstentions and was not adopted.

A new draft resolution submitted by the representative of Poland (S/521) received ten votes in favour, one against (United Kingdom) and was adopted.

The President announced that he considered the discussion of the Indonesian question closed for the present stage, but that the question would remain on the list of matters of which the Council is seized.

The resolutions on the Indonesian question adopted at the 194th and 195th meetings are given in document S/525.

By letters dated 4 and 18 September 1947, (documents S/545 and S/564), the representatives of the Netherlands and Indonesia informed the Council that the Governments of Belgium and Australia had accepted their invitation to serve on the Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian question. By letter dated 18 September 1947 (document S/558), the representatives of Australia and Belgium informed the Council that the Government of the United States had agreed to be the third member of this Committee. By letters dated 26 September, 1 and 2 October 1947 (documents S/469, S/571 and S/570), the representatives of Australia, United States and Belgium informed the Council of the representatives appointed to this Committee by their Governments.

The Council adopted a resolution submitted by the representative of Australia (document S/574) requesting the Secretary-General to act as convenor of the Committee of Three on the Indonesian Question and requesting the Committee to proceed to exercise its functions with the utmost dispatch.

The Security Council, at its 207th through 219th meetings discussed the interim report (document S/573) and the full report (document S/586) from the Consular Commission at Batavia. Draft resolutions were submitted by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (document S/575), Australia (document S/579/Rev.1) the United Kingdom (with amendments by the representative of Belgium accepted by the representative of the United Kingdom, document S/578), the United States (document S/585, later revised document S/588) and Poland (document S/589). The representatives of Belgium and China submitted amendments to the revised United States draft resolution (documents S/592 and S/591). The representative of the United Kingdom later withdrew his resolution.

Two messages from the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to the Security Council were circulated as documents S/583 and S/590.

At the 217th meeting, the draft resolutions submitted by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (document S/575) and Australia (document S/579/Rev.1) were put to a

vote and were not adopted as they did not obtain the necessary affirmative votes.

The representative of Australia then submitted an amendment to the United States revised draft resolution (document S/593).

A Sub-Committee consisting of the representatives of Australia, Belgium, China and the United States was created with the task of trying to merge the revised United States draft resolution and the various amendments thereto into one text. A proposal by the representative of the United Kingdom to use both the revised United States draft resolution (document S/588) and the Polish resolution (document S/589) as a basis was rejected by the Council.

The above-mentioned Sub-Committee met on 1 November and submitted a combined draft resolution to the Security Council (document S/594). The combined draft resolution was considered by the Security Council at its 218th and 219th meetings on 1 November 1947.

The representative of the United States, in support of the draft resolution submitted by the Sub-Committee, withdrew his own revised draft resolution. He further stated that he was authorized by the representatives of Australia, Belgium and China to announce that they, for the same reason, also withdrew their amendments to the United States revised draft resolution.

An amendment introduced by the representative of Colombia (document S/595) to the draft resolution submitted by the Sub-Committee was not carried.

The revised United States draft resolution as submitted by the Sub-Committee (document S/594) was put to a vote and adopted.

The Polish draft resolution (document S/587) was then put to a vote and rejected as it did not obtain the required number of affirmative votes.

At its 222nd meeting on 9 December 1947, the Council took note of a report from the Committee of Good Offices regarding the place for holding meetings with the two parties concerned (document S/611).

At its 224th meeting, held on 19 December 1947, the Security Council agreed that the Committee of Good Offices should continue with its present composition after 31 December 1947.

At the same meeting of the Council the President informed that the Committee of Good Offices was preparing an interim report to the Security Council on the progress of its work and that it hoped to cable the report on or about 22 December 1947.

At its 225th meeting on 30 December 1947, the Security Council took note of a cablegram from the Chairman of the Committee of Good Offices stating that the Committee was now preparing a more comprehensive report than originally anticipated, and that the report would be forwarded upon its early completion.

At its 229th meeting of the Security Council on 17 January, the President read a cablegram from the Chairman of the Committee of Good Offices (document S/650) stating that delegations of the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands would sign a truce agreement on 17 January 1948 on board the USS "Renville" and that immediately thereupon, both parties would sign an agreement on twelve political principles which were to form the agreed basis for discussions concerning the settlement of the dispute.

The first interim report of the Security Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question (documents S/649 and S/649/Corr.1) was considered by the Security Council at its 247th, 248th, 249th, 251st, 252nd, 256th and 259th meetings with representatives of Australia, India, Netherlands, the Philippines, the Republic of Indonesia and the Committee of Good Offices participating without a vote. A draft resolution regarding the interim report was introduced by the representative of Canada (document S/678) and amendments thereto were submitted by the representatives of Australia (document S/681) and of Colombia (document S/682).

The representative of China introduced a new draft resolution (document S/689) which was adopted at the two hundred and fifty-ninth meeting with eight votes in favour, none against and three abstentions (Argentina, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The Colombian amendments (document S/682) to the Canadian draft resolution (document S/678) were then put to a vote paragraph by paragraph but did not obtain the required number of affirmative votes. The Canadian draft resolution (document S/678) was adopted with seven votes in favour, none against, and four abstentions (Colombia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

9. *Voting Procedure in the Security Council*

At the 197th meeting on 27 August, the Council discussed the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its sixty-first plenary meeting, held on 13 December 1946, concerning voting procedure in the Security Council (document S/237). It was decided to refer the resolution to the Committee of Experts with instructions to consider the matter and to make recommendations as to action the Council might take to comply with the recommendations.

By letter dated 2 December 1947, (document S/620), addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General drew the attention to the resolution concerning the Voting Procedure in the Security Council adopted by the General Assembly on 21 November 1947.

The Security Council considered this communication at its 224th meeting on 19 December 1947.

The President of the Council confirmed the receipt of the above-mentioned letter.

10. *Procedure in Application of Articles 87 and 88 of the Charter With Regard to the Pacific Islands under Strategic Trusteeship of the United States of America*

By letter dated 7 November 1947 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General drew attention to certain questions in connection with the procedure to follow in application of Articles 87 and 88 of the Charter in relation to the Pacific Islands under strategic trusteeship of the United States of America (document S/599).

The Security Council, at its 220th meeting on 15 November discussed the above-mentioned letter and decided to refer all questions arising from that letter to the Committee of Experts for study and report.

By letter dated 2 December 1947 (document S/613) addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of the United States informed the Security Council that Eniwetok Atoll, part of the Pacific Islands under strategic trusteeship by the United States had been closed for security reasons in order that the United States Government might conduct experiments relating to nuclear fission there.

The Security Council at its two hundred and twenty-second meeting on 9 December 1947 took note of the above-mentioned communication and unanimously decided to defer further consideration of the matter until the report from the Committee of Experts now examining the functions of the Security Council in relation to strategic areas had been received.

By letter dated 12 December 1947 (document S/621) the Chairman of the Committee of Experts announced that due to unexpected complications the Committee of Experts had not been able to report to the Council within the time specified, and that it would do so at the earliest possible moment.

The Security Council considered this letter at its 224th meeting on 19 December 1947. A resolution submitted by the representative of Poland (document S/625) giving further instructions to the Committee of Experts and setting new time limits was ruled out of order by the President of the Council. The ruling was challenged, but confirmed by a vote with nine affirmative votes. The representative of Poland reserved his right to reintroduce his draft resolution under a separate agenda item later.

The President stated that the Council took note of the above-mentioned letter.

11. *Applications for Membership*

At its 118th plenary meeting held on 17 November 1947, the General Assembly adopted resolutions requesting the Security Council to recon-

sider, before the end of the Assembly's session, the applications by Transjordan and Italy for admission as Members.

By letter (document S/606) dated 18 November 1947, the Secretary-General transmitted these resolutions to the President of the Security Council.

At its 221st meeting on 22 November 1947, the Council considered these Assembly resolutions. The President stated that none of the Members of the Security Council had changed its position on either application. The Security Council would report to the General Assembly accordingly and would postpone further reconsideration of these two applications in order to allow consultation among the permanent Members.

By letter dated 22 November 1947 (document A/515), the President of the Security Council informed the President of the General Assembly of these proceedings.

At the 261st meeting, the application of Burma for Membership in the United Nations (document S/687) was referred without discussion to the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members.

The Security Council considered this question again at the 279th and 280th meetings. At the 279th meeting the resolution (document S/717), recommending the application of the Union of Burma for membership in the United Nations was adopted by ten votes to none with one abstention (Argentina).

The Council then reconsidered the applications of Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Eire, Finland, Hungary, Italy, the Mongolian People's Republic, Portugal, Roumania and Transjordan. The result of the vote on the application of Italy was nine in favour and two against (the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Inasmuch as one of the negative votes was cast by a permanent member, the application of Italy failed to obtain the recommendation of the Security Council.

At the 280th meeting, since none of the representatives had changed his attitude with regard to the other applications, the Council decided to report accordingly to the General Assembly, and to adjourn the discussion on this matter indefinitely.

12. *The Palestinian Question*

By letter dated 2 December 1947 (document S/614) the Secretary-General requested that the President of the Security Council draw the attention of the Council to the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 (Document A/516), particularly paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) of the operative part of that resolution.

By two telegrams dated 7 December the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt (document S/617)

and the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon (document S/618) requested that their countries, under Article 31, be given the right to participate without a vote in the discussions in the Security Council whenever the question of Palestine is under consideration.

At its 222nd meeting on 9 December the Security Council took note of the above-mentioned letter of the Secretary-General (document S/614) and the resolution of the General Assembly on the Palestinian question and decided to postpone discussion of the matter.

At its two-hundred and forty-third meeting, the Security Council considered the first monthly Progress Report from the United Nations Palestine Commission (document S/663).

The President of the Council stated that this report was purely factual and for the information of the Council. However, the Commission was preparing a special report which would be available shortly and which would involve questions requiring determination by the Council. He suggested that the Council at this stage only take note of the first monthly Progress Report and postpone consideration of it until the Council would also have the special report before it.

No objection was raised against the procedure suggested by the President and it was so decided.

The Security Council at its two hundred and fifty-third, two hundred and fifty-fourth, two hundred and fifty-fifth and two hundred and fifty-eighth meetings considered the first monthly progress report to the Security Council of the United Nations Palestine Commission (document S/663) and the first special report to the Security Council, covering the problem of security in Palestine, submitted by the United Nations Palestine Commission (document S/676). The representatives of Egypt and Lebanon were, in accordance with a previous decision of the Council, invited to participate in the discussion without a vote. The Jewish Agency for Palestine was, at its request, invited to the Council table for the purpose of supplying such information and rendering such assistance as the Council might require. At the suggestion of the President of the Council, it was agreed to grant the same privilege to the Arab Higher Committee if it so requested.

Draft resolutions were introduced by the representatives of Colombia (document S/684) and the United States of America (document S/685). The representative of Belgium submitted an amendment to the United States draft resolution (document S/688). The representative of Colombia later withdrew his draft resolution. Further consideration of this question was postponed until Tuesday, 2 March 1948.

The Security Council at its two-hundred and sixtieth, two-hundred and sixty-first, two-hundred and sixty-second and two-hundred and

sixty-third meetings continued consideration of the First Monthly Progress Report to the Security Council of the United Nations Palestine Commission (document S/663) and the First Special Report to the Security Council on the Problem of Security in Palestine submitted by the United Nations Palestine Commission (document S/676).

At the two-hundred and sixty-second meeting, the President requested that the representatives of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consult together in an effort to formulate a mutually acceptable version of the United States draft resolution (document S/685). At the two-hundred and sixty-third meeting the representatives of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics reported on the results of their consultation and the representative of the United States amended his draft resolution accordingly. The representative of Belgium announced that he accepted certain of the changes made in the United States amended resolution and wanted them to be incorporated in the Belgian amendment (document S/688). Thereupon, the Belgian amendment as revised was put to a vote paragraph by paragraph, but failed to obtain the required number of affirmative votes and consequently was not carried. The amended resolution of the United States was also voted upon paragraph by paragraph. The preamble, the first part of paragraph 2 and the final paragraph were adopted. The accepted paragraphs of the amended United States Resolution were then put to the vote as a whole and adopted by eight affirmative votes, none against and three abstentions (Argentina, Syria and the United Kingdom. For the text of the resolution as finally adopted see document S/691).

At its two hundred and sixty-seventh meeting, the Security Council heard statements by the representatives of Lebanon and Syria. At the two hundred and seventieth meeting, Members of the Council who had participated in the consultations of the permanent members reported to the Council on the results of their discussion. At the two hundred and seventy-first meeting, the representative of the United States outlined the contents of a proposed resolution which would be submitted at a later date.

Discussion was continued at the two hundred and seventy-fourth, two hundred and seventy-fifth and two hundred and seventy-seventh meetings. At the two hundred and seventy-seventh meeting the draft resolution (document S/704) introduced by the representative of the United States as amended by the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, calling for a truce in Palestine was adopted unanimously. The draft resolution (document S/705) also introduced by the representative of the United States, requesting the Secretary-General to convoke a special ses-

sion of the General Assembly regarding Palestine, was adopted by nine votes in favour with two abstentions (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The Secretary-General announced that the special session of the General Assembly called for by the terms of the United States resolution (S/705) would be convoked on 16 April 1948.

Discussion was continued at the 282nd and 283rd meetings. The representative of Colombia introduced a draft resolution containing the terms of a truce in Palestine. The resolution as amended (document S/723) was adopted by a vote of nine in favour, none against, and two abstentions (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

At the 287th meeting, the representative of the United States introduced a draft resolution calling for the establishment of a Truce Commission to supervise the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Council on 17 April (document S/723). The resolution (document S/727) was adopted by a vote of eight in favour, none against and three abstentions (Colombia, Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

13. *The India-Pakistan Question*

By letter dated 1 January 1948 (document S/628), the representative of India, under Article 35 of the Charter, drew the attention of the Council to the present situation in Jammu and Kashmir and requested the Security Council to ask the Government of Pakistan:

1. to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military and civil, from participating or assisting in the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State:

2. to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir State:

3. to deny to the invaders:

(a) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir,

(b) military and other supplies,

(c) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

The Security Council admitted this question to its agenda at its 226th meeting on 6 January. Representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan were, in pursuance of Article 31 of the Charter, invited to participate in the discussion without a vote.

At the request of the representative of Pakistan, the Council postponed further consideration of the question until a meeting to be held not later than 15 January 1948.

In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General (document S/646) the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan answered to the application to the

Security Council made by the representative of India (document S/628).

The Security Council at its 227th, 228th and 229th meetings on 14, 16 and 17 January 1948 heard statements by the representatives of the two parties concerned.

At the 229th meeting, a draft resolution submitted by the representative of Belgium (document S/651) was adopted with nine votes in favour, none against and two abstentions (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The representative of the United Kingdom then proposed that the President of the Council should meet with the representatives of the two Governments concerned and that, under his guidance, they should try to find some common ground on which the structure of a settlement might be built. This proposal was met with the approval of the parties concerned and the President expressed his readiness to assist. No objection was voiced against the proposal by any representative on the Security Council. The President then announced that the Council would adjourn until 20 January 1948, at 10.30 a. m. and that, at this meeting, the Council would hear the reports of the representatives of India and Pakistan on the conversations held.

Consideration of this question was continued at the two hundred and thirtieth, two hundred and thirty-first, two hundred and thirty-second, two hundred and thirty-fourth and two hundred and thirty-fifth meetings. At the two hundred and thirtieth meeting, the President reported to the Council on the result of the conversation he had had with the two parties and introduced a draft resolution (document S/654) which had the support of the parties. This resolution was adopted at the same meeting by the Council with nine affirmative votes and two abstentions (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

By letter dated 20 January (document S/655) the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan requested that the Security Council at as early a date as possible, consider the situations (other than the Kashmir and Jammu situation) mentioned in his previous letter (document S/646 and Corr. 1). This letter was included in the provisional agenda of the two hundred and thirty-first meeting of the Security Council. The Council, at this meeting, decided to describe the question under consideration: "The India-Pakistan Question". The Security Council heard additional statements by the representatives of India and Pakistan at the two hundred and thirty-second, two hundred and thirty-fourth and two hundred and thirty-fifth meetings.

The Council decided to adjourn further consideration of this question until 27 January, the President's conversations with the parties to continue in the meantime.

The question was further considered at the 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st and 242nd meetings and the President reported on his continuing conversations with the parties. At the 237th meeting the representative of Belgium introduced two draft resolutions (documents S/661 and S/662). At the 239th meeting, the representative of India introduced two proposals.

Further consideration of the question was postponed until 10 February 1948, the conversations between the President and the two parties to be continued in the meantime.

Discussion continued at the two hundred and forty-third, two hundred and forty-fourth, two hundred and forty-fifth and two hundred and forty-sixth meetings. At the two hundred and forty-sixth meeting, the Council, concurred with a request of the representative of India to postpone indefinitely the consideration of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir (document S/628) in order to give the representative of India an opportunity to return to India for consultation with his Government. The representative of India was urged to be at the disposal of the Council for continuation of the consideration of this question at as early date as possible, and the Council reserved its right to take up the Jammu and Kashmir question again at its discretion before the return of the Indian representative. Consideration of aspects of the India-Pakistan question other than those relating to the situation in Jammu and Kashmir would be resumed on Wednesday, 18 February 1948.

At its 250th and 257th meetings the Security Council considered aspects of the India-Pakistan Question other than those relating to the situation in Jammu and Kashmir.

Discussion was continued at the 264th, 265th and 269th meetings. The representative of China introduced a draft resolution (document S/699) which resulted from his consultations with the delegations of India and Pakistan. At the 284th, 285th and 286th meetings, the Council considered a revised draft resolution submitted jointly by the representatives of Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, (document S/726) outlining the terms of a general settlement of the dispute. At the 286th meeting, this resolution was voted on paragraph by paragraph, and adopted. At the 287th meeting the nomination of Belgium and Colombia, to the Commission provided for in the terms of the resolution (document S/726) was approved by a vote of seven in favour, none against and four abstentions (Belgium, Colombia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). It was agreed that the President of the Security Council should continue to meet with both parties in an effort to find a solution to the question of Junagadh.

May 16, 1948

14. *The Czechoslovakian Situation*

By letter dated 12 March 1948 (document S/694) the permanent representative of Chile to the United Nations requested that, in accordance with Article 34 of the Charter, the Security Council, "investigate the events reported by the permanent representative of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Jan Papanek, which constitute a threat to international peace and security". At the two hundred and sixty-eighth meeting this item was admitted to the Agenda and the representative of Chile invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter. The representative of Chile requested that, in accordance with Rule 39 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure, the Security Council should invite Dr. Jan Papanek to supply it with information.

At the two hundred and seventy-second meeting, on the request of the representative of Argentina, and in accordance with Rule 38 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure, the proposal of the representative of Chile to invite Dr. Jan Papanek to supply the Security Council with information, in accordance with Rule 39 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure, was adopted by a vote of nine to two.

Discussion was continued at the 273rd, 276th and 278th meetings. The resolution (document S/711) introduced by the representative of the United States, inviting the Government of Czechoslovakia to participate in the discussion of the Czechoslovakian question, was adopted by nine votes to none with two abstentions (the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics). In response to this invitation the Government of Czechoslovakia stated that it did not find it possible to take part in the discussion (document S/718).

At the 281st meeting, the representative of Chile submitted a draft resolution proposing that a subcommittee of the Council be appointed to hear statements and testimony relative to this question, and to submit a report thereon to the Security Council as soon as possible.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

- International Children's Emergency Fund. Programme Committee. Report of the Sub-Committee on Medical Projects. E/ICEF/43, Feb. 18, 1948. 56 pp. mimeo.
- Executive Board. Report of the Executive Director to the Nineteenth Meeting of the Executive Board, 9 March 1948. E/ICEF/46, Feb. 27, 1948. 15 pp. mimeo.

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

FOREIGN AID AND RECONSTRUCTION

Economic Cooperation Act of 1948

STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION

The Department of State and the Economic Cooperation Administration released on May 8 copies of the exchanges of notes between the United States and 11 member nations of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation.¹

The purpose of the notes is to record certain assurances which the Economic Cooperation Act specifies are to be received from the participating countries before the Administrator can proceed with a full assistance program with respect to them. According to subsection 115(c), each country is expected to signify its adherence to the purposes of the Act and its intention to conclude

an agreement with the United States. Each note contains statements to this effect, and further states that the country in question is carrying out the provisions of subsection 115(b) which are applicable to it and is also engaged in continuous efforts to bring about a joint recovery program. In addition, those countries which will probably receive some assistance in the form of grants agree to make deposits in their own currency commensurate with the dollar amount of assistance furnished as a grant. These deposits are to be available for certain United States expenses abroad and for other purposes agreed to by the two countries.

EXCHANGES OF NOTES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ELEVEN MEMBER NATIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION²

The Acting Secretary of State to the Netherlands Ambassador

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform you that the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (Title I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) became law on April 3, 1948.

You will note the general requirement of the Act

¹ Released to the press by the Department of State and the Economic Cooperation Administration on May 8.

² While all the notes are similar, there are certain slight differences. For this reason copies of the notes which do differ are included in this release. On the list of countries which have exchanged notes with the United States are: Austria, Denmark, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Notes have not been exchanged as of this date with Greece, Portugal, Switzerland, and Turkey, nor with the western zones of Germany.

Copies of the notes exchanged are with (1) the Netherlands (exchanges with Denmark, Luxembourg, and Norway are in the same form); (2) Ireland (these are in the same form as those with Iceland and Sweden); (3) Italy (which are in the same form as those with France); (4) the United Kingdom; and (5) Austria.

that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a country of Europe which participates in a joint recovery program based on self-help and mutual cooperation, an agreement must have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115(b) of the Act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until July 3, 1948, the Government of the United States proposes, under the terms of subsection 115(c), to arrange for the performance, with respect to your country, of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115(c) of the Act being fulfilled.

Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether your Government adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing or-

**The Netherlands Ambassador to the
Acting Secretary of State**

NETHERLANDS EMBASSY

Washington 9, D.C.

April 20, 1948

SIR: I have received your note of April 20th, concerning the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948.

My Government has authorized me to inform you of its adherence to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and in subsection 102(a), respectively, and in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to my country.

My Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and intends to conclude an agreement with your Government pursuant to that section. It is understood that your Government would be required by the Act to terminate assistance if at any time it should find that my Government was not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act as your Government considered applicable. My Government is complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to it under the Act pursuant to your letter, is prepared to comply with all the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act and is also engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose.

Pending the determination of the terms of the future agreement between our two Governments under subsection 115(b) of the Act, my Government agrees to make deposits, in guilders, upon notification by your Government, in amounts commensurate with the dollar amount of assistance furnished hereunder which is designated by your Government as a grant. These deposits will be available for the administrative expenses incurred by your Government in my country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and will be held or used for such other purposes as may be agreed to between our two Governments. It is understood that the provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b) will apply with respect to all of such assistance for my Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by your letter.

In the event that your Government should decide to offer some part of the assistance to be furnished to my Government pursuant to your letter as a loan, or on other terms of payment, it is understood that the terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the Act.

I am authorized to state that my Government

ganization for this purpose, and also whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115(b). The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a).

My Government would be required by the Act to terminate assistance authorized by subsection 115(e) to your country if at any time it should find that your Government was not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act as my Government might consider applicable. I should appreciate being notified whether your Government is complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to it under the Act pursuant to this note, is prepared to comply with the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b).

During the period covered by this note, assistance may be furnished to your Government under the Act on terms of payment or by grant. It is anticipated that during the period covered by this note, a proportion of the assistance furnished to your country will be by grant. Consequently, my Government would like to have the agreement of your Government that The Netherlands will make deposits, in guilders upon notification by my Government, in amounts commensurate with the dollar amount of assistance furnished hereunder designated as a grant, such deposit to be available for the administrative expenses incurred by my Government in your country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and to be held or used for such other purposes as may be agreed to between our two Governments. My Government will shortly advise you of the procedures for determining the dollar amount of assistance. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b) will apply with respect to all of such assistance for your Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by this note.

It is anticipated that my Government may decide to offer some part of the assistance to be furnished to your Government pursuant to this note as a loan or on other terms of payment. In that event, the terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the Act.

I trust that your Government will concur in these arrangements.

I am sure your Government understands that the proposals set forth in this note cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of my Government to make assistance available to your country.

Accept [etc.]

ROBERT A. LOVETT
Acting Secretary of State

understands that the proposals contained in your letter do not constitute an obligation on the part of your Government to make assistance available to my country.

Accept [etc.]

E. N. VAN KLEFFENS

The Undersecretary of State to the Irish Minister

April 28, 1948

SIR: I have the honor to refer to the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which became law on April 3, 1948.

I should like to call your attention to the general provisions of section 115 of the Act regarding the conclusion of an agreement between each of the participating countries and the United States.

In accordance with your Government's stated desire to cooperate with the United States and with the other participating countries in accomplishing the objectives of a joint recovery program, I should appreciate being notified that your Government adheres to the purposes and policies which the Act as a whole is designed to carry out. The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b), and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a). I should also like to know whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with section 115 of the Act, and whether your Government is now acting consistently with the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b), and intends to continue acting consistently with these provisions. Among them is one regarding continuous efforts of the participating countries to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose.

I hope that in the near future representatives of our two countries may begin negotiations for an early conclusion of the agreement contemplated in the Act.

Accept [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

ROBERT A. LOVETT

The Irish Minister to the Secretary of State

IRISH LEGATION
Washington, D. C.
April 28, 1948

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this date, concerning the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 which became law on April 3, 1948.

As you know, my Government desires to cooperate with the United States, and with the other

countries participating in a joint recovery program, to effectuate the purposes of this program. I am, accordingly, authorized to inform you that my Government adheres to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole subsection 102(b) and in subsection 102(a) respectively, and which the Act as a whole is designed to carry out.

My Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act and intends to conclude an agreement with your Government pursuant to that subsection. In fact, my country is already acting consistently with the provisions of subsection 115(b) that are applicable to it, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose.

I join in the hope that negotiations for the conclusion of the agreement between our two countries may be started soon.

Accept [etc.]

SEAN NUNAN

**The Acting Secretary of State
to the Italian Ambassador**

April 21, 1948

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (Title I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) which became law on April 3, 1948.

You will note the general requirement of the Act that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a country of Europe which participates in a joint recovery program based on self-help and mutual cooperation, an agreement must have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115(b) of the Act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until July 3, 1948, the Government of the United States proposes, under the terms of subsection 115(c), to arrange for the performance, with respect to your country, of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115(c) of the Act being fulfilled.

Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether your Government adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose, and also whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115(b). The purposes of the Act are stated in the

whole of subsection 102(b) and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a).

Since subsection 115(c) of the Act predicates the furnishing of assistance upon continuous compliance with such provisions of subsection 115(b) as my Government may consider applicable, I should appreciate your advising me whether your Government is already taking the national measures necessary to carry out the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b) and will continue to take such measures as long as assistance is made available to it pursuant to this note.

During the period covered by this note, assistance may be furnished to your Government under the Act on terms of payment or by grant. It is contemplated that, during the period covered by this note, such assistance will be furnished to your Government for the most part by grant. I suggest that pending the determination of the terms of the future agreement between our two Governments under subsection 115(b) of the Act, deposits in the currency of your country in respect of any assistance furnished hereunder which is designated by my Government as a grant be made in accordance with the agreement between our two Governments concluded in Rome on January 3, 1948, and relating to economic aid. I further suggest that these deposits may be used for administrative expenses of the Government of the United States in the currency of your country, incident to my Government's operations within your country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon by our two Governments. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b) will apply with respect to all of such assistance for your Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by this note.

It is anticipated that my Government may offer some part of the assistance to be furnished pursuant to this note as a loan, or on other terms of payment, and in that event the terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the Act.

The Act authorizes my Government to appoint a special mission for economic cooperation to your country. I trust that you will extend the same degree of cooperation to this mission that you have extended to the representatives of my Government concerned with the operations under the aforementioned agreement concluded between our two Governments on January 3, 1948.

I am sure your Government understands that the proposals set forth in this note cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of my Government to make assistance available to your country.

Accept [etc.]

ROBERT A. LOVETT

The Italian Ambassador to the Acting Secretary of State

ITALIAN EMBASSY

Washington, D. C.

April 21, 1948

EXCELLENCY: I have received your note of April 21st, 1948 concerning the Economic Cooperation Act which became law on April 3rd, 1948.

My Government has authorized me to inform you of its adherence to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and in subsection 102(a), respectively, and in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to my country.

My Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and intends to conclude an agreement with the Government of the United States of America, pursuant to that section.

Since subsection 115(e) of the Act predicates the furnishing of assistance upon continuous compliance with such provisions of subsection 115(b), as the Government of the United States of America may consider applicable, I wish to inform you that the Italian Government is already taking the national measures necessary to carry out the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b) and will continue to take such measures as long as assistance is made available to it pursuant to this note.

My Government is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program and to that end has signed on April 16, 1948 an agreement related to economic European cooperation which contains multilateral undertakings and provides for a permanent organization of the participating Governments.

My Government understands that, during the period covered by your note, assistance may be furnished to it for the most part by grant. Pending the determination of terms of the future agreement between our two Governments, under section 115(b) of the Act, deposits in the currency of my country in respect of any assistance which is designated by your Government as a grant will be made in accordance with the bilateral agreement between our two Governments signed in Rome on January 3rd, 1948 related to economic aid. These deposits may be used for administrative expenses of your Government in the currency of my country, incident to your Government's operations within my country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and for such other purposes as may be agreed to by our Governments. It is understood that the provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments, concerning any deposits to be

made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b), will apply with respect to all of such assistance for my Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by your note.

In the event that your Government should decide to offer some part of the assistance to be furnished to my Government pursuant to your note as a loan, or on other terms of payments, it is understood that the terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the Act.

My Government notes with satisfaction that your Government will appoint a special mission for economic cooperation to my country. My Government will extend the same degree of cooperation to this mission that it has extended to the representatives of your Government concerned with the operations under the bilateral agreement signed in Rome between our two Governments on January 3rd, 1948, relating to economic aid.

I am authorized to state that my Government understands that the proposals contained in your note do not constitute an obligation on the part of your Government to make assistance available to my country.

I wish to express [etc.]

ALBERTO TARCHIANI
Ambassador of Italy

**The Undersecretary of State to the
British Ambassador**

April 30, 1948

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (Title I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) which became law on April 3, 1948.

You will note the general requirement of the Act that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a country of Europe which participates in a joint recovery program based on self-help and mutual cooperation, an agreement must have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115(b) of the Act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until July 3, 1948, the Government of the United States proposes, under the terms of subsection 115(c), to arrange for the performance, with respect to the United Kingdom, of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115(c) of the Act being fulfilled.

Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether the British Government adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the Act authorized assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a

joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose, and also whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115(b). The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a).

Since subsection 115 (c) of the Act predicates the furnishing of assistance upon continuous compliance with such provisions of subsection 115(b) as my Government may consider applicable I should appreciate your advising me whether the British Government is already taking the national measures necessary to carry out the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b) and will continue to take such measures as long as assistance is made available to it pursuant to this note.

During the period covered by this note, assistance may be furnished to the United Kingdom under the Act on terms of payment or by grant. It is anticipated that during the period covered by this note, a proportion of the assistance furnished to the United Kingdom will be by grant. Consequently, my Government would like to have the agreement of the British Government that the United Kingdom will make deposits, in pounds sterling upon notification by my Government, in amounts commensurate with the dollar amount of assistance furnished hereunder designated as a grant, such deposit to be available for the administrative expenses incurred by my Government in your country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and to be held or used for such other purposes as may be agreed to between our two Governments. My Government will shortly advise you of the procedures for determining the dollar amount of assistance. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b) will apply with respect to all of such assistance for the United Kingdom which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by this note.

It is anticipated that my Government may decide to offer some part of the assistance to be furnished to the United Kingdom pursuant to this note as a loan or on other terms of payment. In that event, the terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the Act.

I am sure your Government understands that the proposals set forth in this note cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of the United States to make assistance available to your country.

Accept [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

ROBERT A. LOVETT

The British Ambassador to the Secretary of State

BRITISH EMBASSY
 Washington, D. C.
 30th April, 1948

SIR, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of today's date regarding the passage into law of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948.

2. I am directed by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to inform you that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have taken note of the provisions of the Act and of the various points made in your note under reply. I am authorized to declare on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that they adhere to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of sub-section 102(b) and in sub-section 102(a) respectively, and in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to the United Kingdom. His Majesty's Government also intend to conclude an agreement with the United States Government pursuant to sub-section 115(b) of the Act.

3. Since sub-section 115(c) of the Act predicates the furnishing of assistance upon continuous compliance with such provisions of sub-section 115(b) as the United States Government may consider applicable, His Majesty's Government wish me to inform you that they are already taking the national measures necessary to carry out the applicable provisions of sub-section 115(b) of the Act, and will continue to do so as long as assistance is made available to them in accordance with your note.

4. His Majesty's Government are making continuous efforts to bring about, together with the other participating governments, a joint programme of European recovery, and to that end His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs signed on April 16th the Convention for European Economic Cooperation, which contains multilateral undertakings and establishes a continuing organization of the participating governments.

5. His Majesty's Government have noted the contents of paragraphs 5 and 6 of your note and agree to make deposits in pounds sterling, upon notification by the United States Government, in amounts commensurate with the dollar amount of assistance furnished under the terms of your note and designated by the United States Government as a grant. These deposits will be available for the administrative expenses incurred by the United States Government in the United Kingdom under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and will be held or used for such other purposes as may be agreed to between the two Governments.

It is understood that the provisions of the future agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph 6 of sub-section 115(b) will apply with respect to all assistance for His Majesty's Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by your note.

6. Finally, I am directed to state that His Majesty's Government understand that the proposals set out in your note do not constitute an obligation on the part of the United States Government to make assistance available to the United Kingdom.

I have the honour [etc.]

INVERCHAPPEL

**The Acting Secretary of State
 to the Austrian Minister**

April 15, 1948

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (Title I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) became law on April 3, 1948.

You will note the general requirement of the Act that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a country of Europe which participates in a joint recovery program based on self-help and mutual cooperation, an agreement must have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115(b) of the Act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until July 3, 1948, the Government of the United States proposes, under the terms of subsection 115(c), to arrange for the performance, with respect to your country, of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115(c) of the Act being fulfilled.

Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether your Government adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose, and also whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115(b). The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a).

My Government would be required by the Act to terminate assistance authorized by subsection 115(c) to your country if at any time it should find that your Government was not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(b) of the

Act as my Government might consider applicable. I should appreciate being notified whether your Government is complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to it under the Act pursuant to this note, is prepared to comply with the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b).

It is contemplated that, during the period covered by this note, such assistance will be furnished to your Government by grant. I suggest that pending the determination of the terms of the future agreement between our two Governments under subsection 115(b) of the Act, deposits in the currency of your country in respect of any assistance furnished hereunder which is designated by my Government as a grant to be made in accordance with the agreement between our two Governments under the Foreign Aid Act of 1947. I further suggest that these deposits may be used for administrative expenses of the Government of the United States in the currency of your country, incident to my Government's operations within your country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon by our two governments. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b) will apply with respect to all of such assistance for your Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by this note.

I trust that your Government will concur in these arrangements.

The Act authorizes my Government to appoint a special mission for economic cooperation to your country. I trust that you will extend the same degree of cooperation to this mission that you have extended to the representatives of my Government concerned with the operations under the agreement concluded between our two Governments pursuant to the Foreign Aid Act of 1947.

I am sure your Government understands that the proposals set forth in this note cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of my Government to make assistance available to your country.

Accept [etc.]

ROBERT A. LOVETT
Acting Secretary of State

**The Austrian Minister to the
Acting Secretary of State**

April 15, 1948

SIR: I have received your letter concerning the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948.

My Government has authorized me to inform you of its adherence to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and in

subsection 102(a), respectively and in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to my Country.

My Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and intends to conclude an agreement with your Government pursuant to that section. It is understood that your Government would be required by the Act to terminate assistance if at any time it should find that my Government was not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act as your Government considered applicable. My Government is complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to it under the Act pursuant to your letter, is prepared to comply with all the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act and is also engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose.

My Government understands that, during the period covered by your letter, assistance may be furnished to my Government by grant. Pending the determination of terms of the future agreement between our two Governments under section 115(b) of the Act, deposits in the currency of my country in respect of any assistance which is designated by your Government as a grant will be made in accordance with the agreement between our two Governments under the Foreign Aid Act of 1947. These deposits may be used for administrative expenses of your Government in the currency of my country, incident to your Government's operations within my country under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and for such other purposes as may be agreed to by our Governments. It is understood that the provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115(b) will apply with respect to all of such assistance for my Governments which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by your letter.

My Government notes with satisfaction that your Government will appoint a special mission for economic cooperation to my country. My Government will extend the same degree of cooperation to this mission that it has extended to the representatives of your Government concerned with the operations under the agreement concluded between our two Governments pursuant to the Foreign Aid Act of 1947.

I am authorized to state that my Government understands that the proposals contained in your letter do not constitute an obligation on the part of your Government to make assistance available to my country.

Accept [etc.]

DR. L. KLEINWAECHTER
Minister of Austria

Department of State Bulletin

Proposals Regarding China Aid Act of 1948

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN SECRETARY MARSHALL AND AMBASSADOR KOO

[Released to the press May 3]

The text of Secretary Marshall's note:

April 30, 1948

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to communicate the following proposals regarding the China Aid Act of 1948 (Title IV of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948), which became law on April 3, 1948.

Pending the conclusion of an agreement between China and the United States under Section 405 of the Act and until July 3, 1948, the Government of the United States proposes to arrange for the performance of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of those purposes of the Act which apply to the funds authorized under Section 404(a) thereof. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon certain requirements, as hereinafter set forth, being fulfilled.

I should appreciate your notifying me whether your Government adheres to the purposes and policies set forth in Section 402 of the Act in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided, and also whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with Section 405.

Pending the conclusion of such an agreement, my Government proposes that the extension of aid to China hereunder as authorized by Section 404(a) of the Act be provisionally governed by the Agreement between our two Governments dated October 27, 1947, subject to such modifications, particularly with respect to the types of assistance and the terms and methods of procurement and distribution, as may hereafter be agreed to by our two Governments, having regard to the different character of the assistance under said Act from the relief aid extended under the Agreement of October 27, 1947, and subject, as preliminary arrangements, to the understandings set forth below.

During the period covered by this letter, it is anticipated that assistance other than that relating to reconstruction projects will be furnished to your Government under the Act with funds authorized under Section 404(a) thereof by grant. Terms of payment, if any, for reconstruction assistance will be reserved for later determination.

I suggest that pending the determination of the

terms of the future agreement between our two Governments under Section 405 of the Act, deposits in the currency of your country in respect of any assistance furnished hereunder which is designated by my Government as a grant be made in accordance with the agreement between our two Governments dated October 27, 1947. I further suggest that these deposits may be used for administrative expenses of the Government of the United States in the currency of your country, incident to my Government's operations within your country under the China Aid Act of 1948, and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon by our two Governments. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits in Chinese currency to be made will apply with respect to all of such assistance for your Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by this letter.

I trust that your Government will concur in the understandings expressed above.

The Act authorizes my Government to appoint a special mission for economic cooperation to your country. I should appreciate receiving the assurances of your Government that the fullest cooperation will be extended to the representatives of my Government concerned with operations in implementation of the Act.

I am sure your Government understands that the proposals set forth in this letter cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of my Government to make assistance available to your country.

Accept [etc.]

GEORGE C. MARSHALL

The text of Ambassador Koo's note:

April 30, 1948

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of April 30, 1948, in which you are good enough to inform me that in view of the China Aid Act of 1948 (Title IV of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) which became law on April 3, 1948, the Government of the United States, pending the conclusion of an agreement between China and the United States under Section 405 of the Act and until July 3, 1948, proposes to arrange for the performance of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in

furtherance of those purposes of the Act which apply to the funds authorized under Section 404 (a) thereof, and that this action of the Government of the United States is contingent upon certain requirements, as therein set forth, being fulfilled.

In reply my Government has authorized me to inform you of its adherence to the purposes and policies set forth in Section 402 of the China Aid Act of 1948 in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to China. My Government has also authorized me to inform you of its intention to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with Section 405 of the Act.

Pending the conclusion of such an agreement, it is understood by my Government that the extension, pursuant to your note, of aid to China hereunder as authorized by Section 404(a) of the Act will be provisionally governed by the Agreement between our two Governments dated October 27, 1947, subject to such modifications, particularly with respect to the types of assistance and the terms and methods of procurement and distribution, as may hereafter be agreed to by our two Governments, having regard to the different character of the assistance under said Act from the relief aid extended under the Agreement of October 27, 1947, and subject, as preliminary arrangements, to the understandings set forth below.

During the period covered by your note, it is anticipated that assistance other than that relating to the reconstruction projects will be furnished to my Government under the Act with funds authorized under Section 404(a) thereof by grant. Terms of payment, if any, for recon-

struction assistance will be reserved for later determination.

Pending the determination of the terms of the future agreement between our two Governments under Section 405 of the Act, deposits in the currency of my country in respect of any assistance furnished pursuant to your note which is designated by your Government as a grant will be made in accordance with the agreement between our two Governments dated October 27, 1947. These deposits may be used for administrative expenses of the Government of the United States in the currency of my country under the China Aid Act of 1948 and for such other purposes as may be agreed upon by our two Governments. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits in Chinese currency to be made will apply with respect to all of such assistance for my Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by your note.

My Government concurs in the understanding expressed above.

My Government notes with satisfaction that your Government will appoint a special mission for economic cooperation to my country. I am authorized by my Government to assure you that the fullest cooperation will be extended to the representatives of your Government concerned with operations in implementation of the Act.

I am authorized to state that my Government understands that the proposals set forth in your note cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of your Government to make assistance available to my country.

Accept [etc.]

V. K. WELLINGTON KOO

First Report to Congress on the U.S. Foreign Aid Program

[Released to the press May 5]

The first report on the United States Foreign Aid Program under Public Law 389, transmitted by the President to the Congress on May 5, 1948, covers the period immediately before and during the brief period from the approval of the Foreign Aid Act on December 17, 1947, through December 31, 1947.

The report describes the administrative steps taken by the Department of State and by its overseas missions; the findings of the Cabinet Committee on World Food Programs; the negotiation of agreements with Austria, France, and Italy; the development of initial supply programs, procurement policies, and procedures for reimbursing the foreign governments for purchases made by them under the supply programs; and the establishment of local currency funds.

In his letter of transmittal to the Congress, President Truman noted:

"By its enactment of the Foreign Aid Act of 1947, the Congress provided the 'Interim Aid' to bridge the gap between the end of the United States Foreign Relief Program, authorized under Public Law 84, and the beginning of a general long-range recovery program.

"A break in the flow of supplies during this period could have irreparably jeopardized what the long-range recovery program is expected to accomplish. The effectiveness of Interim Aid has made it possible for the European Recovery Program to build on sure foundations which nowhere are undermined by the inevitable ravages of intolerable hunger and cold. No better proof is needed of the wisdom of providing this interim aid."

This report is publication 3119 of the Department of State. Copies may be obtained for 15 cents each from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

U.S. DELEGATION TO INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE AERONAUTICAL RADIO CONFERENCE

[Released to the press May 3]

The Department of State announced on May 3 the composition of the United States Delegation to the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference, which is scheduled to open at Geneva on May 15, 1948, and is expected to continue for approximately two months. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Arthur L. Lebel, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Edwin L. White, Chief, Aviation Division, Federal Communications Commission

Advisers

William J. Carnahan, Foreign Air Transport Division, Civil Aeronautics Board

James D. Flashman, Lieutenant Colonel, Department of the Air Force

Thomas N. Gautier, Physicist, Central Radio Propagation Laboratory, National Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce

Daniel L. Givens, Chief, Communication-Operations Division, Honolulu, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

Norman R. Hagen, United States Weather Bureau, American Embassy, London

Clinton W. James, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S.A., Chief Communications Liaison Branch, Office of the Chief Signal Officer, Department of the Army

William B. Krause, Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N., Aeronautical Communications Section, Office of the Chief of Naval Communications, Department of the Navy

Donald Mitchell, Chief, Technical Section, Aviation Division, Federal Communications Commission

Edmund V. Shores, Chief, Mobile Aeronautics Communications Center, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

Florence A. Trail, Divisional Assistant, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Secretary of Delegation

Ben F. Dixon, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Industry Advisers

Theodore L. Bartlett, Coordinator of Aviation Activities, Radio Corporation of America, New York City

Walter E. Weaver, Assistant to Director, Frequency Division, Aeronautical Radio, Inc., Washington

The International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference has been called by the Administrative Council of the International Telecommunication Union. Invitations to attend the forthcoming conference have been sent to all govern-

ments signatories of the International Telecommunication Convention of Atlantic City, 1947.

The purpose of the Aeronautical Radio Conference is to develop a world-wide plan of specific assignment of the individual frequencies included in the bands allocated to the Aeronautical Mobile Service at Atlantic City.

A Preparatory Committee, on which the United States is represented, has been meeting at Geneva since April 24 to prepare the agenda for the Aeronautical Radio Conference and to consider the technical principles on which the frequency plan is to be based.

U.S. DELEGATION TO SIXTH CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS

[Released to the press May 6]

The Department of State announced on May 6 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Sixth International Congress of the International College of Surgeons scheduled to be held at Rome, May 18-23, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Albert A. Berg, M.D., Director of Surgery, Beth Moses Hospital, Brooklyn

Delegates

O. Anderson Engh, M.D., Chief Orthopedic Consultant to U. S. Public Health Service Dispensary, Washington
James H. Forsee, Colonel (M.C.), U.S.A., Chief of the Surgical Service, Fitzsimmons General Hospital, Denver

Custis Lee Hall, M.D., Consultant in Orthopedic Surgery, U.S. Veterans Hospital, Washington

Robert F. Schultz, Commander (M.C.), U.S.N., Officer in Charge, Audio-Visual Training Section, Professional Division, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Department of the Navy

Max Thorek, M.D., Professor of Surgery, Cook County Graduate School of Medicine, Chicago

The program of the Congress will consist mainly of the presentation of reports and films covering scientific subjects in the various surgical fields and the visiting of hospitals, clinics, museums, and medical libraries.

The International College of Surgeons was established in 1935 for the purpose of fostering the international advancement of surgery. To carry out its aim, the organization has promoted within various countries the formation of boards in surgical specialties. The American Chapter of the College has approximately 2,500 members. The fifth Congress was held at Lima, Peru, in 1946.

Fifth Meeting of the Rubber Study Group

The Fifth Meeting of the Rubber Study Group, held in Washington under the chairmanship of Donald D. Kennedy, Chief, Division of International Resources, Department of State, ended on April 29, 1948.

The principal objects of the meeting were:

1. To examine the statistical position regarding production, consumption, and stocks of rubber throughout the world;

2. To review the world rubber situation in the light of the changes in that position since the Fourth Study Group Meeting, held at Paris in July 1947;

3. To consider measures designed to expand world consumption.

1. The Group examined the statistical position and made estimates for natural-rubber production and the total consumption of natural and synthetic rubber during the year 1948 and provisionally for 1949. During 1948 it was estimated that world production of natural rubber would be in the neighborhood of 1,390,000 tons while total consumption of natural and synthetic rubber might be in the region of 1,745,000 tons, of which about 1,310,000 tons would be natural rubber. In regard to 1949 it was estimated that natural-rubber production would be of the order of 1,550,000 tons, while total consumption of natural and synthetic might again be 1,745,000 tons.

Tables giving the estimates made by the Group are attached. The Group felt the need for projecting its estimates beyond the current year but the figures for 1949 should be treated with the greatest caution.

2. There was an exchange of views on the subject of the price of natural rubber. The discussion covered the field of commodity agreements, government control of the sale and purchase of natural rubber, and special arrangements for the purchase of natural rubber by governments from governments for stock-piling at fixed prices.

The Group reached the conclusion that the time had not arrived for any consideration or examination of a commodity agreement.

3. The Group continued its policy of examining all means for encouraging the expansion of the world consumption of rubber.

It considers that every effort consistent with national-security requirements should be made to insure that exchange and trading in rubber should be freed.

It again expressed the hope that maximum assistance would be given to the countries desiring to make an extensive use of rubber but which, on account of the war, cannot afford to pay in foreign currencies for the rubber imports they require.

TABLE I
Estimated Natural Rubber Production

[In thousands of long tons]

Territory	1948	1949
Malaya	675	700
Indonesia	370	460
Ceylon	90	90
Indochina	45	80
British Borneo	62	65
Burma	11	12
Liberia	25	27
Other countries	113	113
Total	1, 391	1, 547

TABLE II
Estimated Natural and Synthetic Rubber Consumption

[In thousands of long tons]

Territory	1948			1949
	Natural	Synthetic	Total	Total
U.S.A	576	392	968	917
U.K.	205	5	210	225
France	93	9	102	117
Netherlands	12	.	12	14
Belgium	(1)	(1)	17	17
Czechoslovakia	(1)	(1)	16	16
Italy	(1)	(1)	28	30
Denmark	(1)	(1)	4	4
Hungary	(1)	(1)	3	3
Australia	(1)	(1)	24	25
Canada	33	20	53	49
Other countries	(1)	(1)	308	330
Total	1, 745	1, 747

¹ Synthetic consumption not given separately; total synthetic consumption for all countries so indicated estimated at around 7,000 tons.

In regard to natural-rubber latex, the Group estimated that the potential production for 1948, provided the increasing output is justified by demand, might be around 70,000 tons (dry-rubber content).

The following estimates for 1948 consumption of natural-rubber latex were submitted:

	Tons
U.S.A.	28, 400
U.K.	10 to 12, 000
France	5, 000
Other countries	10 to 12, 500
Total	55 to 60, 000

Renewal of the Trade Agreements Act

STATEMENT BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL¹

Secretary of State

I appreciate this opportunity to give your Committee the reasons for my conviction that renewal of the trade-agreements authority for a further period of three years is highly important in the present state of world affairs. Mr. Clayton will give you the views of the Department in more detail. I will confine myself to a statement of the basic reasons why I regard the immediate renewal of this act as essential.

There are two economic and political systems in the world today. They are as wide apart as the poles. The system in which we and many other nations believe is predicated upon the right of individuals and nations to choose and pursue their own way of life without constraint from any government or group. Under this system the individual is of supreme importance, and the government should have only the powers which the people freely give it.

That system is being challenged by another system to the effect that the state should be supreme, and, on the contrary, that our way of life leads only to disintegration and depression, disillusion and despair. The proponents of the other system proclaim to the world that our system will not work. We must make clear to the world that it does work.

Because of our resources and our capabilities, and through force of circumstances, the United States has become the leader of the non-Communist world, the rallying point for the free nations of the earth. The Congress has recognized this in the enactment of the European Recovery Program, designed to assist the participating nations in the restoration of their economies so that they will be able to preserve their integrity and independence. The ERP is a mobilization for peace, meeting the challenge of an alien system by strengthening the hands of those nations that believe as we do.

The statute establishing the ERP provides that bilateral agreements shall be made with the participating nations. The statute states as one of the prime conditions that the participating nations must agree to cooperate in facilitating and stimulating the interchange of goods among themselves and between themselves and other nations, and must cooperate to reduce barriers to trade among themselves and between themselves and other nations. In effect, we require these 16 nations to enter into reciprocal trade agreements among them-

selves and between themselves and other nations. This is a wise provision because the recovery of Europe depends upon a great increase in the production of goods, and markets for these goods wait upon a lowering of barriers to the exchange of such goods.

The ERP was a vital step; but only a first step. We must now follow through with measures to make ourselves and the other free nations stronger. We must work closer together in commerce. No economic bond is closer than the friendly ties of mutually satisfactory trade. No force is more decisive than the introduction or maintenance of unnecessary barriers to such trade.

So the first fundamental reason for my conviction that renewal of the Trade Agreements Act is particularly important at this time is because that act is a well-tried, useful, and effective instrument by which we can further develop economic ties with other nations which believe as we do and want the kind of world that we want.

There is another reason for this conviction. We in the United States, perhaps more than in any other part of the world, believe in private enterprise. We are convinced that trade within our country and between our country and other nations can best be so conducted. And we further believe in equality of opportunity. As stated in the Atlantic Charter, every country should have equal access to the trade and raw materials of the world. There are, we must admit, some exceptions to this principle; we do not always follow it ourselves. But we sincerely believe it to be an objective which we should seek to achieve. I was referring to Cuba and the Philippines.

Since World War II economic conditions in most of the rest of the world have been chaotic in the extreme. Shortages have been the rule for most countries since the war as they were during the war. And during the war techniques for the control and direction of trade by governments have been brought to a high degree of perfection. Principally because of shortages of goods the international trade of a large part of the world has since the war been governed by bilateral agreements between governments. Imports and exports have been directed and controlled by governments as to

¹ Made before the Subcommittee on Tariffs and Reciprocal Trade of the House Ways and Means Committee on May 6.

source, destination, and quantity. In such a world the private trader is at a serious disadvantage, and in the long run would be forced out of business. Moreover, international trade cannot be controlled and directed by government in isolation from domestic trade. If international trade is to be controlled by government, the tentacles of such control must inevitably reach down into the operation of domestic trade. We do not want this to happen to the trade of the United States, either domestic or foreign.

And so the other great task confronting us in the economic field today is to build the kind of international trading conditions in which private trade can survive and grow. It is to this end that the United States has taken the lead since World War II in securing international agreement as to the rules which should govern international trade and the reduction of the barriers imposed by governments against that trade. It is for that reason that we have sought and obtained agreement that equality of opportunity rather than discrimination should be the rule, that quotas would not be used for protective purposes, and that tariffs would be maintained at moderate levels. If the international trade of the world cannot be

free from unnecessary obstacles over a wide area, and if many countries do not participate in the pursuit of this objective, governments will have no choice but to continue their control over and direction of their international trade, to the detriment and perhaps the extinction of the private trader.

We have taken leadership in the world in every effort to keep the way open for private enterprise, and if we surrender that leadership there does not appear to be any other country at present capable of assuming the leadership in the matter. The Trade Agreements Act which has been in force now for 14 years is the cornerstone and keystone of our foreign economic policy.

Any serious weakening of the Trade Agreements Act at this critical period in world affairs would almost certainly be regarded by other countries not only as a surrender of our leadership in the international economic field, but as a repudiation of much that has been accomplished under our leadership in that field.

The preservation of our leadership in this field depends upon the continuity and consistency of that policy.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade With China Proclaimed

The President issued on May 4 a proclamation putting into effect, with respect to China, as of May 22, 1948, the provisions of the general agreement on tariffs and trade.¹ The agreement was entered into last October 30 at Geneva with 22 other countries. The President's action followed receipt of information that the Government of China had signed the protocol of provisional application of the general agreement on April 21, 1948; pursuant to provision of the protocol, China will give effect to the agreement on the expiration of 30 days from date of signature.

China is the eleventh of the Geneva countries and the first country in the Far East to give effect to this agreement. The other countries which have done so, in addition to the United States, are the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Australia, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia.

Under the general agreement, China grants concessions on products of interest to the United States representing approximately 52 million dollars in terms of 1939 trade. Existing import duties were reduced on such products as office machines, light trucks and chassis, canned milk, lubricating oil and grease, and tires and tubes; on an extensive list of other items, on which existing duties are

recognized for the most part to be generally low, rates were bound. These include such items of interest to the United States as cotton, tobacco, wheat, wheat flour, certain dried fruits, radios, motor vehicles, except light trucks and chassis, agricultural machinery, pumps, refrigerators, machine tools, certain foodstuffs, and specified dyes.

China and the other contracting parties to the agreement are committed to certain limitations with respect to the application of quotas, import restrictions, exchange control, valuation for custom purposes, and the conduct of state trading. These provisions are important since they commit China as well as the other parties to the agreement to accord fair treatment to the trade of the United States.

The concessions on products of interest to China, made by the United States in the general agreement, apply to commodities which represented approximately 62.3 million dollars in terms of 1939 trade. On products accounting for 37.8 million dollars of this trade, the United States concessions consist of bindings on the existing United States free list. (The total value of trade in 1939 on which the United States granted concessions is not directly comparable with the value of trade on which the United States obtained concessions. United States imports from Hong Kong and

¹ Proclamation 2769 (13 *Fed. Reg.* 467).

Kwangtung in 1939 have been included in the value of trade on which the United States granted concessions, since it is believed that a considerable volume of United States imports from China passed in transit through these territories in that year. Strictly comparable figures, which would include imports from the United States into Kwangtung and imports from the United States entering China via Hong Kong, were not available because of differences in statistical classifications.) Among the items of principal interest to China on which United States tariff reductions are granted in the agreement are: antimony, tungsten, dried and frozen eggs, walnuts, hat braids, certain wearing apparel containing embroidery and lace, embroidered handkerchiefs, and certain oils. Continued duty-free entry is assured on such items as tung oil, raw silk, and certain furs and fur skins. The present duty on bristles is bound against increase.

These concessions were granted only after public hearings and the most careful and considered deliberation by various Government agencies acting in consultation to assure that domestic producers would not suffer serious injury as a result of the concessions. If, however, as a result of unforeseen circumstances, any of these concessions should result in such increased imports from China as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers in this country, the United States is free to withdraw or modify the concessions to the extent necessary to prevent or remedy the injury. This provision thus safeguards the interests of domestic producers in this country.

German Assets in Spain To Be Expropriated

[Released to the press May 8]

Negotiations which have taken place between Delegations of the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and the United States of America on the one hand, and of the Government of Spain on the other, have now resulted in an accord relating to German assets in Spain which are to be expropriated as an economic potential susceptible of constituting danger to peace, and as an expression by the Spanish Government of their adherence to the principles of resolution VI of the conference of Bretton Woods. The accord is expected to be signed in Madrid on May 10.

German property in Spain and in Spanish possessions will be expropriated in accordance with a decree law to be promulgated. Compensation will be paid to the expropriated owners in Germany. To facilitate a final adjustment of trading and other past debts and claims between Germany and Spain, a portion of the proceeds of the expropriations will be paid to the Spanish Government. The balance will accrue to the Allies.

The accord does not affect German official property in Spain already delivered to the Allies, and applies only to the property in Spain and Spanish

possessions of Germans not resident in Spain to whom the previous blocking law of May 1945 continues to apply.

Agreement has been reached concerning identifiable looted gold acquired by the Spanish Government from Germany. The Spanish Government has stated that although it was not aware of the looted origin either at the time of acquisition or subsequently, it will make immediate restitution of all looted gold now identified as being in the possession of the Spanish Government and of any additional such gold found and claimed prior to April 30, 1949. As a result of this agreement, the international movement of gold held by the Spanish Government is now free from the restrictions of the Gold Declaration of February 22, 1944.

Signing of Income Tax Convention With Denmark

[Released to the press May 6]

A convention between the United States and Denmark for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income was signed at Washington on May 6, 1948, by George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, and Henrik de Kauffmann, Danish Ambassador in Washington.

The provisions of the convention are similar in general to those contained in income-tax conventions now in force between the United States and the United Kingdom, Canada, France, and Sweden.

The convention provides that upon the exchange of instruments of ratification it shall be effective (a) in the case of United States tax, for the taxable years beginning on or after January 1 of the year in which the exchange takes place, and (b) in the case of Danish tax, for the taxable years beginning on or after April 1 of the year in which the exchange takes place.

Statement by Secretary Marshall

[Released to the press May 6]

Mr. Ambassador, in signing this treaty we have completed a long period of negotiations between our two countries for a treaty to eliminate double taxation upon income.

We believe that the system of exemptions and credits provided by this treaty—mutually beneficial to the citizens and enterprises of both countries—will go far to overcome, in the field of income taxation, one of the major obstacles to international trade and business.

It has been a pleasure for me to join with you in signing the treaty.

Educational Exchange Program Under Fulbright Act

AGREEMENT WITH GREECE SIGNED

[Released to the press May 3]

The Government of the United States and the Government of Greece signed in Athens on April 23 an agreement putting into operation the program of international educational exchanges authorized by the Fulbright act (Public Law 584, 79th Congress). This was the fourth agreement signed by the United States Government under the Fulbright act, the previous agreements having been signed with the Governments of China, Burma, and the Philippine Republic.¹

The agreement with the Greek Government establishes the United States Educational Foundation in Greece to administer certain funds resulting from the sale of surplus property to that country. The present agreement provides for an annual program of from \$100,000 to \$400,000 in Greek currency for certain educational purposes. These purposes include the financing of "studies, research, instruction, and other educational activities of or for citizens of the United States of America in schools and institutions of higher learning located in Greece, or of the citizens of Greece in United States schools and institutions of higher learning located outside the continental United States . . . including payment for transportation, tuition, maintenance and other expenses incident to scholastic activities; or furnishing transportation for citizens of Greece who desire to attend United States schools and institutions of higher learning in the continental United States . . .

whose attendance will not deprive citizens of the United States of America of an opportunity to attend such schools and institutions."

The Foundation in Greece will have a seven-man board of directors consisting of the principal officer in charge of the United States Diplomatic Mission in Greece as honorary chairman; the chief public-affairs officer of the United States Embassy in Greece, or such other Embassy officer as designated by the Chief of Mission, as chairman; two other members of the Embassy staff; two citizens of the United States of America resident in Greece, and two nationals of Greece, one of whom shall be prominent in the field of education.

Information about specific opportunities for American citizens to pursue studies, teach, or do research in Greece will be made public in the near future. Further inquiries about these opportunities and requests for application forms should be addressed to the following three agencies: Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y. (for graduate study); United States Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching in national elementary and secondary schools); and the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching at the college level, for post-doctoral research, and for teaching in American elementary and secondary schools in Greece).

GRANTS FOR CHINA UNDER FULBRIGHT ACT

The Department of State and the Board of Foreign Scholarships announce opportunities for grants to six American librarians to staff three library institutes to be established in cooperation with the American Library Association under the Fulbright program in China.

The institutes will be located at National Peiping University, Peiping; National College of Social Education, Soochow; and Lingnan University, Canton.

The staff of each of the institutes will consist of a senior librarian in charge and an assistant librarian. Applicants will be selected on the basis of successful experience in the field of library work and will serve for one year. A knowledge of the Chinese language is not required. Veterans will be given preference provided that their qualifications are approximately equal to those of other

candidates. Grants are payable in Chinese currency and will include salary and living allowance.

The United States Educational Foundation in China will have general supervision over the institutes. It is planned that each of the sponsoring universities will appoint an advisory committee of Chinese librarians to assist in arranging the programs and may assign Chinese librarians to assist in the work of the institutes.

The institutes will serve as a medium for the exchange of information between scholars, administrators, and librarians of China and those of the United States, especially in regard to the philosophy of librarianship and the functioning of libraries. The librarians selected will also give instruction in the technical processes of librarianship, especially in regard to selection and cataloging of western books, and will have an opportunity to visit regional libraries to observe and advise.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 11, p. 487.

United Nations Newsletter

The United Nations *Newsletter* is published monthly by the Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. It is intended primarily for organizational and student groups with an interest in international affairs. The first issue is dated May 1948.

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Statement by Austin—Continued from page 632

The organization is greatly hampered in its day-to-day work by the physical handicaps under which it is operating. It is unreasonable to ask the delegations and the Secretariat staff to continue indefinitely on the existing basis.

If work could be started on the new headquarters within the next few weeks, it might be possible for construction to reach a point where the fourth regular session of the General Assembly, to be convened in September 1949, might be held in the new quarters. (The third session, scheduled for September 21 next, will meet in Paris.) The entire group of structures could not be completed until a later date.

It is important for the prestige of the United Nations and the morale of the staff that the work go forward promptly. The members of the organization are eager to proceed.

It will be said that materials are scarce and construction costs high. Of course that is true. But can we be certain that structural materials will be more plentiful, or building costs lower, at any given future time? Already the United Nations has been forced to revise its plans once to remain within the 65-million-dollar ceiling.

Headquarters an Investment in Future

The headquarters project is an investment in hope, an investment in security and progress. It should be pressed forward without delay, as a token of the unshakeable will of this great nation always to lead in the quest for peace. By affirmative action on this bill, the Congress can do its part in the endeavor. It can reaffirm its faith in the United Nations.

May 16, 1948

Addresses on European Recovery Program

On April 19, George C. McGhee, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary and Coordinator for Aid to Greece and Turkey, made an address on aid to Greece before the East Texas Chamber of Commerce annual meeting held at Temple, Texas; for the text of this address, see Department of State press release 305 of April 19, 1948.

On April 26, Assistant Secretary Thorp made an address on the European Recovery Program before the American Supply and Machinery Manufacturers' Association, Inc., at Atlantic City, New Jersey; for the text of this address, see Department of State press release 321 of April 26, 1948.

PUBLICATIONS

Department of State

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

Narcotic Drugs. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1671. Pub. 3006. iii, 60 pp. 20¢.

Protocol, with Annex, Between the United States and Other Governments; amending the agreements, conventions, and protocols of January 23, 1912, February 11, 1925, February 19, 1925, July 13, 1931, November 27, 1931, and June 26, 1936; ratified by the President July 15, 1947—protocol entered into force with respect to the United States August 12, 1947.

Health and Sanitation Cooperative Program in Peru. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1673. Pub. 3017. 15 pp. 10¢.

Agreement Between the United States and Peru; extending the agreement of May 11, 1942, as amended, until June 30, 1948—effected by exchange of notes signed at Lima June 18 and 25, 1947; entered into force June 25, 1947, effective July 1, 1947.

Relief Assistance. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1674. Pub. 3026. iii, 43 pp. 15¢.

Agreement and Exchange of Notes Between the United States and China—signed at Nanking October 27, 1947; entered into force October 27, 1947.

Foreign Service List, January 1, 1948. Pub. 3076. iv, 201 pp. 50¢. Subscription price \$1.00 a year; \$1.25 foreign.

A quarterly list of officers in the American Foreign Service, their classification, assignments, etc.; also description of consular districts and tariff of Foreign Service fees.

First Report to Congress on the United States Foreign Aid Program. Economic Cooperation Series 6. Pub. 3119. iv, 32 pp. 15¢.

For period ended December 31, 1947; contains statements on the basis for interim aid and on the administration and operation of the program; also includes the pertinent legal documents.

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The Department of State

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS IN THE CONDUCT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

By Louis J. Halle, Jr.

I

Among the paradoxical but logical developments of our times is the growth of international cooperation that has accompanied the spread of international chaos over the past several generations. More countries cooperate with one another than in the past; moreover the fields of activity in which they now cooperate officially include, besides the traditional fields of politics and commerce, almost all the larger aspects of cultural, social, and economic affairs.

In the more secure and orderly circumstances of the last century, our Government did not feel it need be actively concerned if, say, the inhabitants of some land thousands of miles away were chronically hungry or handicapped by illiteracy. The dangers, advantages, and responsibilities of "one world" had not clearly emerged in the unfolding of history. Although our people had often responded generously to dramatic appeals from famine-stricken countries, distant lands were far more distant than today, and we did not conceive that we had official responsibility where we lacked jurisdiction.

With the necessity of adjusting ourselves to spreading disorder in a shrinking world, we have now come to identify the welfare of our own people—spiritual, cultural, economic, or political—with the welfare of peoples everywhere. The thinking of other nations has followed a similar course, so that this development is one which we share with all the other nations that represent our common civilization. If there is a difference, it is simply that our stake and our responsibility are greater by virtue of our resources and our position.

Within the Western Hemisphere we must take realistic account of the fact that any aggression from outside, political as well as military, though it occurred 5,000 miles away, would be directed at the United States as the ultimate target. The im-

mediate action would be merely an attempt to establish or extend what was, with respect to us, a beachhead. The point of view of any other country in the Hemisphere, if realistic, must likewise be that any weakness of the United States that invites aggression, political or military, also exposes the other country to aggression, whether as a preliminary target, an incidental target, or the target of a mopping-up operation. No country in the Hemisphere is likely to preserve its independence if the independence of the United States is lost; and the independence of the United States would certainly be jeopardized if any other American nation were subjugated by an overseas power. In a world where aggression is more than an academic possibility, active cooperation would be imposed on the nations of the Hemisphere by self-interest, if by nothing else, as a vital necessity. All the American nations have, in fact, agreed on the need for cooperation and are cooperating on a broad and well-established basis. Canada, while not a member of the Organization of American States, is certainly to be included among the cooperating good neighbors in the Hemisphere.

In this situation, the American republics are continuing and developing long-range cooperation on a broad front to strengthen their own social systems so that those systems may stand firm against the threat of political aggression taking the form of chaos fomented from abroad. They have recognized that the maintenance of freedom depends on the maintenance of the basic conditions that enable men to be free. Hungry peoples will not cherish their freedom because they cannot enjoy it. Peoples that are ridden by disease lack the strength to defend their freedom. Uneducated peoples do not know how to exercise freedom. Hunger, disease, and ignorance are the principal allies of totalitarianism in the modern world. They are the only popular allies it has. They give it what political

strength it commands. Taking this kind of cause-and-effect into account, the American republics are agreed on the long-term strategy of cooperatively dealing with the threat of totalitarianism by eliminating the allies on which it depends. The proceedings of Inter-American conferences may be cited for repeated expressions of their determination to work together for the reduction of ignorance, poverty, and disease.

II

The broadening range of intergovernmental cooperation in recent times has been accompanied by necessary innovations in the machinery of government. The basic machinery developed for the purpose has been that of international organization.¹ The cooperating nations being many and having common interests, it is natural that the machinery should be multilateral and based on common participation. Such organizations as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences are, however, in their infancy. Their resources are still inadequate to the total needs of their members. The Pan American Sanitary Organization, although much older, faces much the same dilemma. Under the circumstances, the active participation of the United States in these organizations has not obviated the necessity of developing, within its own Government, machinery for effective bilateral cooperation with other governments in these diverse fields. Through this machinery, cooperative activities are carried on that could not be carried on at all if it did not exist.

The two main agencies that have been developed within this Government for the purpose are the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. The history, the methods, and the substantial accomplishments of the former have already been reported in the BULLETIN.² The latter is the subject of this report, as it will be of three others to follow. The three to follow will set forth what, specifically, is being accomplished through the Institute in the fields of agriculture, public health, and education. This first one is concerned with the purpose already suggested and the means.

¹For a discussion on the development of the Inter-American System see *Sovereignty and Interdependence in the New World* (Department of State publication 3054).

²Reprinted from the BULLETIN as *The Program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation* (Department of State publication 2994) and also *Cooperation in the Americas* (Department of State publication 2971).

III

On the assumption that good neighbors cooperate for the protection and general welfare of their community, the policy of the good neighbor, proclaimed by the United States in 1933 and formally adopted by all the American republics in 1942, is a policy of more intimate and extensive cooperation than had been customary among nations. This concept of cooperation does not, of course, provide an exhaustive definition of the good-neighbor policy, but it is certainly an important part of what it means and of what it has meant in actual practice. The creation of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs as an agency of this Government, toward the end of the 1930's, was a step by the United States to give fuller expression to that policy in action. Like the creation of the Interdepartmental Committee at about the same time, it was a step that showed how far we had come since the days when, for the most part, we felt no active official concern over the normal efforts of then distant countries to solve the domestic problems of their own households. It was a step that showed us ready, not to interfere on our own initiative, but to meet the requests of other American republics that we give them such assistance as our circumstances made possible and on a basis of mutual cooperation. We were guided, I repeat, by the common necessity of defending freedom in an increasingly chaotic and shrinking world. Germany and Japan were, at the time, making their contribution to the pace of these developments.

The tedious part of this history need not be detailed here. In 1942 and 1943, the Office of the Coordinator created several Government corporations with congressional authorization. Two of these were the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and the Inter-American Educational Foundation. Upon the dissolution of the Coordinator's Office in 1946, these two were placed under the direct control of the Department of State. The following year they were merged under a federal charter and became a single corporation, the present Institute of Inter-American Affairs. Although this agency is administratively quite separate from the Department, it is governed by a board of directors appointed by the Secretary of State and serving at his pleasure.

"The purposes of this corporation", as set forth in the authorizing legislation, "are to further the general welfare of, and to strengthen friendship and understanding among, the peoples of the American Republics through collaboration with other governments and governmental agencies of the American Republics in planning, initiating, assisting, financing, administering, and executing technical programs and projects, especially in the fields of public health, sanitation, agriculture, and education." Although the Institute is not re-

quired by this authorization to limit itself to public health and sanitation, agriculture, and education, these are the three fields in which it is actually operating today.

Having been in existence six years, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs may now be seen in perspective as a new type of governmental operation that has shown itself sufficiently successful to merit the earnest attention of those who are concerned with the shapes of government. After a period of trial and relatively little error in the development of methods, it now typifies an increasingly well-established mode of conducting certain novel aspects of our foreign relations. Because its programs are quite literally cooperative, as between governments, it is misleading to refer to them, except in a loose sense, as programs conducted by the Institute. They are programs conducted jointly by the other governments and this Government, this Government participating and performing its limited share of the task through the agency of the Institute. It should be added that this share is not limited to the contribution of funds and advice; it includes equal responsibility with the cooperating government for the actual conduct of day-to-day operations. Again, "cooperation" is used here in a precise sense.

IV

I have emphasized the considerable element of novelty or innovation in these developments. The Institute's planners may pride themselves especially on the administrative device that has come to be known under the generic designation *servicio*. When this Government and another have agreed to embark on a program of cooperation, a new division or office or bureau (call it what you will) is established within the appropriate ministry of the local government, which may be the Ministry of Agriculture, of Health, or of Education. The Director of this *servicio* is generally an employee of the Institute, a national of the United States, who also is chief of the field party that the Institute sends to the scene. The chief and the other members of the field party are trained technicians—public-health doctors, sanitary engineers, et cetera, if it is a public-health program. The *servicio* itself is staffed in small part by these Institute technicians and in large part by technicians of the local government. Its actual activities are undertaken on the basis of agreement between the Director and the Minister who presides over the ministry of which it is a part.

The significant aspect of this device is that it virtually loses, or at least subordinates, its binational and bilateral character in the course of its day-to-day activities. It does not consist of two separate groups facing each other across a conference table and negotiating decisions. This is one organization, and if you walk into its

offices in the ministry building you will not find that it presents a fundamentally different appearance from any other division of the ministry or of our own Government departments in Washington.

The financial arrangements are no less intimate. The project contributions of each government go into a joint bank account in which it is impossible to distinguish the pesos of the one from the dollars of the other.

The arrangement just described is typical and is tending to become standard, but in each country there are variations, greater or lesser, adapted to local circumstances and the character or origin of particular programs. It is an arrangement that has now been adopted by our Government, in its essentials, for carrying on the present programs of assistance in Greece and Turkey.

At this point it is well to say what, in fact, these programs are. In governmental parlance, we often use the terms "program" and "project" interchangeably. With respect to the activities of the Institute, "projects" are the parts into which a "program" may be analyzed. A program is, in itself, a long-range developmental enterprise, covering a large geographical area and, to the extent possible, projected forward in its planning over a period of years. A typical agricultural program, for example, is designed permanently to improve the productivity of the agriculture of a country as a whole by introducing and establishing new devices and new methods. This may mean the importation of improved varieties of seed and cattle; it may mean the establishment of machinery pools for making agricultural machinery available to farmers on a rental basis where and when they need it; it may mean the introduction of pasteurization and bottling in the processing of milk; it may mean varied extension work over a wide area; it may mean improving the design of fishing craft; and it will probably mean most of these things together with many others not listed here. All the programs involve, moreover, the training of technicians, either locally or in the United States, with a view to establishing a national supply of technical experts sufficient for the national needs. These technicians are trained specifically to take part in the programs and carry them on. In a similar manner, the public health and sanitation and the educational programs are designed to establish permanent high standards, organization, and facilities.

Further reports in the BULLETIN will describe actual programs in the three fields of operation. It therefore suffices to add here that all these programs are more than long-range in conception; they are intended to be permanent. This is not to say that anybody has a notion of making United States participation in any of them permanent. On the contrary, the policy of this Government is

to withdraw from these programs as soon as they have become sufficiently developed and established so that what has been begun may be effectively continued with the resources available to the local government. To that end, the contribution of the United States, normally, is reduced from year to year while the contribution of the local government increases. The burden is shifted gradually. Although the United States makes the preponderant contribution initially to all these programs, some of the programs have developed to such an extent that the local government is now contributing funds at the rate of eight or ten or even twelve times our contribution.

To give these matters their due proportion, it is necessary to note that these programs are primarily programs of technical assistance and only incidentally of financial assistance by the United States. Far more important than the relatively small amounts of money we supply are the know-how, experience, and training embodied in our technical experts or taking the form of the technical training that we give to nationals of the countries in which the programs operate.

A final word on operating policy. This Government does and must scrupulously refrain from urging its cooperative assistance on any country, since its participation in these essentially domestic programs would be improper if it were not in response to the invitation and full welcome of the local governments. One does not help one's neighbor put up his barn unless he indicates that he needs help and requests it. The Institute is merely the device by means of which our Government is able to meet, when it appears to be in the common interest, the desires and the specific requests of other American republics.

V

The programs in which this Government participates through its Institute of Inter-American Affairs represent, simply, one important aspect of the aggressive action without which the paper resolutions in which the American republics have expressed their determination to cooperate for the economic and social welfare of their peoples would be meaningless. What they are accomplishing in this respect will be set forth in the reports that follow this. Their purpose, however, is also "to strengthen friendship and understanding among the peoples of the American republics". Our diplomatic missions, the representatives of cooperating governments, and qualified observers generally agree that the programs are, in fact, accomplishing this purpose. They are accomplishing it, not merely by the benefits they confer by their contributions to the general welfare, but also by processes that are no less important if less tangible.

I revert to the intimate nature of the cooperation that is provided by the *servicio* and similar administrative devices. In them you have what is in

effect one governmental agency, the product of a marriage between two governments, staffed by United States and local technicians who work together side by side and day by day over the months and the years until, together, they constitute one team. The formality of customary international relations melts away in the warmth of close personal relations. The members of the staff are no longer "foreigners" to one another. Under the circumstances, the officials and technicians of other governments are not likely to be misled by propaganda that depicts us all as imperialistic ogres, and our people likewise learn how true it is that the people of these other countries are human beings who are essentially like us and certainly not our moral or intellectual inferiors. The result is friendship, high mutual regard, and the habit of working harmoniously together, on which everything in this world depends.

This is part of the picture. For the rest, the nature of the work requires that these technicians, of our nationality and theirs, spend a large proportion of their time in the field among the farmers, villagers, and ordinary townsmen of the land. The rank-and-file of the people therefore get to know our own nationals and to experience at first hand their human qualities and their competence in the work of improving the conditions of life. Our nationals likewise acquire a regard for the people among whom they work. The result, again, is to build up a mutual understanding that constitutes a barrier to the deliberately disseminated propaganda of hatred.

All this, of course, has its bearing on the thesis of those who maintain that international relations should not be confined to the formal relations between professional diplomats but should also be between people and people. This is one practical way in which just that is being done.

An incidental but not negligible return to the United States for its contribution to these programs takes the form of permanently enlarged markets in the other American republics for its agricultural equipment, its drugs and hospital supplies, and its teaching materials.

The Department of State has, on occasion, subjected these activities to searching examination to determine whether they are worthwhile, and whether their continuance can be justified by their accomplishments so far and their long-range promise. Its conclusion is indicated by the fact that the Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, during his recent absence from Washington at the Bogotá conference, authorized a ranking official of the Department of State to say, on his behalf, that it is the Department's policy to continue and strengthen these programs as an established feature of United States relations with the other American republics under the good-neighbor policy.

America's Responsibility in World Trade

By Norman Burns

When the Secretary of State recommended to Congress on May 6 that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act be renewed for another three years, he observed that the United States, through force of circumstance, had become the rallying point for the free peoples of the earth. Our leadership in world affairs, he stated, depended, in considerable measure, upon the continuity and consistency of our policy in the international economic field. He concluded that "No economic bond is closer than the friendly ties of mutually satisfactory trade."¹

United States Needs To Export

The United States has a vital economic stake in world trade because we are now the world's principal foreign trading country. United States exports are larger than those of any other country. United States imports are second only to those of the United Kingdom.

Approximately 10 percent of our total agricultural and industrial production is sold abroad. Some people may think that an average export of only 10 percent of total production is not important, but businessmen know that a change of 10 percent in a company's sales may make the difference between black and red ink. Moreover, the 10-percent average obscures the fact that for many products exports take a fifth to a half of our total production.

In the industrial field we have about one half of the world's productive capacity and we need foreign markets if we are to keep that productive capacity at work. We need to export to prosper, and so do other nations. Exports furnished a market for 14 percent of our total production of automobiles, 26 percent of aircraft, 22 percent of office appliances, 18 percent of printing machinery, 14 percent of industrial machinery, 12 percent of radios, 17 percent of agricultural machinery, 15 percent of drugs, 38 percent of rosin, 52 percent of phosphate rock, and 36 percent of our output of borax, etc. (1938 basis). Since the production of many of these products is concentrated in particular localities a loss of exports would have particularly sharp repercussions on such areas.

In the agricultural sphere there is the need of foreign markets to absorb our potential agricultural surpluses. United States agricultural production in 1947 was 35 percent above the prewar volume. In the crop year 1946-47, we exported over one third of our production of wheat, rice, and dried milk, between 10 and 25 percent of our

production of dried beans and peas, condensed and evaporated milk and cheese, from 5 to 10 percent of our edible fats and oils, eggs, and fruit; we normally export one third or more of our cotton, tobacco, and dried fruits.

From the point of view of labor, it is estimated that 2.5 million nonfarm workers are directly or indirectly dependent for their jobs upon exports. This constitutes 5½ percent of our total nonagricultural employment. In iron and steel, electrical machinery, motor vehicles, nonferrous metals, coal, chemicals, and rubber from 11 to 18.5 percent of the workers are directly or indirectly dependent upon exports for their jobs.

Obviously, in an integrated economy such as ours, city and farm are highly dependent upon each other and both have a major stake in exports. A substantial shrinkage in our export trade in any single important product would affect adversely that product and would reverberate throughout our whole economy.

United States Needs To Import

Many people favor large exports but are highly dubious about the benefits of imports. They want to export much and import little.

The unavoidable fact is that we cannot export unless we import, except by continuing foreign loans indefinitely without repayment. The corner grocery store cannot sell unless it buys.

The real question is not whether we want to import but whether we want to import *and* export—that is, whether we want a large foreign trade which means large exports and large imports; or a small foreign trade with small exports and small imports; or no foreign trade. However we may feel on this question, it is hardly an accident that the prosperous countries of the world are those that have a large foreign trade. The poor countries are those that have a small per capita foreign trade.

Imports are beneficial, not only because they help to sustain exports, but also because of their direct usefulness in domestic production and consumption. Over one half of our total imports consists of crude and semi-crude materials used by domestic manufacturers as raw materials in their further fabrication of finished goods. Many of these are primary materials either not produced at all in this country or not produced in sufficient volume to fill our needs at a reasonable price. For example, the Bureau of Mines reported to Con-

¹ BULLETIN of May 16, 1948, p. 651.

gress in May 1947 that our known commercial reserves of 24 major minerals were less than sufficient to supply 35 years of domestic requirements at current rates of consumption. Among these are copper, lead, zinc, manganese, chrome, tungsten, mica, tin, bauxite, cadmium, vanadium, tantalum, asbestos, graphite, nickel, industrial diamonds, and petroleum—all vital materials in an industrial economy. Imports of such materials are necessary (a) to conserve dwindling domestic reserves in the event of an emergency and (b) to supply our manufacturers with raw materials at costs that will permit them to compete against foreign manufacturers of fabricated goods.

A second large category of imports consists of such products as coffee, tea, cocoa, bananas, and spices, which are not produced at all in the United States. These are essential to maintain our standard of living.

A third, and smaller class, consists of imports which compete directly or indirectly with more or less similar domestic products. Such imports are frequently of a different grade, quality, and price range than the domestic product. Among such imports are high-priced British woolens, French lace (of finer count than domestic lace), Wedgewood chinaware from the United Kingdom, and specialty French and Italian cheese and wine. Lower tariffs on such imports would benefit consumers. On the other hand, drastic reduction of tariff rates might disrupt the domestic producers. In practice, the United States has followed a policy of selective tariff reductions on such products with due regard to competitive and other factors.

The elimination of foreign competition through the device of high tariffs runs counter to American ideas of increasing efficiency through the force of free competition. In the long run, highly protected industries, when not stimulated by free competition, lag in technological developments. Protection frequently spells stagnation. The American economy owes its vigor and driving force to competition.

American industrial and agricultural efficiency is so great that even before the war our exports exceeded our imports. Hourly labor rates were lower abroad than in this country but the efficiency of our management, labor, and machinery was so great that the labor cost per unit of product, for practically all mass-production goods, was actually lower here than abroad.

Because of America's high industrial efficiency and productivity American labor can compete to advantage with free labor anywhere in the world. Otherwise we could not sell in world markets.

Crucial Problem in Our Foreign Trade

The crucial fact, today, is that our exports have increased far more than imports since the war. Before the war, exports slightly exceeded imports.

In 1947, exports were two and one-half times the value of our imports. In 1947, our exports were valued at 14.3 billion dollars, imports at 5.7 billion and the surplus of exports over imports was 8.6 billion dollars.

This disequilibrium cannot continue indefinitely. The United States is confronted with an unavoidable choice of one or the other of the following alternatives or a combination of them:

(1) Reduce exports—but many industrial and agricultural producers depend upon exports for profitable operations;

(2) Increase imports—but some industries in the United States oppose an increase in imports; or

(3) Continue to export more than we import, and loan indefinitely to foreign countries without possibility of repayment—a practice not relished by many taxpayers.

What steps have we taken to meet this situation and to safeguard our foreign trade? Do these steps represent a "continuity and consistency" of policy that will contribute to our leadership of the free peoples of the world?

The United States answer is to serve our interest and the interests of other countries by initiating measures to expand world production and trade. If world trade expands, foreign countries will have the purchasing power to continue to buy our exports. If world production and trade expand, the United States will enjoy a prosperity and purchasing power that will permit us to increase imports without injury to our domestic production. Foreign countries will be able to sell to us and to pay their own way without resorting to abnormal loans.

What imported products ought we to buy in larger quantities? This determination should be made through competitive price at the market place, once artificial trade barriers are reduced.

United States over-all policy contemplates four coordinated steps. Two of these are accomplished facts: the European Recovery Program and the Geneva trade agreement. The third is currently before Congress, namely the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The fourth is a long-run measure, the International Trade Organization.

European Recovery Program

The European Recovery Program's goal is to make Europe self-sustaining again; a prosperous Europe is indispensable to world prosperity and political stability. Europe is the principal market for our exports. Economic distress in Europe breeds political turmoil and weakens the democratic peoples of western Europe who are friendly to the United States. Under the Program, in addition to the financial aid they receive from the United States, the 16 participating countries and western Germany agree to take all possible

measures of self-help, such as the reduction of trade barriers that prevent a full expansion of their trade with each other.

Geneva Trade Agreement

The United States initiated the Geneva Trade Conference of April 10–October 30, 1947, to reduce world trade barriers.

Twenty-three countries, representing most of the large trading countries of the world (except the Soviet Union and most of the satellite countries), participated in that conference. It involved seven months of long and tedious negotiations on problems which, at times, appeared almost unsolvable. Industrial countries wanted tariff protection to develop their local agriculture. Agricultural countries wanted tariff protection to develop their local industries. Agricultural groups in each country feared an influx of agricultural surpluses from other countries. Industrial countries feared the competition of each other. Underdeveloped countries were reluctant to bind their hands on tariff matters. Yet there was a feeling, shared by representatives of all countries, that the conference must not fail. There might not be another chance. The conference must succeed if the world was to avoid again the dreary, futile, devastating path of economic warfare that led from World War I to World War II.

The Geneva Conference concluded with a tangible accomplishment of first magnitude, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Under this Agreement, the 23 countries undertook commitments to reduce their tariffs or to bind their existing tariffs against increase on individual products accounting for over one half of the total foreign trade of the world. This has been called the most comprehensive effort ever undertaken to reduce world trade barriers. The Agreement became effective as regards several countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Australia, Canada, and Cuba) on January 1, 1948. China and Czechoslovakia have now put it into effect, and the other participating countries are expected to follow by mid-summer of 1948.

The Agreement contains, also, certain significant general provisions. The so-called "escape clause" enables a country to withdraw a tariff concession when imports enter in abnormally increased quantities and cause serious injury to domestic producers. Under nearly all circumstances, countries are required to consult with each other before imposing obstacles against trade that jeopardize economic stability of the other countries. The principle of prior consultation on trade barriers represents a momentous advance over the chaotic and irresponsible practices of the past when countries imposed arbitrary barriers against each other without warning and without

regard for the effect on other countries, who often felt impelled to retaliate. Such practices in the 1920's and 1930's tended to "dry up" international trade.

International Trade Organization

The United States participated with 52 other countries in the formulation of a Charter for an International Trade Organization at Habana (November 21–March 24) for a set of rules that countries would follow in their conduct of trade with each other. In international trade, as in private business, countries need to follow certain rules so that trade can expand in an orderly fashion. In the past, different countries followed many trade practices. The result, some said, resembled a playing field where, at the same time, the English were playing rugby, the French tennis, the Cubans pelota, and the Americans baseball.

The new rules cover such matters as trade barriers, nondiscrimination and equal trade treatment, import quotas, export subsidies, customs formalities, cartel regulations, international commodity agreements, and the protection of foreign investments.

The charter for an International Trade Organization will be submitted to Congress, possibly within the next year, to decide whether the United States shall become a member.

Renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

The Trade Agreements Act, first passed in 1934, has been renewed four times since then. It expires June 12, 1948. The Act permits the President to enter into trade agreements with other countries whereby the United States tariffs may be reduced (by not more than 50 percent below the rate of January 1, 1945—after public hearing) in return for equivalent concessions from the other country.

The Geneva Trade Agreement, and other trade agreements concluded since 1934, were negotiated under this Act. If the Act is not renewed, the old agreements continue in force, unless terminated by the President, but no new agreements can be made.

The President recommended to Congress on March 1, 1948, that the Act be renewed without change for another three years. He stated that renewal was necessary: (1) to enable the United States to negotiate tariff agreements with other countries that might want to join the Geneva Agreement, (2) to enable the United States to negotiate revisions in the Geneva Agreement when changing world conditions necessitated revision, and (3) to permit continued leadership of the United States in its program of expanding international trade in a "mighty endeavor to build a prosperous and peaceful world".²

² BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1948, p. 351.

NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

International Organization of American States

TEXT OF CHARTER

IN THE NAME OF THEIR PEOPLES,
THE STATES
REPRESENTED AT THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES,

CONVINCED that the historic mission of America is to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations;

CONSCIOUS that that mission has already inspired numerous agreements, whose essential value lies in the desire of the American peoples to live together in peace, and, through their mutual understanding and respect for the sovereignty of each one, to provide for the betterment of all, in independence, in equality and under law;

CONFIDENT that the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this Continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man;

PERSUADED that their welfare, and their contribution to the progress and the civilization of the world, will increasingly require intensive continental cooperation;

RESOLVED to persevere in the noble undertaking that humanity has conferred upon the United Nations, whose principles and purposes they solemnly reaffirm;

CONVINCED that juridical organization is a necessary condition for a security and peace founded on moral order and on justice; and

In accordance with Resolution IX of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held at Mexico City,

HAVE AGREED upon the following

Charter of the Organization of American States

PART ONE

Chapter I: Nature and Purposes

Article 1

The American States establish by this Charter the international organization that they have developed to achieve an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration, and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their independence. Within the United Nations, the Organization of American States is a regional agency.

Article 2

All American States that ratify the present Charter are Members of the Organization.

Article 3

Any new political entity that arises from the union of several Member States and that, as such, ratifies the present Charter, shall become a Member of the Organization. The entry of the new political entity into the Organization shall result in the loss of membership of each one of the States which constitute it.

Article 4

The Organization of American States, in order to put into practice the principles on which it is founded and to fulfill its regional obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, proclaims the following essential purposes:

- a) To strengthen the peace and security of the continent;
- b) To prevent possible causes of difficulties and to ensure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the Member States;
- c) To provide for common action on the part of those States in the event of aggression;
- d) To seek the solution of political, juridical and economic problems that may arise among them; and
- e) To promote by cooperative action their economic, social and cultural development.

Chapter II: Principles

Article 5

The American States reaffirm the following principles:

- a) International law is the standard of conduct of states in their reciprocal relations.
- b) International order consists essentially of respect for the personality, sovereignty and independence of states, and the faithful fulfillment of obligations derived from treaties and other sources of international law.
- c) Good faith shall govern the relations between states.
- d) The solidarity of the American States and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those states on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy.
- e) The American States condemn war of aggression: victory does not give rights.
- f) An act of aggression against one American State is an act of aggression against all the other American States.
- g) Controversies of an international character arising between two or more American States shall be settled by peaceful procedures.
- h) Social justice and social security are bases of lasting peace.
- i) Economic cooperation is essential to the common welfare and prosperity of the peoples of the continent.
- j) The American States proclaim the fundamental rights of the individual without distinction as to race, nationality, creed or sex.

- k) The spiritual unity of the continent is based on respect for the cultural values of the American countries and requires their close cooperation for the high purposes of civilization.
- l) The education of peoples should be directed toward justice, freedom and peace.

Chapter III: Fundamental Rights and Duties of States

Article 6

States are juridically equal, enjoy equal rights and equal capacity to exercise these rights, and have equal duties. The rights of each state depend not upon its power to ensure the exercise thereof, but upon the mere fact of its existence as a person under international law.

Article 7

Every American State has the duty to respect the rights enjoyed by every other state in accordance with international law.

Article 8

The fundamental rights of states may not be impaired in any manner whatsoever.

Article 9

The political existence of the state is independent of recognition by other states. Even before being recognized, the state has the right to defend its integrity and independence, to provide for its preservation and prosperity, and, consequently, to organize itself as it sees fit, to legislate concerning its interests, to administer its services, and to determine the jurisdiction and competence of its courts. The exercise of these rights is limited only by the exercise of the rights of other states in accordance with international law.

Article 10

Recognition implies that the state granting it accepts the personality of the new state, with all the rights and duties that international law prescribe for the two states.

Article 11

The right of each state to protect itself and to live its own life does not authorize it to commit unjust acts against another state.

Article 12

The jurisdiction of states within the limits of their national territory is exercised equally over all the inhabitants, whether nationals or aliens.

Article 13

Each state has the right to develop its cultural, political and economic life freely and naturally. In this free development the state shall respect the rights of the individual and the principles of universal morality.

Article 14

Respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constitute standards for the development of peaceful relations among states. International treaties and agreements should be public.

Article 15

No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the

internal or external affairs of any other state. The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements.

Article 16

No state may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another state and obtain from it advantages of any kind.

Article 17

The territory of a state is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another state, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever. No territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion shall be recognized.

Article 18

The American States bind themselves in their international relations not to have recourse to the use of force, except in the case of self-defense in accordance with existing treaties or in fulfillment thereof.

Article 19

Measures adopted for the maintenance of peace and security in accordance with existing treaties do not constitute a violation of the principles set forth in articles 15 and 17.

Chapter IV: Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Article 20

All international disputes that may arise between American States shall be submitted to the peaceful procedures set forth in this Charter, before being referred to the Security Council of the United Nations.

Article 21

The following are peaceful procedures: direct negotiation, good offices, mediation, investigation and conciliation, judicial settlement, arbitration, and those which the parties to the dispute may especially agree upon at any time.

Article 22

In the event that a dispute arises between two or more American States which, in the opinion of one of them, cannot be settled through the usual diplomatic channels, the Parties shall agree on some other peaceful procedure that will enable them to reach a solution.

Article 23

A special treaty will establish adequate procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes and will determine the appropriate means for their application, so that no dispute between American States shall fail of definitive settlement within a reasonable period.

Chapter V: Collective Security

Article 24

Every act of aggression by a state against the integrity or inviolability of the territory or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American State shall be considered an act of aggression against the other American States.

Article 25

If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American State should be affected by an armed attack or by an act of aggression that is not an armed attack, or by an extra-continental conflict, or by a conflict between two or more American States, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the American States, in furtherance of the principles of continental solidarity or collective self-defense, shall apply the measures and procedures established in the special treaties on the subject.

Chapter VI: Economic Standards

Article 26

The Member States agree to cooperate with one another, as far as their resources may permit and their laws may provide, in the broadest spirit of good neighborliness, in order to strengthen their economic structure, develop their agriculture and mining, promote their industry and increase their trade.

Article 27

If the economy of an American State is affected by serious conditions that cannot be satisfactorily remedied by its own unaided efforts, such State may place its economic problems before the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to seek through consultation, the most appropriate solution for such problems.

Chapter VII: Social Standards

Article 28

The Member States agree to cooperate with one another to achieve just and decent living conditions for their entire populations.

Article 29

The Member States agree upon the desirability of developing their social legislation on the following bases:

- a) All human beings, without distinction as to race, nationality, sex, creed or social condition, have the right to attain material well-being and spiritual growth under circumstances of liberty, dignity, equality of opportunity and economic security;
- b) Work is a right and a social duty; it shall not be considered as an article of commerce; it demands respect for freedom of association and for the dignity of the worker; and it is to be performed under conditions that ensure life, health and a decent standard of living, both during the working years and during old age, or when any circumstance deprives the individual of the possibility of working.

Chapter VIII: Cultural Standards

Article 30

The Member States agree to promote, in accordance with their constitutional provisions and their material resources, the exercise of the right to education, on the following bases:

- a) Elementary education shall be compulsory and, when provided by the state, shall be without cost;
- b) Higher education shall be available to all, without distinction as to race, nationality, sex, language, creed or social condition.

Article 31

With due consideration for the national character of each State, the Member States undertake to facilitate free cultural interchange by every medium of expression.

PART TWO

Chapter IX: The Organs

Article 32

The Organization of American States accomplishes its purposes by means of:

- a) The Inter-American Conference;
- b) The Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs;
- c) The Council;
- d) The Pan American Union;
- e) The Specialized Conference; and
- f) The Specialized Organizations.

Chapter X: The Inter-American Conference

Article 33

The Inter-American Conference is the supreme organ of the Organization of American States. It decides the general action and policy of the Organization and determines the structure and functions of its Organs, and has the authority to consider any matter relating to friendly relations among the American States. These functions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of this Charter and of other inter-American treaties.

Article 34

All Member States have the right to be represented at the Inter-American Conference. Each State has the right to one vote.

Article 35

The Conference shall convene every five years at the time fixed by the Council of the Organization, after consultation with the government of the country where the Conference is to be held.

Article 36

In special circumstances and with the approval of two-thirds of the American Governments, a special inter-American Conference may be held, or the date of the next regular Conference may be changed.

Article 37

Each Inter-American Conference shall designate the place of meeting of the next Conference. If for any unforeseen reason the Conference cannot be held at the place designated, the Council of the Organization shall designate a new place.

Article 38

The program and regulations of the Inter-American Conference shall be prepared by the Council of the Organization and submitted to the Member State for consideration.

Chapter XI: The Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs

Article 39

The Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be held in order to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States, and to serve as the Organ of Consultation.

Article 40

Any Member State may request that a Meeting of Consultation be called. The request shall be addressed to the Council of the Organization, which shall decide by an absolute majority whether a meeting should be held.

Article 41

The program and regulations of the Meeting of Consultation shall be prepared by the Council of the Organization and submitted to the Member State for consideration.

Article 42

If a Minister of Foreign Affairs, for exceptional reasons, is unable to attend the Meeting, he shall be represented by a special delegate.

Article 43

In case of an armed attack within the territory of an American State or within the region of security delimited by treaties in force, a Meeting of Consultation shall be held without delay. Such Meeting shall be called immediately by the Chairman of the Council of the Organization, who shall at the same time call a meeting of the Council itself.

Article 44

An Advisory Defense Committee shall be established to advise the Organ of Consultation on problems of military cooperation that may arise in connection with the application of existing special treaties on collective security.

Article 45

The Advisory Defense Committee shall be composed of the highest military authorities of the American States participating in the Meeting of Consultation. Under exceptional circumstances the Governments may appoint substitutes. Each state shall be entitled to one vote.

Article 46

The Advisory Defense Committee shall be convoked under the same conditions as the Organ of Consultation, when the latter deals with matters relating to defense against aggression.

Article 47

The Committee shall also meet when the Conference or the Meeting of Consultation or the Governments, by a two-thirds majority of the Member States, assign to it technical studies or reports on specific subjects.

Chapter XII: The Council

Article 48

The Council of the Organization of American States is composed of one Representative for each Member State of the Organization, especially appointed by the respective Government, with the rank of Ambassador. The appointment may be given to the diplomatic representative accredited to the government of the country in which the Council has its seat. During the absence of the titular Representative, the Government may appoint an interim Representative.

Article 49

The Council shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman, who shall serve for one year and shall not be eligible for reelection to either of those positions for the term immediately following.

Article 50

The Council takes cognizance, within the limits of the present Charter and of inter-American treaties and agree-

ments, of any matter referred to it by the Inter-American Conference or the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Article 51

The Council shall be responsible for the proper discharge by the Pan American Union of the duties assigned to it.

Article 52

The Council shall serve provisionally as the Organ of Consultation when the circumstances contemplated in Article 43 of this Charter arise.

Article 53

It is also the duty of the Council:

- a) To draft and submit to the Governments and to the Inter-American Conference proposals for the creation of new Specialized Organizations or for the combination, adaptation or elimination of existing ones, including matters relating to the financing and support thereof;
- b) To draft recommendations to the Governments, the Inter-American Conference, the Specialized Conferences or the Specialized Organizations, for the coordination of the activities and programs of such organizations, after consultation with them;
- c) To conclude agreements with the Inter-American Specialized Organizations to determine the relations that shall exist between the respective agency and the Organization;
- d) To conclude agreements or special arrangements for cooperation with other American organizations of recognized international standing;
- e) To promote and facilitate collaboration between the Organization of American States and the United Nations, as well as between Inter-American Specialized Organizations and similar international agencies;
- f) To adopt resolutions that will enable the Secretary General to perform the duties envisaged in Article 84.
- g) To perform the other duties assigned to it by the present Charter.

Article 54

The Council shall establish the bases for fixing the quota that each Government is to contribute to the maintenance of the Pan American Union, taking into account the ability to pay of the respective countries and their determination to contribute in an equitable manner. The budget, after approval by the Council, shall be transmitted to the Governments at least six months before the first day of the fiscal year, with a statement of the annual quota of each country. Decisions on budgetary matters require the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Council.

Article 55

The Council shall formulate its own regulations.

Article 56

The Council shall function at the seat of the Pan American Union.

Article 57

The following are organs of the Council of the Organization of American States:

- a) The Inter-American Economic and Social Council;
- b) The Inter-American Council of Jurists; and
- c) The Inter-American Cultural Council.

Article 58

The organs referred to in the preceding article shall have technical autonomy within the limits of this Charter; but

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

their decisions shall not encroach upon the sphere of action of the Council of the Organization.

Article 59

The organs of the Council of the Organization are composed of representatives of all the Member States of the Organization.

Article 60

The organs of the Council of the Organization shall, as far as possible, render to the Governments such technical services as the latter may request; and they shall advise the Council of the Organization in matters within their jurisdiction.

Article 61

The organs of the Council of the Organization shall, in agreement with the Council, establish cooperative relations with the corresponding organs of the United Nations and with the national or international agencies that function within their respective spheres of action.

Article 62

The Council of the Organization, with the advice of the appropriate bodies and after consultation with the Governments, shall formulate the statutes of its organs in accordance with and in execution of the provisions of this Charter. These organs shall formulate their own regulations.

A) THE INTER-AMERICAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL.

Article 63

The Inter-American Economic and Social Council has for its principal purpose the promotion of the economic and social welfare of the American nations through effective cooperation for the better utilization of their natural resources, the development of their agriculture and industry and the raising of the standards of living of their peoples.

Article 64

To accomplish this purpose the Council shall:

- a) Propose the means by which the American nations may give each other technical assistance in making studies and formulating and executing plans in order to carry out the purposes referred to in Article 26 and to develop and improve their social services;
- b) Act as coordinating agency for all official inter-American activities of an economic and social nature;
- c) Undertake studies on its own initiative or at the request of any Member State;
- d) Assemble and prepare reports on economic and social matters for the use of the Member States;
- e) Suggest to the Council of the Organization the advisability of holding Specialized Conferences on economic and social matters;
- f) Carry on such other activities as may be assigned to it by the Inter-American Conference, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs or the Council of the Organization.

Article 65

The Inter-American Economic and Social Council, composed of technical delegates appointed by each Member State, shall meet on its own initiative or on that of the Council of the Organization.

Article 66

The Inter-American Economic and Social Council shall function at the seat of the Pan American Union, but it may hold meetings in any American city by a majority decision of the Member States.

B) THE INTER-AMERICAN COUNCIL OF JURISTS.

Article 67

The purpose of the Inter-American Council of Jurists is to serve as an advisory body on juridical matters; to promote the development and codification of public and private international law; and to study the possibility of attaining uniformity in the legislation of the various American countries, insofar as it may appear desirable.

Article 68

The Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro shall be the permanent committee of the Inter-American Council of Jurists.

Article 69

The Juridical Committee shall be composed of jurists of the nine countries selected by the Inter-American Conference. The selection of the jurists shall be made by the Inter-American Council of Jurists from a panel submitted by each country chosen by the Conference. The members of the Juridical Committee represent all Member States of the Organization. The Council of the Organization is empowered to fill any vacancies that occur during the intervals between Inter-American Conferences and between meetings of the Inter-American Council of Jurists.

Article 70

The Juridical Committee shall undertake such studies and preparatory work as are assigned to it by the Inter-American Council of Jurists, the Inter-American Conference, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, or the Council of the Organization. It may also undertake those studies and projects which on its own initiative it considers advisable.

Article 71

The Inter-American Council of Jurists and the Juridical Committee should seek the cooperation of national committees for the codification of international law, of institutes of international and comparative law, and of other specialized agencies.

Article 72

The Inter-American Council of Jurists shall meet when convened by the Council of the Organization, at the place determined by the Council of Jurists at its previous meeting.

C) THE INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL COUNCIL.

Article 73

The purpose of the Inter-American Cultural Council is to promote friendly relations and mutual understanding among the American peoples, in order to strengthen the peaceful sentiments that have characterized the evolution of America, through the promotion of educational, scientific, and cultural exchange.

Article 74

To this end the principal functions of the Council shall be:

- a) To sponsor inter-American cultural activities;
- b) To collect and supply information on cultural activities carried on in and among the American States by private and official agencies both national and international in character;
- c) To promote the adoption of basic educational programs adapted to the needs of all population groups in the American countries;
- d) To promote, in addition, the adoption of special pro-

- grams of training, education and culture for the indigenous groups of the American countries;
- e) To cooperate in the protection, preservation and increase of the cultural heritage of the continent;
 - f) To promote cooperation among the American nations in the fields of education, science and culture by means of the exchange of materials for research and study, as well as the exchange of teachers, students, specialists and, in general, such other persons and materials as are useful for the realization of these ends;
 - g) To encourage the education of the peoples for harmonious international relations;
 - h) To carry on such other activities as may be assigned to it by the Inter-American Conference, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, or the Council of the Organization.

Article 75

The Inter-American Cultural Council shall determine the place of its next meeting and shall be convened by the Council of the Organization on the date chosen by the latter in agreement with the Government of the country selected as the seat of the meeting.

Article 76

There shall be a Committee for Cultural Action of which five states, chosen at each Inter-American Conference, shall be members. The individuals composing the Committee for Cultural Action shall be selected by the Inter-American Cultural Council from a panel submitted by each country chosen by the Conference and they shall be specialists in education or cultural matters. When the Inter-American Cultural Council and the Inter-American Conference are not in session, the Council of the Organization may fill vacancies that arise and replace those countries that find it necessary to discontinue their cooperation.

Article 77

The Committee for Cultural Action shall function as the permanent Committee of the Inter-American Cultural Council for the purpose of preparing any studies that the latter may assign to it. With respect to the studies the Council shall have the final decision.

Chapter XIII: The Pan American Union

Article 78

The Pan American Union is the central and permanent organ of the Organization of American States and the General Secretariat of the Organization. It shall perform the duties assigned to it in this Charter and such other duties as may be assigned to it in other Inter-American treaties and agreements.

Article 79

There shall be a Secretary General of the Organization, who shall be elected by the Council for a ten-year term and who may not be reelected or be succeeded by a person of the same nationality. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Secretary General, the Council shall, within the next ninety days, elect a successor to fill the office for the remainder of the term, who may be reelected if the vacancy occurs during the second half of the term.

Article 80

The Secretary General shall direct the Pan American Union and be the legal representative thereof.

Article 81

The Secretary General shall participate with voice, but without vote, in the deliberations of the Inter-American Conference, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of

Foreign Affairs, the Specialized Conferences, and the Council and its organs.

Article 82

The Pan American Union, through its technical and information offices, shall, under the direction of the Council, promote economic, social, juridical and cultural relations among all the Member States of the Organization.

Article 83

The Pan American Union shall also perform the following functions:

- a) Transmit *ex officio* to Member States the convocation to the Inter-American Conference, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and the Specialized Conferences;
- b) Advise the Council and its organs in the preparation of programs and regulations of the Inter-American Conference, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and the Specialized Conferences;
- c) Place, to the extent of its ability, at the disposal of the Government of the Country where a conference is to be held the technical aid and personnel which such government may request;
- d) Serve as custodian of the documents and archives of the Inter-American Conferences, of the Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and, insofar as possible, of the Specialized Conferences;
- e) Serve as depository of the instruments of ratification of Inter-American agreements;
- f) Perform the functions entrusted to it by the Inter-American Conference, and the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs;
- g) Submit to the Council an annual report on the activities of the Organization;
- h) Submit to the Inter-American Conference, a report on the work accomplished by the organs of the Organization since the previous Conference.

Article 84

It is the duty of the Secretary General:

- a) To establish, with the approval of the Council, such technical and administrative offices of the Pan American Union as are necessary to accomplish its purposes.
- b) To determine the number of department heads, officers and employees of the Pan American Union; to appoint them, regulate their powers and duties, and fix their compensation, in accordance with general standards established by the Council.

Article 85

There shall be an Assistant Secretary General, elected by the Council for a term of ten years and eligible for reelection. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Assistant Secretary General, the Council shall, within the next ninety days, elect a successor to fill such office for the remainder of the term.

Article 86

The Assistant Secretary General shall be the Secretary of the Council. He shall perform the duties of the Secretary General during the temporary absence or disability of the latter, or during the ninety-day vacancy referred to in Article 79. He shall also serve as advisory officer to the Secretary General, with the power to act as his delegate in all matters that the Secretary General may entrust to him.

Article 87

The Council, by a two-thirds vote of its members, may remove the Secretary General or the Assistant Secretary

General, whenever the proper functioning of the Organization so demands.

Article 88

The heads of the respective departments of the Pan American Union, appointed by the Secretary General, shall be the Executive Secretaries of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Council of Jurists and the Cultural Council.

Article 89

In the performance of their duties the personnel shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority outside the Pan American Union. They shall refrain from any action that might reflect upon their position as international officials responsible only to the Union.

Article 90

Every Member of the Organization of American States pledges itself to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the personnel and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

Article 91

In selecting its personnel the Pan American Union shall give first consideration to efficiency, competence and integrity; but at the same time importance shall be given to the necessity of recruiting personnel on as broad a geographical basis as possible.

Article 92

The seat of the Pan American Union is the City of Washington.

Chapter XIV: The Specialized Conferences

Article 93

The Specialized Conferences shall meet to deal with special technical matters or to develop specific aspects of inter-American cooperation, when it is so decided by the Inter American Conference or the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs; when inter-American agreements so provide; or when the Council of the Organization considers it necessary, either on its own initiative or at the request of one of its organs or of one of the Specialized Organizations.

Article 94

The program and regulations of the Specialized Conferences shall be prepared by the organs of the Council of the Organization or by the Specialized Organizations concerned; they shall be submitted to the Member Governments for consideration and transmitted to the Council for its information.

Chapter XV: The Specialized Organizations

Article 95

For the purposes of the present Charter, the Inter-American Specialized Organizations are the inter-governmental organizations established by multilateral agreements and having specific functions with respect to technical matters of common interest to the American States.

Article 96

The Council shall, for the purposes stated in Article 53, maintain a register of the Organizations that fulfill the conditions set forth in the foregoing article.

Article 97

The Specialized Organizations shall enjoy the fullest technical autonomy and shall take into account the recom-

mendations of the Council, in conformity with the provisions of the present Charter.

Article 98

The Specialized Organizations shall submit to the Council periodic reports on the progress of their work and on their annual budgets and expenses.

Article 99

Agreements between the Council and the Specialized Organizations contemplated in paragraph c) of Article 53 may provide that such Organizations transmit their budgets to the Council for approval. Arrangements may also be made for the Pan American Union to receive the quotas of the contributing countries and distribute them in accordance with the said agreements.

Article 100

The Specialized Organizations shall establish cooperative relations with world agencies of the same character in order to coordinate their activities. In concluding agreements with the international agencies of a worldwide character, the Inter-American Specialized Organizations shall preserve their identity and their status as integral parts of the Organizations of American States, even when they perform regional functions of international agencies.

Article 101

In determining the geographic location of the Specialized Organizations, the interests of all the American States shall be taken into account.

PART THREE

Chapter XVI: The United Nations

Article 102

None of the provisions of this Charter shall be construed as impairing the rights and obligations of the Member States under the Charter of the United Nations.

Chapter XVII: Miscellaneous Provisions

Article 103

The Organization of American States shall enjoy in the territory of each Member such legal capacity, privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of its functions and the accomplishment of its purposes.

Article 104

The Representatives of the Governments on the Council of the Organization, the representatives on the organs of the Council, the personnel of the delegations as well as the Secretary General and the Assistant Secretary General of the Organization, shall enjoy the privileges and immunities necessary for the independent performance of their duties.

Article 105

The juridical status of the Inter-American Specialized Organizations and the privileges and immunities that should be granted to them and to their personnel, as well as to the officials of the Pan American Union, shall be determined in each case through agreements between the respective Organizations and the Governments concerned.

Article 106

Correspondence of the Organization of American States, including printed matter and parcels, bearing the frank thereof, shall be carried free of charge in the mails of the Member States.

Article 107

The Organization of American States does not recognize any restriction on the eligibility of men and women to participate in the activities of the various Organs and to hold positions therein.

Chapter XVIII: Ratification and Entry Into Force

Article 108

The present Charter shall remain open for signature by the American States and shall be ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument, the Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Pan American Union, which shall transmit certified copies thereof to the Governments for purposes of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Pan American Union, which shall notify the signatory States of such deposit.

Article 109

The present Charter shall enter into force among the ratifying States when two-thirds of the signatory States have deposited their ratifications. It shall enter into force with respect to the remaining States in the order in which they deposit their ratifications.

Article 110

The present Charter shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Pan American Union.

Article 111

Amendments to the present Charter may be adopted only at an Inter-American Conference convened for that purpose. Amendments shall enter into force in accordance with the terms and the procedure set forth in Article 109.

Article 112

The present Charter shall remain in force indefinitely, but may be denounced by any Member State upon written notification to the Pan American Union, which shall communicate to all the others each notice of denunciation received. After two years from the date on which the Pan American Union receives a notice of denunciation, the present Charter shall cease to be in force with respect to the denouncing State, which shall cease to belong to the Organization after it has fulfilled the obligations arising from the present Charter.

In witness whereof the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, whose full powers have been presented and found to be in good and due form, sign the present Charter at the City of Bogotá, Colombia, on the dates that appear opposite their respective signatures.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Israel Proclaimed as an Independent Republic

TEXT OF LETTER FROM THE AGENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

[Released to the press by the White House on May 15]

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to notify you that the state of Israel has been proclaimed as an independent republic within frontiers approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its Resolution of November 29, 1947, and that a provisional government has been charged to assume the rights and duties of government for preserving law and order within the boundaries of Israel, for defending the state against external aggression, and for discharging the obligations of Israel to the other nations of the world in accordance with international law. The Act of Independence will become effective at one minute after six o'clock on the evening of 14 May 1948, Washington time.

With full knowledge of the deep bond of sympathy which has existed and has been strengthened over the past thirty years between the Government of the United States and the Jewish people of Palestine, I have been authorized by the provi-

sional government of the new state to tender this message and to express the hope that your government will recognize and will welcome Israel into the community of nations.

Very respectfully yours,

ELIAHU EPSTEIN

Agent, Provisional Government of Israel

Statement by President Truman

[Released to the press by the White House May 14]

This Government has been informed that a Jewish state has been proclaimed in Palestine, and recognition has been requested by the provisional government thereof.

The United States recognizes the provisional government as the *de facto* authority of the new State of Israel.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

The Rome Manpower Conference and the Rome Committee

BY VAL R. LORWIN

The importance of manpower problems in the European Recovery Program was recognized by the Committee of European Economic Co-operation (CEEC) conference at Paris in 1947. That Conference's Manpower Committee called for more effective transfers of workers from countries of manpower surplus to countries with manpower shortages, and indicated some of the types of measures to be taken for more effective utilization of labor within each country. It asked also that the Italian Government call a conference of the "interested governments" at Rome early in 1948, to review the progress made in recruiting foreign workers and to "plan and coordinate any further measures which may be necessary".

Participation

Late in November 1947 the Italian Government sent invitations to all the CEEC countries for such a conference, to open on January 26. All the CEEC countries with the exception of Iceland accepted the invitation to the Conference, as did the occupying authorities of the three western zones of Germany.

The specialized agencies with an interest in the problem—the International Labor Organization, Economic Commission for Europe, Food and Agriculture Organization, International Bank, and International Refugee Organization—were represented by observers. The International Trade Organization, in view of its preliminary state of organization, chose not to send an observer.

The Italian Government asked the United States to send observers to the Conference. The United States observers were: Val R. Lorwin of the Division of International Labor, Social, and Health Affairs, Department of State, Senior Observer; Lt. Col. Thomas A. Lane, then Chief Labor Officer, Allied Military Government, British-United States Zone, Free Territory of Trieste, and now labor attaché at Rome; and William Shaughnessy, then of the United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, now with the International Refugee Organization.

Since it was the first international conference in Italy since the end of the Fascist regime, its arrangements were of particular interest. These arrangements can certainly be regarded as having come off successfully. The hospitality of the

Italian Government, furthermore, was generous and thoughtful.

Lines of International Action on Manpower

International action in the field of manpower has followed two general lines. One is that of bilateral and multilateral action on the terms of emigration and immigration. Here the problems to be dealt with relate to the more effective recruitment, medical and technical selection, and vocational training of emigrant workers, the simplification of travel, the rights of workers and their families in the receiving countries and in the countries of origin. Action can take the form of recommendations of principles to follow and techniques to use, and that of bilateral or multilateral agreement on the selection or the numbers of workers to move from one country to another, and the conditions of employment and settlement.

A second line of action deals with the utilization of labor within each country. Here international action is essentially the exchange of experiences and ideas among government representatives and, at certain stages, among labor and employer representatives. The subjects of most concern to Europe in this field now are the vocational training and retraining of workers, the methods of attracting workers to the essential industries, the principles and methods of organization and management of the labor market, and the functioning of the public-employment services.

Some international thinking and work have been done in these fields for many years, notably in the studies and recommendations of the International Labor Organization. But these problems have taken on a vast new urgency because of the manpower needs of the postwar European recovery effort and the manpower shortages of many countries in key industries such as mining, textiles, and agriculture; the gravity of Italian unemployment; the wartime and postwar dispersal of the millions of people lumped in the term "displaced persons"; and, within a number of continental European nations, the disorganization of employment services and training programs, and the attraction of many workers to black-market and other economically unproductive activities.

These were the problems which prompted the calling of the Rome conference.

Conference Work

The Rome conference elected as president Giuseppe Saragat, vice-president of the Italian Council of Ministers and president of the Inter-ministerial Committee for Social and Welfare Questions. As rapporteur general it named M. Bousquet, head of the French Delegation, and director general for administrative affairs at the Quai d'Orsay. As vice-presidents it chose A. F. Rouse, head of the United Kingdom Delegation and head of the Foreign Labor Branch of the Ministry of Labor; and Jean Cuvelier, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, head of the Belgian Delegation. Of its two major working committees, Committee I was concerned with domestic labor-utilization measures, and Committee II with international manpower movements. Chairman of Committee I was Mr. Rouse, with M. Delperée of the Belgian Ministry of Labor as rapporteur. Committee II chose a chairman from the Portuguese Delegation, Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha, associate director general of the National Institute of Labor and Social Insurance, with Albert Jobin, of the Federal Office of Industry, Arts, Crafts and Labor of Switzerland, as rapporteur.

A statistical committee was also set up, with M. Duon, of the French National Institute of Statistics, as chairman.

The conclusions took the form of recommendations to the governments represented, or to "interested governments" among those represented.¹

The Conference's immediate and most tangible results were in the field of international migration. There was serious consideration of many domestic manpower issues. But the preoccupation with international issues was inevitable, first, because the Conference was meeting in Rome, under the shadow of the present Italian unemployment problem; and, second, because by the nature of things, the Conference could propose forms of immediate action on emigration and immigration, whereas internal manpower problems require action, which is often quite gradual, within each country.

Rome Committee

The major development of the Conference was its recommendation to the governments represented for the setting up at Rome of a Committee for the Coordination of European Manpower Movements. In contrast to its rather formidable title, the Committee is to work on the practical day-to-day operational questions involved in the implementation of bilateral emigration agreements, as a sort of "trouble shooter", or "progress chaser" as the English would call it. It is to suggest practical ways and means of facilitating manpower movements under the bilateral accords. It is to concern itself, at least for the time being, largely with Italian manpower movements to other European countries.

The emphasis is on the practical as distinct from long-range studies, and on the day-to-day type of operational problem, as distinct from policy-setting or the promotion of emigration. Problems on which the Committee would work may include:

- (a) Accelerating, simplifying, and reducing the costs of travel documents;
- (b) Language and vocational "pre-training" for emigration;
- (c) Simplification of medical controls;
- (d) Simplified occupational classification, for immediate bilateral use in recruitment of workers;
- (e) Travel and reception arrangements;
- (f) Housing;
- (g) Transfer of emigrant savings and family allowances;
- (h) Maintenance of social-security rights of temporary emigrants.
- (i) Current exchange of information on labor requirements and availabilities.

These are not spectacular tasks; they are modest but practical and specific.

The Conference recognized the long-established jurisdiction and competence of the ILO in its field, and the special concern of the Preparatory Commission of IRO, as well as the general work of the ECE. Where the ILO had work under consideration or in preparation, it was clearly noted. Thus the recommendation on occupational classification begins by requesting the ILO to establish as rapidly as possible "standards accepted internationally for the occupational classification of workers". Only then does the recommendation go on to charge the Rome Committee with establishing "without delay", "as a provisional measure", a simplified classification which will facilitate recruiting, "for use in bilateral relations".

The ILO, specifically, and "any other institutions concerned with migration problems" are invited to take part in the work of the Committee.

The organization of the Committee is to be simply a council, with one representative from each member state, set up and instructed to draw up its own rules of procedure. Chairmanship is to rotate among the members.

The Committee will have headquarters in Rome. Expenses, it was declared, would be very small,

¹The findings and recommendations of the Conference were issued in mid-April (Committee of European Economic Co-operation, *Manpower Conference, Rome, January-February 1948: Reports*, English edition published by H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1948). These reports combine the general report of the Conference and the reports of its three working committees, as approved by the delegates of all the countries participating in the Conference and the observers of the International Labor Organization, the Economic Commission for Europe, and the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization.

since the Italian Government would furnish the premises and as much clerical staff as was wanted. It was understood that the professional staff would be small. In addition to Italy, several of the other interested countries indicated they might be willing to send second technicians to help staff the Committee. It was recognized that the fate of the project would depend to a considerable extent on the competence of its staff.

Membership was open originally to all CEEC countries and to other "European or non-European" states. The Committee was to come into being as soon as three Governments had agreed to join it.

The likely future organization of the CEEC countries was much in the minds of delegates to the Conference, and they realized that they were broaching some of the general problems of European cooperative organization and of relation to existing international organizations. As the first committee of the CEEC to meet since the 1947 meetings in Paris, they were, as a United Kingdom Delegate said, "the victims of their own initiative". The resolution recommending the creation of the Rome Committee therefore stated that it was being proposed pending the decisions to be taken with regard to the final structure of the body or the bodies to be established for the continued application of European reconstruction programs.

Displaced Persons

The Conference gave recognition to the "task at once humanitarian and of vital importance for European reconstruction" of the PCIRO in the "resettlement of displaced persons in productive work." It recommended the creation by the PCIRO of a Committee, similar in function to the Rome Committee, to aid in solving the practical problems of displaced-person recruitment.

With regard to displaced persons in Italy, it was generally agreed, although not specified, that the Rome Committee should be competent, with IRO participation, to assist in any way it could along the lines of its general terms of reference.

European Manpower Balance Sheet

The Conference gave the CEEC countries a chance to bring up to date the picture of needs and availabilities of emigrant workers. It was fairly generally understood that the figures offered at the CEEC sessions in Paris in August 1947, particularly on the requirements side, were far from firm. Of course such figures of requirements for foreign workers are in all cases dependent, not only on economic conditions, but also upon various political considerations. The figures produced at the Rome conference, therefore, even in their indications of totals—not to mention the breakdowns by skilled and unskilled workers—can be only tentative approximations.

Since the end of the war, the Conference found, the countries represented at Rome had "introduced into their territories more than 600,000 workers—Italians, displaced persons, and Germans". For 1948 the needs for foreign workers stated by the principal countries of immigration totaled 380,000, including 145,000 for France; 100,000 for the United Kingdom; 67,000 for Switzerland; 28,000 for Austria; 21,000 for Belgium; 5,000 for Sweden; 9,000 for the Netherlands; and 5,000 for Luxembourg.

Workers available to meet these needs were found to be chiefly the displaced persons, numbering at least 320,000, and a "minimum" of 1,700,000 Italians. There is thus an excess of available workers over requirements of at least 1,600,000. Furthermore, much of the demand is for skilled workers, and many of the required skills are not now to be found.

The balance sheet, however, is less discouraging if one takes account of the fact that receiving countries expect to take unskilled workers in many cases where they specify skilled workers, and where no skilled workers are available. Trained miners, still the greatest shortage occupation, are nowhere to be found. However, the United Kingdom, in listing requirements of 100,000 and the Belgians, in listing needs of 21,000, expect to take untrained workers and train them for these mining jobs.

Particularly on the requirements side, the figures must be regarded as only very rough guesses, even for 1948. All delegations recognized that it was almost useless at this date to offer requirements extending beyond the end of 1948.

A World Problem

The Conference found that surplus manpower in Europe—in Italy and the displaced-persons camps—could not be absorbed by Europe alone. This fact emerged not only from the statistics of immediate supply and requirements for manpower, but from the demographic trends in Italy (a current net population growth of 400 to 500,000 a year).

The Conference's report called the attention "of all extra-European Governments to the necessity of the revival of a considerable overseas immigration so far as shipping facilities permit". Immigration was not a burden to the receiving country, but a gain. Pointing to the contributions made by immigrants to the receiving countries in Europe, the report concluded: "It seems that the economy of extra-European countries with a shortage of manpower would obtain substantial benefit by admitting workers from Europe who are available and willing to emigrate."

Manpower Problems Within Countries

The Committee charged with "examining the problems of the redistribution of manpower within the different countries, and of the productivity of

this manpower" recommended, among other things, that:

1. Countries with labor shortages give priority to essential industries, improving living and working conditions, developing training programs, and—where Governments intervene directly in wage policy—offering wage advantages to workers in key industries.

2. Countries with labor shortages "study—in collaboration with unions and employer organizations—any measures of control conducive to the increase or recruitment of manpower in key industries, while safeguarding the legitimate rights of the workers in question". It was recognized that some countries, notably the United Kingdom, had successfully introduced (or since the war, reintroduced) the direction of labor. But several countries which had suffered German occupation insisted that, as the report states, "general coercive methods of controlling manpower come up against the spontaneous opposition of workers and trade union organizations, in whose memory the effects of similar measures imposed during the war are still fresh. For this reason, in countries which were occupied by Germany, measures to control manpower are necessarily mainly indirect."

All delegations agreed on the necessity of improving national employment services.

3. New classes of workers—women, older workers, disabled—be drawn into the labor market in countries of labor shortage, and that hours of work might be increased.

4. Vocational training and apprenticeship programs be further developed, with the aid of the ILO.

5. Action be taken on housing programs.

Further exchanges of ideas and experience on problems of domestic manpower policy should and will undoubtedly take place among the technicians of the various countries. The English, notably, offered to exchange visits with technicians of other countries.

Rome Committee Begins Work

The Council of the Rome Committee held its first meeting between April 6 and April 12, with Delegates present from Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. Luxembourg, although not represented, had also notified the Italian Government of its adherence. Present as observers were representatives of Ireland, Norway, and Switzerland.

The Council adopted its statutes, prepared a provisional budget for submission to the member states, and proposed a formula for the sharing of expenses. It named Mario Tomasini, director general of emigration in the Italian Foreign Office, as secretary general of the Committee. It decided to "approach the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) for recogni-

tion as one of the subsidiary organizations envisaged in the draft agreement of the OEEC (articles 8, 15c and 19) and in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution on the tasks of the OEEC" and remarked that "recognition would imply monetary aid from OEEC sources."

The Council proposed to hold its next meeting in Paris, in view of the importance of the question of relations with OEEC. But the nature of that relationship remains to be defined.

U.S. OBSERVERS TO CONFERENCE ON REVISION OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR PROTECTION OF LITERARY AND ARTISTIC WORKS

[Released to the press May 11]

The Department of State has announced the United States Observer Delegation to the Diplomatic Conference for the Revision of the International Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, scheduled to convene at Brussels, June 5, 1948. The United States Observer Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Thomas E. Braeken, Assistant Legal Adviser, Department of State

Observers

Arthur Fisher, Associate Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress
John Schulman, Hays, St. John, Abramson, and Schulman, 120 Broadway, New York City

The International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works was given its charter by the Bern convention of September 9, 1886, effective December 5, 1887. This convention was amended and completed at Paris on May 4, 1896, by a supplementary act and an interpretative declaration which went into effect on December 9, 1897.

A complete revision was made at Berlin on November 13, 1908. The act of Berlin, known as the revised convention of Bern for the protection of literary and artistic works, went into force on September 9, 1910.

A supplementary protocol was agreed upon at Bern in 1914. The last revision before World War II was made at Rome in 1928. At that conference the Belgian Government was designated as the member state to call the next conference at Brussels.

Although the United States is not a member of the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, never having adhered to the Bern-Berlin-Rome convention, particular importance is attached to the conference at Brussels, since proposed changes in the international copyright convention may affect the interests of United States authors and producers.

U.S. DELEGATION TO SECOND SESSION OF FACILITATION DIVISION OF ICAO

[Released to the press May 13]

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the Second Session of the Facilitation Division of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which is scheduled to convene at Geneva on May 17, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

John R. Alison, Assistant Secretary of Commerce

Advisers

- II. Alberta Colclaser, Divisional Assistant, Aviation Division, Department of State
- Horace S. Dean, Assistant Division Leader, Division of Foreign Plant Quarantines, Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, Department of Agriculture
- Gilbert Lee Dunmahoo, Chief, Foreign Quarantine Division, United States Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency
- Burke H. Flinn, Customs Air Coordinator, Bureau of Customs, Department of the Treasury
- Josh Lee, Member, Civil Aeronautics Board, Department of Commerce
- Albert E. Reitzel, Assistant General Counsel, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice
- Harry G. Tarrington, Chief International Services Officer, Staff Programs Office, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce
- John R. Young, Jr., Director of International Affairs, Air Transport Association, Washington, D.C.

The Facilitation Division of ICAO is one of the groups established in accordance with the convention on international civil aviation which was adopted by the Chicago Civil Aviation Conference in 1944 and which became effective April 4, 1947. The purpose of the Facilitation Division is to study the problems involved in and to prepare recommendations which would facilitate and expedite navigation by aircraft between territories of contracting states and prevent unnecessary delays to aircraft, crews, passengers, and cargo, especially in the administration of laws relating to immigration, public health, agricultural quarantine, and customs. Member states of ICAO are entitled to participate in the Division's meetings.

The agenda for the forthcoming meeting includes: (1) review of progress made by the member states in the field of facilitation of international air transport; (2) consideration of a draft set of international standards and recommended practices on facilitation of international air transport prepared by the ICAO Secretariat; (3) preparation of international standards and recommended practices on facilitation of international air transport in such final form as can be acted

upon by the ICAO Council pursuant to articles 37, 54, and 90 of the convention on international civil aviation; (4) consideration of means other than standards and recommended practices whereby effect can be given to the measures necessary for the facilitation of international air transport; and (5) consideration of measures which would help the implementation of the facilitation program.

U.S. DELEGATION TO HEALTH CONGRESS OF ROYAL SANITARY INSTITUTE

[Released to the press May 3]

The Department of State announced on May 3 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Health Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute which is scheduled to be held at Harrogate, England, May 24-28, 1948. The invitation to attend the Congress was transmitted by the United Kingdom on behalf of the Royal Sanitary Institute. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Capt. John M. Bachulus (M.C.), U.S. Navy, Staff Medical Officer to the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean

Delegates

- Burnet M. Davis, M.D., Surgeon, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency; Liaison Officer, British Ministry of Health
- Barton P. Jenks, U.S. Delegation, Economic Commission for Europe
- Lt. Col. John W. Regan (M.C.), U.S. Army, Chief, Environmental Sanitation Branch, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army

The Health Congress will be divided into sections where papers will be presented and discussions held on subjects relating to public health and sanitation. There will be a section of tropical hygiene, in which a discussion is planned on "yellow fever and its transmission". Another section will deal with sanitation conditions at airports all over the world, especially health-control measures and the present and future uses of new insecticides.

The Royal Sanitary Institute is the leading public-health society of the British Commonwealth and could be considered as the British counterpart of the American Public Health Association. The Institute brings together at its annual health congresses representatives of governments, municipalities, and health institutions from all parts of the world, thereby affording opportunity for public-health workers to discuss subjects of common interest. The last Health Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute was held at Torquay, England, June 2-6, 1947.

U.S. Policies and Purposes Regarding the Soviet Union

STATEMENTS OF AMBASSADOR SMITH AND FOREIGN MINISTER MOLOTOV¹

[Released to the press May 11]

On May 4 Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith called on V. M. Molotov, Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, and made to him, on behalf of the United States Government, the following oral statement

Two years ago during my initial conversation with Generalissimo Stalin and yourself, I stated as clearly as possible my estimate of the inevitable reaction of the American people to the continuance of a policy by the Soviet Government which would appear to have as its purpose the progressive extension of the area of Soviet power. At that time I pointed out that it would be a grave misinterpretation of the fundamentally pacific character of the American people to believe that they would not react strongly and vigorously to the progressive domination by one country of its neighbors and the clear threat to the world community which such actions would imply.

I emphasized at that time that the United States had no desire whatever to see the world divided into two major groupings, nor to divert a large part of its income to the maintenance of a military establishment which such a world situation would necessitate in elementary self-defense. It seemed apparent then that such a line of policy as that described would lead inevitably to a crystallization of the non-Soviet areas of the world, whose people would quite understandably feel themselves progressively threatened by such developments. It seemed also inevitable in such a case that the United States, as the strongest nation in this community, would be forced to take a leading part in this movement and to divert a large portion of its energy, which by preference our people would prefer to utilize for assistance in the reconstruction of the ravages of the war, to the maintenance of a military establishment adequate to meet the developing world situation.

Unhappily the apprehensions I felt at that time have been realized.

Since that date, Soviet policies in eastern Europe have produced the reaction which was predicted. The situation which has resulted is obviously one of great seriousness.

The European community and the United States have become alarmed at the implications of Soviet

policy, and are drawing closer together in mutual self-protection, but only in self-protection.

It is for this reason that my Government desires me to outline to you with complete clarity and frankness the position of the United States Government.

There should be no mistake about the determination of the United States to play its part in these cooperative movements for recovery and self-defense. The concern and the determination of the people of the United States have been intensified by the inexplicable hostility of the Soviet Government to the European Recovery Program—a measure which in its inception and subsequent development is so obviously only a measure of American assistance for reconstruction on a cooperative basis without menace or threat to anyone.

The situation which has been produced by the actions of the Soviet Government or by political groups obviously under its control, and the natural and inevitable reaction on the part of other countries, including the United States, to these actions is obviously one of great seriousness.

My Government has no idea what conclusions the Soviet Government has reached concerning the present attitude of the United States. It has noted that the picture of this attitude given by the Soviet press is dangerously distorted and erroneous. Whether, or in what degree, the members of the Soviet Government themselves believe this distorted version my Government has no means of estimating. For this reason I wish to make plain certain points on which my Government considers it extremely important that there be no misunderstanding at this time.

1. The policies of the United States Government in international questions have been made amply clear in recent months and weeks. They have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. They will continue to be vigorously and firmly prosecuted.

It would be a grave error if others were to assume that domestic considerations, such as the forthcoming elections, would in any way weaken the determination of the United States to support

¹ Printed from telegraphic text.

what it believes to be right. The American people have always known how to separate domestic and foreign policy at the proper moment.

Similarly, my Government is aware that Communist organizations here and there have been disseminating propaganda to the effect that a forthcoming economic crisis in the United States will soon produce a radical change in American policies. It is hoped that no one will be so foolish as to forfeit the chances of progress toward world stability for the sake of an economic prognostication which has been proven wrong time and time again. Even those who persist in believing such a prognostication must, at the very least, realize that an economic crisis would not affect in any way our basic productive capacity nor our concept of the basic factors underlying our foreign policy.

It must be emphasized that the present state of world affairs involves issues which the people of the United States consider to be vital to United States national security and to world peace. No one should deceive himself as to the seriousness of United States policy with respect to these issues.

2. On the other hand, my Government wishes to make it unmistakably clear that the United States has no hostile or aggressive designs whatever with respect to the Soviet Union. Assertions to the contrary are falsehoods which can result only from complete misunderstanding or malicious motives. United States policies have been so devised that they cannot possibly affect adversely the interests of a Soviet Union which seeks to live at peace with its neighbors and to refrain from attempts to exercise undue influence, directly or indirectly, in their affairs.

In fact, many of the elements of United States foreign policy to which the Soviet press takes such strong exception today would never have come into existence if it had not been necessary for the United States to aid other countries to defend their own political integrity from attempts, on the part of Communist minorities, to seize power and to establish regimes subservient to foreign interests. Should these attempts cease, the necessity for some of the manifestations of United States foreign policy, which are apparently unwelcome in Moscow, would cease with them.

The present state of United States-Soviet relations is a source of grievous disappointment to the American people and to the United States Government. As far as we are concerned, it represents a painful and undesired alternative toward which we have been driven, step by step, by the pressure of Soviet and world Communist policy. We still do not despair by any means of a turn of events which will permit us to find the road to a decent and reasonable relationship between our two countries, with a fundamental relaxation of those

tensions which today exercise so unhappy an influence on international society everywhere. As far as the United States is concerned, the door is always wide open for full discussion and the composing of our differences.

My Government earnestly hopes that the members of the Soviet Government will not take lightly the position of the United States Government, as here expressed. They have it in their power to alleviate many of the situations which today weigh so heavily on all international life. It is our earnest hope that they will take advantage of these possibilities. If they do, they will not find us lacking in readiness and eagerness to make our own contribution to a stabilization of world conditions entirely compatible with the security of the Soviet peoples.

[Released to the press May 11, 1948]

The following is an English translation of the statement of Foreign Minister Molotov to Ambassador Smith on May 9

The Soviet Government has familiarized itself with the declaration of the Ambassador of the United States of America, Mr. Smith, dated May 4, 1948, in connection with the present state of Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Government shares the desire, expressed in this statement by the Government of the United States of America, to better these relations, and is in agreement with the proposal to proceed with this aim toward a discussion and settlement of the difference existing between us.

At the same time the Soviet Government considers it necessary to state that it cannot agree with the Government of the United States of America that the reason for the present unsatisfactory conditions of Soviet-American relations and the tension in the international situation is a result of the policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in eastern Europe and to the increased influence there of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As concerns the relations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with bordering as well as other countries of Europe, the Soviet Government notes with satisfaction that in fact these relations following the war have significantly improved.

As is known, this has found expression through the conclusion of treaties of friendship and mutual assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and these countries which are directed exclusively against the repetition of aggression on the part of Germany and its possible allies and which, contrary to the statement of the Ambassador of the United States of America in Moscow, Mr. Smith, do not include any secret protocols. The countries overrun by German aggression are particularly interested in the conclusion of these agreements.

It is common knowledge that the United States of America also is carrying out the policy of strengthening its relations with bordering countries, for example, with Canada, Mexico, and also with other countries of America, and this is fully understandable. It is likewise understandable that the Soviet Union also is conducting a policy of strengthening its relations with bordering and other countries of Europe. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will pursue in the future as well its policy of strengthening friendly relationships with these countries of Europe.

In the declaration of the Government of the United States of America it is stated that certain of the external political measures of the United States of America in other countries, which have evoked the dissatisfaction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are explained by the excessive influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the internal affairs of these countries. The Soviet Government is unable to agree with this kind of explanation.

In the countries of eastern Europe which are under consideration, following the war, as is well known, there took place serious democratic reforms which are a means of defense against the threat of a new war and which created favorable conditions for the growth of friendly relations between these countries and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It would be absolutely incorrect to attribute the democratic reforms which have taken place here to interference of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of these countries. This would mean ignoring the indubitable fact that the above-mentioned reforms are a natural result of the victory of democratic forces over Nazism and Fascism and are regarded by the peoples of eastern Europe as guaranties against the threat of a new war. In this connection, the emergence of Communists in positions of leadership is completely understandable, since the people of these lands consider Communists the most effective fighters against a new war.

No one has the right to dispute the fact that the carrying through of democratic reforms is an internal affair of each state. However, from the above-mentioned communication of the Government of the United States it is clear that it holds another viewpoint and tolerates on its own part interference in the internal affairs of other states which cannot but call forth serious objections on the part of the Soviet Government. Events in Greece are not the only example of such interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The Government of the United States of America explains the present unsatisfactory state of Soviet-American relations also by the position of the Soviet Government on the question of the so-called European Recovery Program.

At the same time it is absolutely clear that if the question of the economic recovery of the

European countries had been set up, not as has been done in the indicated program, but on the basis of normal conditions of international economic cooperation within the framework of the United Nations organization and with the necessary regard of the national rights and sovereignty of states, there would be no reason for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' negative attitude toward the ERP, all the more since the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as one of the states which suffered most, economically, in the war, is fully interested in the development of postwar international economic cooperation.

At the same time the Soviet Government thinks it necessary to state that the present unsatisfactory condition of Soviet-American relations and the tense state of the international situation are the result of the recent policy of the Government of the United States of America.

The creation of such a tense situation has been fostered in the first place by such steps of the Government of the United States of America as the increasing development of a network of naval and air bases in all parts of the world, including territories adjacent to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, about which the press and a series of official representatives of the United States of America frankly declare that the establishment of these bases has the aim of the encirclement of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Such measures cannot be explained by the interests of self-defense. It is likewise impossible to overlook the fact that the present atmosphere of international relations is poisoned by warlike threats of all kinds directed against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, issuing from certain circles closely connected with the Government of the United States of America. In contrast to this, the Soviet Government is conducting a consistently peaceful policy with respect to the United States of America and other states, is not establishing military bases in other countries and is not emitting any kind of threat toward anyone at all.

Further, there was recently formed a military union of western countries, including England, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. At a time when all the treaties of mutual assistance concluded by the Soviet Union with the eastern countries, as well as with England and France, have as their aim the prevention of a new aggression on the part of Germany and are not directed against any allied state, the newly founded military alliance of the five western states, as is clear from the treaty, has in view not only Germany but may equally be directed against those states which were allies in the second world war. In all the English, French, and American press it is openly said that this union is directed against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Furthermore, it cannot be overlooked that the formation

of the stated military union was possible only thanks to the patronage of the Government of the United States of America. It is clear that the military treaty of the five western states can in no way be regarded as a treaty of self-defense.

The unfriendly character of the policy of the Government of the United States of America with regard to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has its effect also in the realm of Soviet-American commerce. In accordance with the commercial agreement concluded between our two states, the Government of the United States of America is obliged not to apply in regard to the export of goods from the United States of America to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics any more burdensome regulations or formalities than are applied in regard to any third country. However, the policy now conducted by the Government of the United States of America ignores this obligation and is in complete contradiction to the Soviet-American commercial agreement, setting up discrimination in regard to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, regardless of the fact that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is fulfilling in good faith its obligations under the aforementioned agreement. As a result thereof, the export into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of American goods is disrupted, goods on which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has paid deposits or even the full cost, a fact which injures the American firms concerned as well. The intolerability of such a situation is completely evident.

At the present time the Government of the United States of America declares that the United States has no hostile or aggressive intentions with regard to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and expresses the hope of the possibility of finding a way to the establishment of good and reasonable relations between our two countries, together with a fundamental relaxation of the tension in international relations, and expresses its readiness to cooperate in such a stabilization of world conditions as would correspond as well to the interests of the security of the Soviet people.

The Soviet Government can only welcome this declaration of the Government of the United States of America, for, as is known, it has always carried on a peace-loving policy and one of collaboration with regard to the United States of America which has always met with unanimous approval and support on the part of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that in the future as well it intends to carry out this policy with complete consistency.

The Soviet Government also expresses the hope for the possibility of finding the means to eliminate present disagreements and to establish between our countries good relations which would correspond to the interests of our peoples, as well as to the consolidation of universal peace.

After hearing Mr. Molotov's reply of May 9, Ambassador Smith made the following additional comments, which accurately express the views of this Government

At the conclusion of Mr. Molotov's statement I said I would comment briefly. With regard to remarks about "development of United States bases", our "policy of encirclement and our warlike threats", I had only to say that our entire history was refutation of any suspicion of a policy which involved aggressive war. As I stated during our previous conversation, the drawing together of the western European countries and the support which was being given them by the United States was a direct reflection of the apprehensions and fears which had been aroused by the expansionist policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and that while I had no right to disbelieve his statements, I could not refrain from paraphrasing Mr. Vyshinski's comment that facts spoke for themselves.

The United States was secure in its honesty of purpose with regard to ERP. Our people were, as stated previously, completely unable to understand implications placed on that program by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The United States appreciates and fully understands the desire and indeed the necessity of close and friendly relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its neighbors, but that here again facts spoke for themselves, and I was fully familiar with events which followed the acceptance by Czechoslovakia of the invitation to the ERP conference in Paris and subsequent reversal of this acceptance during the immediately following visit of Mazaryk and Gottwald to Moscow. A country like my own which permitted complete freedom of political thought and expression did not oppose Communism because of its Marxian ideology but purely and simply because we had seen repeated instances of Communist minorities coming into power by illegal means and against the will of the majority of the population in the countries referred to. The United States remained convinced that these minority *coups d'état* would have been quite impossible without the moral and physical support of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

With respect to trade agreements, there was nothing the United States would like better under conditions of reasonable and honest understanding than to participate in expanding trade with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to contribute to the economic recovery of the Soviet states which had suffered during the war. If proof were desired of our previous feelings in this respect it could be found in fact that under lend-lease we had shipped to the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

publics enormous values in basic industrial plants which when shipped obviously would not be in production in time to contribute to the war effort. Our change in views with regard to trade was again a direct reflection of the Soviet expansionist policies referred to in my previous conversation.

I did not wish to indulge in a contest of words which might be interpreted as the "pot calling the kettle black", but I had recently reviewed some of our past agreements with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, particularly the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement, and that I would remind him of

what I am sure he already knows, i.e., that the only provision of this agreement which had not been violated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was that permitting the presence of an American clergyman in Moscow.

However, these were matters which it would be profitless for us to pursue to the exclusion of the major issues. I had, I believed, made completely clear the policies of the United States and the reasons which prompted the adoption of these policies. I appreciated Mr. Molotov's statement of the policies of his Government, which I would communicate at once to Washington.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House May 11]

With regard to the recent exchange of views between Ambassador Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov in Moscow, it was felt by this Government that in view of the adoption of the European Recovery Program as a definite expression of policy and of the President's recent recommendations to Congress concerning the military establishment, it was important that there should be no misconception or confusion in the minds of the Soviet Government concerning the position of this Government.

Accordingly, Ambassador Smith was directed to seek an interview with Mr. Molotov in order to set forth as clearly as could be expressed the policies and purposes of the United States with regard to the Soviet Union, and thus avoid any unfortunate misunderstanding in view of the character of the current propaganda statements.

The statement made by Ambassador Smith represented no new departure in American policy. It was a reiteration of the American position as it has been repeatedly expressed both publicly and privately.

The two salient points of the statement made by Ambassador Smith were these:

"The policies of the United States Government in international questions have been made amply clear in recent months and weeks. They have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. They will continue to be vigorously and firmly prosecuted."

"On the other hand my Government wishes to make it unmistakably clear that the United States has no hostile or aggressive designs whatsoever with respect to the Soviet Union."

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL

[Released to the press May 12]

At his press conference on May 12 Secretary Marshall made the following statement

With regard to General Smith's confidential interview with Foreign Minister Molotov, this was directed towards a very definite purpose. There had been in this country a confusion of publicity and of statements or speeches relating to our actions and our attitude toward the Soviet Union. The number of such statements would probably increase as the political campaign becomes intensified. It was therefore felt to be highly important to distinguish in the minds of the Soviet Government between such statements and the definite policy of this Government, which remains unchanged.

Since our basic purpose was to reaffirm the formal position of this Government and to dis-

tinguish it from the mass of unofficial statements, our responsibility was to make clear the position of the United States Government, and of the United States alone.

General Smith did not ask for any general discussion or negotiation. We have had a long and bitter experience with such efforts. This Government had no intention of entering into bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Government on matters relating to the interests of other governments. The discussion of any proposals in regard to outstanding issues which the Soviet Government may have in mind must, as a matter of course, be conducted in the body charged with responsibility for these questions. What we want is action in the fields where action is possible and urgently necessary at the present time. I refer to the matters before the Security Council and other United Nations bodies, such as the situation in

Korea, questions before the Allied Control Council in Berlin and the Austrian treaty negotiations, where the utmost of difficulties have arisen and stalemates generally resulted. It would be very unfortunate if an attempt were made to sit down at a table and enter into general discussions and have the discussions result in failure to reach agreements, or result in disputes over the obligations which might be undertaken in such agreements. That would do the world great harm. We cannot afford a continuation of such failures. What we must have is successful action where such action is now sorely needed.

The following is a summary of Secretary Marshall's press and radio news conference on May 12

When asked if he planned to send any further information, note, or statement to Mr. Molotov on this subject, Mr. Marshall replied that he had nothing in mind at the present time.

Asked if the Russians proved willing to enter into negotiations in a spirit of compromise and harmonization, the United States would in consultation with the other great powers be willing to do this, the Secretary replied in the affirmative. He explained that we would do so if specific proposals, not general discussions, were involved. The Secretary pointed out that this merely affirmed what the President had already said and what had been our policy throughout as to continuing negotiations. He said that the negotiations must have a practical possibility of getting us somewhere.

When asked if this were what was meant by the statement that the door is always wide open, Mr. Marshall replied in the affirmative, explaining that our statement was a reaffirmation of what the President had said.

A correspondent asked if there were any thought being given by this Government concerning a two-power negotiation with the Russians on international problems other than the ones that directly affected the two countries. Mr. Marshall replied that no thought whatever was being given to such negotiations.

When asked to amplify his remark that the confusion of statements would increase as our political campaign became more intense, Mr. Marshall commented that his audience would probably know more about that subject than he would.

The Secretary was then asked if he thought that it was now up to the Soviet Union to take the initiative for discussions. Mr. Marshall said that it went much further than that. He said that Mr. Molotov had said:

"The Soviet Government can only welcome this declaration of the Government of the United

States, for, as is known, it has always carried on a peace-loving policy and one of collaboration with regard to the United States which has always met with unanimous approval and support on the part of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Government of the U.S.S.R. declares that in the future as well it intends to carry out this policy with complete consistency."

Mr. Marshall said that, without any regard to the past and only with reference to the future, this was a very important statement, and he was quite certain that the entire world would look on with intense interest to follow the consistency or implementation of it.

He went on to explain that what we were concerned with mainly at the present moment was action in various groups, such as the Security Council, where a tremendous improvement in the world situation could be secured. If the stalemates that exist can be broken down, he said, there was a practical proposition, an opportunity for practical demonstration of reaching an accord which would permit a stabilization of the world situation.

A correspondent remarked that it would seem that in the case of each of the stalemates, somebody should take the initiative to reopen the case. He went on to say that the Council of Foreign Ministers had adjourned apparently for an indefinite time and presumably it would require action or initiative of one of the countries to resume the discussion. He asked if we considered now that the Soviet had taken the initiative and it was up to her to revive such discussion. Mr. Marshall declined to comment. He said he wished to accentuate that there were a number of fields where we were at a complete stalemate in which action could be taken and where it would do much for the world situation.

When asked if he were suggesting that if Russia were seriously interested in improving the world situation, her opportunity was to act in these fields through various international agencies, the Secretary replied that this was exactly what he had implied. Asked if this meant that the United States Government would take no action until Russia did something in the areas mentioned, Mr. Marshall said he did not intend to imply this.

Mr. Marshall, in answer to a question as to whether Ambassador Smith had any reason to understand that the exchange of notes would not be made public, replied in the negative. He said that as far as he knew there had been no discussion of that factor. He said that we had assumed that this had been confidentially discussed orally because that was the sole remaining opportunity or field where critical matters could be discussed without drawing into tremendous public reactions in advance of any progress made toward reaching

an agreement. He felt that the United States must guard with great care the integrity of these actions in such matters but that there was a special hazard as to what might happen. He said it had happened in this particular case. When asked if there were any way in which this could be prevented, the Secretary shrugged his shoulders.

Mr. Marshall, when asked if this had been an exchange of notes or just an exchange of verbal views, replied that it had been done orally but with a firm preliminary understanding of what was to be said. Asked if it had been a note or an *aide-mémoire*, the Secretary replied that he was not enough of a diplomat to answer such a technical question.

When asked if Ambassador Smith left a piece of paper with Mr. Molotov for the one he had sent us, Mr. Marshall replied that he thought that it had been sent afterwards. Asked if the paper had been marked "confidential", Mr. Marshall replied that he had not seen it. He remarked that Mr. Molotov had sent Ambassador Smith a copy of the substance of his remarks after the interview was over.

The Secretary, when asked if we would still be interested in carrying on the confidential discussions through diplomatic channels since a settlement has not been reached in other councils, replied that we would always be endeavoring to do this whenever there was an opportunity to get a beneficial result.

When asked if the State Department seemed to regard the disclosure as somewhat unfortunate, but not to the point of regarding it as unfortunate, the Secretary said he had tried to point out that this was the only field for such diplomatic interchanges where we could proceed without having a general public response at a moment which would probably disturb the process of views or any possibility of agreement. When a correspondent said he did not see how this disclosure had hurt the cause of peace in any way, Mr. Marshall replied that it might not have hurt it, and it might have helped it. He said he was not disputing that part of it. But, he pointed out, in the conversations between an Ambassador and a Foreign Minister, the understanding had been that there was no disclosure unless the other party was first notified that such a disclosure would be made. Mr. Marshall said that we were not quibbling over this and would proceed with the tenor of our ways along the lines we had in the past.

A correspondent asked why, since the United States communication of May 4 did not involve any invitation to voice a reply directly, Ambassador Smith had not made this clear when he replied to Mr. Molotov's acceptance on May 9. Mr. Marshall replied that he had not talked to Ambassador Smith. He said he knew exactly what the Ambassador said, pointing out that General Smith had had no indication that there was going to be

a release or that only a portion of his statement would be released while all of Mr. Molotov's statement would be released.

The Secretary was asked what the insuperable objection to inviting Mr. Stalin in person to Washington would be if the Soviet Government would submit a concrete proposal for discussions. He declined to discuss this question, saying that it was a matter for the President to comment on.

A correspondent asked what was left to do in order to maintain our relations with Russia if the field of verbal exchange of views was the only field left and was no longer safe. Mr. Marshall said that we were going ahead. He explained that we had not broken off any negotiations and had asserted and reasserted the desire to continue with them. He stated that we would go ahead with the negotiations and accept the hazards.

When the Secretary was asked if there were not a long list of pending Soviet-American issues on which Ambassador Smith had been trying to get discussion and whether this list would be an appropriate subject for diplomatic negotiations, he replied that the list had been a continuing subject for diplomatic negotiations.

Secretary Marshall, when asked if he felt that the Russian reply indicated any change in attitude on the part of the Russian Government, replied that in the statement of the fundamentals it revealed no change of view. He went on to say that he had read one portion which he thought had a particular significance for the future and he felt that the Soviet reply and the release indicated the willingness of the Soviet Government to proceed with negotiations. Asked if he were encouraged by this, the Secretary declined to comment.

When asked if Ambassador Smith's original statement had been predicated on the assumption that the Soviet Government might become either confused or would misinterpret some statements in our political campaign, Mr. Marshall said that probably the primary purpose was to make unmistakably clear to the Soviet Government the terms of the American foreign policy and its intentions and views with regard to the Soviet Government because there had been so much said in the various debates and speeches, and in the papers that we thought it necessary to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding which might lead to tragic consequences. He said we wished to make the policy of the United States Government entirely clear, no matter what might be said here or there. The Secretary mentioned Soviet propaganda, pointing out that sometimes there was a tendency to believe your own propaganda if you heard it often enough. He said the Soviet propaganda was going full force so that there was a general confusion of statements which might result in a very unfortunate reaction. It was to guard against this, he said, that we undertook to

make as clear as possible the position of the United States Government as to its policy, its attitude toward the Soviet Union, its firm purpose and its willingness in relation to its efforts to reach an accord.

When asked if he had a practical hope that the Soviet Government would take the actions, or some of the actions, which he had said were necessary to proceed with negotiations, Mr. Marshall replied that he had hope that we would see evidence in these various fields of more of a spirit of reaching an accord.

Mr. Marshall, when asked if there had been any other overtures, however informal, on the part of the Soviet Government in the last few months looking toward a United States-Soviet conference, said he did not recall any overtures at any time for a United States-Soviet conference that would be on a purely bilateral basis. He remarked here that he had just read a teletype from Paris saying that General Smith had left Paris on a fishing trip in the Normandy area. He said that the General had pointed out that he was going with personal friends and not officials in order to squelch rumors that his trip was taken in order to talk with high officials concerning Soviet-American relations.

A correspondent remarked that the Secretary's statement said that we would want to have some assurances before entering into negotiations with Russia if there were to be an agreement reached. Mr. Marshall replied that he had not said this. He explained that he had said that we wanted assurances that we would have to get practical results. Mr. Marshall pointed out that there was a vast difference between general negotiations and ones specifically for a particular purpose.

Henry F. Grady Presents Credentials to King of Nepal

Henry F. Grady, American Ambassador to India, presented on May 3 to His Majesty King Tribhubana his credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Kingdom of Nepal. Accompanied by other American Foreign Service personnel of the Embassy at New Delhi and the Consulate General at Calcutta, Dr. Grady traveled to Katmandu, Nepal's capital, where he was received by the King and by the Maharajah Mohan Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, who recently succeeded to the prime ministership.

Dr. Grady will represent the United States concurrently in New Delhi as Ambassador and in Katmandu as Minister, with his residence in the former capital.

U.S. Interest in New Siamese Government

[Released to the press April 23]

In connection with the resignation of the Aphaiwong Government of Siam on April 8 and the forming of a new Government by Phibun Songgram, the United States Government will watch carefully the manner in which Siam's international and other obligations are carried out and how American citizens and their interests in Siam are treated.

In this connection, the United States Government is for the time being suspending its consideration of what action, if any, it might take in response to the Siamese Government's desire for favorable consideration of various matters of a financial nature.

Additional Letters of Intention Filed Under Foreign Assistance Act

[Released to the press by the ECA May 5]

Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator for Economic Cooperation, announced on May 5 that four additional European countries—the United Kingdom, Belgium, Iceland, and Ireland—as well as China, have filed letters of intention and have qualified for assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act. This brings the total number of countries which have so qualified up to eleven.

Immediately upon receipt of the United Kingdom's letter of intent the Administrator authorized expenditures of \$33,500,000 for three commodities for shipment from Canada to the United Kingdom. The authorizations which follow bring the total of such authorizations to date up to \$107,770,000, exclusive of ocean freight.

Commodity	Long tons	Value
Bacon	13, 640	\$11, 000, 000
Wheat	246, 000	17, 000, 000
Wheat flour	61, 000	5, 500, 000

On April 26 Mr. Hoffman announced that letters of intent had been received from six other European countries: France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark.

On April 9, 1948, Mr. Hoffman qualified Austria, France, Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands for emergency assistance only. The action announced on May 5 makes possible the transfer of assistance on a wider range of materials and services to the countries qualified. This interim arrangement, under section 115(c) of the act, will terminate on July 3, 1948, and the future transfer of assistance is conditioned upon the act and upon bilateral agreements being concluded with each of the countries.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

PUBLICATIONS

Exchange of Ambassadors Between U.S. and Ceylon

[Released to the press April 26]

The Government of the United States and the Government of Ceylon have agreed to initiate diplomatic representation by the exchange of ambassadors.

Ceylon achieved fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations on February 4, 1948. The President of the United States sent a Personal Representative with the rank of Special Ambassador to Colombo, Ceylon, to attend the special ceremonies by which the people of Ceylon celebrated the establishment of their new nationhood on that day.

The United States first opened a Consulate at Colombo, Ceylon, in 1850. In August 1947 the Consulate was raised to a Consulate General. Felix Cole has been appointed the first United States Ambassador to Ceylon. He has been in the Foreign Service for many years, having just served as Minister to Ethiopia. It is expected that Mr. Cole will arrive in Ceylon and present his letters of credence to Sir Henry Moore, the Governor-General of Ceylon, and formally establish the United States Embassy sometime in June this year. The Government of Ceylon expects to initiate early action to establish its Embassy in Washington.

This exchange of ambassadors between the United States and Ceylon reflects the continued growth of close and cordial relations between the two countries.

Department of State

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

Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security. International Organization and Conference Series 11, American Republics 1. Pub. 3016. iv, 225 pp. 40¢.

Report of the American Delegation, together with text of treaty of reciprocal assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro September 2, 1947, and a small map of the region defined by article 4 of the treaty.

European Recovery Program: Commodity Reports Including Manpower. Economic Cooperation Series 4. Pub. 3093. xii, 448 pp. Free.

Commodity reports on food and agriculture, fertilizer, agricultural machinery, coal, coal mining machinery, electric power, petroleum, iron and steel including steel making equipment, inland transport, maritime transport, timber, and manpower.

Convention for European Economic Co-operation With Related Documents. Economic Cooperation Series 7. Pub. 3145. i, 52 pp. Free.

Text of the convention and pertinent protocols and resolutions preceded by text of the final act of the Second Session of the Committee of European Economic Co-operation.

Confirmation

On April 14, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Herschel V. Johnson to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Brazil.

Statements and Addresses of the Week

Assistant Secretary Allen	Continuing Partnership in Educational Exchange. Not printed. Text issued as press release 353 of May 10.	Address made before the Conference on International Student Exchange at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, on May 10.
	On the subject of UNESCO. Not printed. Text issued as press release 370 of May 13.	Address made before the Pacific Regional Conference of UNESCO in San Francisco on May 13.
Assistant Secretary Thorp	On the International Wheat Agreement. Not printed. Text issued as press release 374 of May 14.	Statement made before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 14.
Secretary Marshall	On the Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria. Not printed. Text issued as press release 358 of May 10, 1948.	Statement made at opening ceremonies of the Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria on May 10.
Secretary Marshall	On observance of World Trade Week. Not printed. Text issued as press release 381 of May 15.	Statement made on May 15.

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Norman Burns, author of the article on America's responsibility in world trade, is an adviser in the Division of Commercial Policy, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State.

Val R. Lorwin, author of the article on the Rome Manpower Conference, is an officer in the Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs. He served as senior United States observer at the Manpower Conference held at Rome January 26-February 9, 1948, on the invitation of the Italian Government, under the auspices of the Committee of European Economic Co-operation.

The Department of State

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May 30, 1948

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

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REGIONALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN: Six Years of Progress ¹

An Article

The six years of existence of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and the Caribbean Commission serve to emphasize the effectiveness of a regional approach to common problems. Recently by unanimous vote of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives the international agreement creating the Caribbean Commission was approved in the act which was signed by President Truman on March 4, 1948.

Wartime Role

The work to be done by the Caribbean Commission has gained importance since the end of the war, but the atmosphere of drama which marked its wartime activities no longer exists. For reasons of military security the part played by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in maintaining a flow of foodstuffs and supplies to Puerto Rico and other parts of the Caribbean area during the war was never fully revealed.

The United States Section of the Commission was given the task of coordinating the activities in Washington of many civilian agencies which had direct responsibility for getting food supplies through the submarine blockade. In this enterprise it worked closely with the British Section of the Commission. The Navy Department kept the United States co-chairman informed of the movements of German submarines near and in the Caribbean. This information helped in determining the amount of goods to ship and when and where to ship it. At one time the United States Section was advised that it could count on only one of every two ships bound for these islands to arrive. One may remember the emergency shipment of scarce food made by Puerto Rico to Antigua in the British Leeward Islands during a peak in the submarine blitz. The Commission was grateful for this act of regional cooperation by the people of Puerto Rico.

After the war the Commission expanded. The two original members, the United States and the United Kingdom, welcomed the French Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands into what is now known as the Caribbean Commission.

Commission's Objectives

The objectives of the Commission are based essentially on the desire of the four member gov-

ernments to encourage and strengthen cooperation among themselves and their territories in the Caribbean area with a view to improving the economic and social well-being of the peoples of these territories. The political aspects of the problems of non-self-governing territories do not come within the terms of reference of the Caribbean Commission. The member governments have agreed to promote scientific, technological, and economic development in the Caribbean area and to facilitate the use of resources and the treatment of mutual problems, especially in the field of research.

The member governments have further agreed that the objectives of the Caribbean Commission are in accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It will be recalled that article 73 of that Charter recognizes the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories are paramount and accepts as a sacred trust the obligation to insure their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, the development of self-government, and the furtherance of international peace and security.

Commissioners and the West Indian Conferences

Both by custom and by specific provision of the agreement, the Commission must draw heavily and importantly on the wishes, the needs, and the advice of the people of the Caribbean area. To insure that recommendations from the people in social and economic matters are brought to the attention of both the local and metropolitan governments, two organizational devices are used. One is the appointment of West Indians and those closely identified with the interests of the people of the West Indies to the Commission, and the other is the convening under the auspices of the Commission of the biennial West Indian Conference. This conference consists of two representatives of each territory who discuss the social and economic problems of the region and make spe-

¹This article has been condensed from draft of a speech unrevised by the late Charles W. Taussig, Chairman of the United States Section of the Caribbean Commission. It had been written for delivery at the Sixth Meeting of the Commission, May 24-29, 1948, at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

cific recommendations to the local governments and the metropolitan governments through the Commission.

The independence of their activities as commissioners and their relationship to their metropolitan governments is also to a large degree dependent on the customs and the constitutional procedures of their respective home governments.

All of the United States Commissioners are appointed by the President of the United States. Three out of four of the United States Commissioners are from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States. Puerto Rico has two distinguished representatives on the Commission, Governor Piñero and Dr. Rafael Picó, Chairman of the Planning, Urbanizing, and Zoning Board. The third commissioner from the area is Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands of the United States, who has been closely associated with the Caribbean for many years.

It is the policy of the United States Section to depend largely on the advice of the three commissioners resident in this region. It is somewhat handicapped by geographical distance, but visits of the Puerto Rican and Virgin Islands Commissioners to Washington and telephone consultations which frequently occur between the Co-chairman in Washington and the West Indian Commissioners enable them to work closely together. The policy of the United States Section is to assign to the West Indian Commissioners a maximum of responsibility.

At the last meeting of the Caribbean Commission at Trinidad in December 1947, Governor Hastie acted as Co-chairman for the United States and Chairman of that meeting. Rafael Picó is the United States Representative on the Panel of Experts which is now engaged in making an important industrial survey of the Caribbean area for the Commission. Governor Piñero has only recently been appointed to the Commission by President Truman, but because of the Governor's interest in Commission activities when he was Resident Commissioner for Puerto Rico in Washington, it is certain that he will assume all the responsibilities and activities in the Commission that are consistent with his arduous duties as Governor of Puerto Rico.

To increase further the influence and activity of the West Indian Commissioners, it is the intention of the United States Section to convene periodically the four United States Commissioners so that the four commissioners can act as nearly as possible as a unit in forwarding the interests of the region. The first of these periodic meetings of the United States Commissioners will take place immediately following the present series of meetings.

The Caribbean Commission may recommend on its own initiative specific measures to improve the social and economic conditions of the Caribbean

area. Each of the four member governments also may initiate programs and studies to be undertaken by the Commission. The territorial governments may originate proposals for the consideration of the Commission, as may the Research Council and the West Indian Conference. It can thus be seen that the Caribbean Commission is not an isolated body unrelated to the governments and the people of the Caribbean but is an organization created to be useful to and to be used by the territories of the Caribbean region. The biennial West Indian Conference is the most democratic auxiliary of the Commission and provides a means by which the desires and needs of the people of the Caribbean can be discussed and formulated on a regional basis.

Development of Industry and Trade

Many recommendations of the two West Indian Conferences have been approved by the member governments. The following brief illustrations partially indicate the scope and influence of its work.

One of the most reactionary aspects of what is generally called "colonialism" has been the practice of delegating to colonial territories the exclusive role of producer of raw materials and of stifling any efforts on their part to create industries of their own or to produce products for local consumption or export. The desire of the territories to develop industries, to diversify their agriculture, and to increase the production of their own local foods were important subjects at both sessions of the West Indian Conference. Various phases of these problems in the form of specific recommendations were presented to the member governments. The reaction of the member governments to these proposals is best illustrated by the joint statement made by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom after considering the recommendations of the West Indian Conference held in Barbados in 1944: "The two Governments recognize that assistance by governments is necessary to promote food production, industrial activity, and trade, the expansion of which is basic to the economic and social development of the area. The cost of such assistance may be borne by either the local or the metropolitan governments or both."

The Puerto Rican Delegates have taken the leadership and initiative at these two conferences on the subject of industrialization. Puerto Rico with its active program of industrial development undertaken by the Puerto Rico Development Corporation was and is able to talk with authority on this subject.

This new attitude of the metropolitan countries to their territories was forwarded as a result of the Second West Indian Conference held at St. Thomas in 1946. The industrial survey of the Caribbean territories was then proposed to be un-

dertaken by the Commission, and it is now approaching completion.

The Second West Indian Conference went a step further than the First Conference in that it recognized that, although much can be done on a regional basis to develop territorial industry and trade, such effort must be related to world economics. The West Indian Conference recommended that representatives of the territories be attached to the delegations of the member governments at international conferences which were of major interest to the well-being of the Caribbean area. The Caribbean Commission and several of the member governments acted favorably upon that recommendation. As a direct result of the recommendation made by the Second West Indian Conference, the United States appointed Sol Luis Descartes of Puerto Rico as adviser to the United States Delegation on the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment held at Geneva in the summer of 1947. Roy W. Bornn of the Virgin Islands of the United States was appointed as an adviser to the 30th Session of the International Labor Conference also held at Geneva last summer. Both Mr. Descartes and Mr. Bornn served their territories and the Government of the United States with great distinction.

Reports of Research Council

Other subjects in which the Commission has been active and in many cases effective include health, tourism, problems concerning labor, extensive surveys of commercial fishing possibilities in the Caribbean, transportation, and other subjects within its terms of reference. The Caribbean Research Council, an auxiliary of the Commission, has been active in its studies and in coordinating regional research. It has published numerous pamphlets and reports on such subjects as forest research within the Caribbean area, the sugar industry of the Caribbean, livestock in the Caribbean, grain crops, and many other Caribbean agricultural reports.

One of the more important and useful reports to be published by the Caribbean Research Council, which has created considerable interest not only in the Caribbean but also in other parts of the world, is the report of the Caribbean Land Tenure Symposium held in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, in August 1944. That meeting was attended

by representatives from Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands of the United States, Surinam, and from the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. In addition, guest representatives from Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic were present. The subject of land reforms of the area was discussed in considerable detail. Among the various systems reviewed and publicized at this Conference was the imaginative and comprehensive land-reform program of Puerto Rico.

International Cooperation

The Caribbean Commission is making every effort to avoid duplication of activities with other international organizations. Although the Commission has at present no organic relationship with the United Nations, it has issued a directive to its Secretary General to maintain the closest contact with the United Nations at the secretariat level. This arrangement, now functioning, is of benefit to both organizations.

At a result of the pioneering work of the Caribbean Commission, a South Pacific Commission has been created to carry on similar work with the non-self-governing territories in that area. That Commission consists of the four governments participating in the work of the Caribbean Commission and in addition Australia and New Zealand. It is holding its first meeting this month in Sydney, Australia.

None know better than the commissioners themselves of the shortcomings of the Caribbean Commission and how difficult it is for it to reach quickly many of its goals. The role that has been assigned to it in the field it covers is among the most difficult in international organization. At the sixth meeting, the Commission will discuss among other matters the ways and means of improving its organization, of speeding up its work, of becoming more vital to the people of the Caribbean.

The members of the Commission, both present and past, representing France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, have labored hard and have acted in genuine international and interterritorial friendship to help make the lives of the people of the Caribbean happier and more fruitful.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Further Consideration of the Question of the Future Government of Palestine

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY¹

A

Resolution Adopted on the Report of the First Committee

The General Assembly,

TAKING ACCOUNT of the present situation in regard to Palestine,

I

Strongly affirms its support of the efforts of the Security Council to secure a truce in Palestine and calls upon all Governments, organizations and persons to co-operate in making effective such a truce.

II

1. *Empowers* a United Nations Mediator in Palestine, to be chosen by a committee of the General Assembly composed of representatives of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, to exercise the following functions:

(a) To use his good offices with the local and community authorities in Palestine to:

(i) Arrange for the operation of common services necessary to the safety and well-being of the population of Palestine;

(ii) Assure the protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine;

(iii) Promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine.

(b) To co-operate with the Truce Commission for Palestine appointed by the Security Council in its resolution of 23 April 1948.²

(c) To invite, as seems to him advisable, with a view to the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of Palestine, the assistance and co-

operation of appropriate specialized agencies of the United Nations such as the World Health Organization, of the International Red Cross, and of other governmental or non-governmental organizations of a humanitarian and non-political character.

2. *Instructs* the United Nations Mediator to render progress reports monthly, or more frequently as he deems necessary, to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the United Nations.

3. *Directs* the United Nations Mediator to conform in his activities with the provisions of this resolution, and with such instructions as the General Assembly and the Security Council may issue.

4. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to pay the United Nations Mediator an emolument equal to that paid to the President of the International Court of Justice, and to provide the Mediator with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Mediator by the General Assembly.

III

Relieves the Palestine Commission from the further exercise of responsibilities under resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947.

B

Resolution Adopted Without Reference to a Committee

The General Assembly,

HAVING ADOPTED a resolution providing for the appointment of a United Nations Mediator in Palestine, which relieves the United Nations Palestine Commission from the further exercise of its responsibilities,

Resolves to express its full appreciation for the work performed by the Palestine Commission in pursuance of its mandate from the General Assembly.

¹ U.N. doc. A/554, May 17, 1948. Adopted at the 135th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on May 14, 1948.

² BULLETIN of May 9, 1948, p. 594.

Further Discussion in the Security Council of the Palestine Situation

STATEMENTS BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations

Mr. President, the Security Council has now adequate information to demonstrate that its earlier efforts to bring an end to the fighting in Palestine have been unsuccessful. Actual fighting now in progress in Palestine, together with statements being made by all parties directly involved, clearly indicates to the United States Government that there is a threat to the peace and breach of the peace within the meaning of article 39 of the Charter.

We believe, therefore, that the Security Council should find that the situation with respect to Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace and breach of the peace under article 39.

We believe that the Security Council should issue an order as a provisional measure under article 40, calling upon all authorities who are in control of armed elements now operating in any part of Palestine to bring about an immediate standstill in all military operations.

I will read at this point a draft resolution on the Palestine question submitted by the Representative of the United States at the 293d meeting of the Security Council, 17 May, 1948, which is document S/749:

“The Security Council

“TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION that previous resolutions of the Security Council in respect to Palestine have not been complied with and that military operations are taking place in Palestine;

“Determines that the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace and a breach of the peace within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter;

“Orders all Governments and authorities to cease and desist from any hostile military action and to that end issue a cease-fire and stand-fast order to their military and para-military forces to become effective within 36 hours after the adoption of this resolution;

“Directs the Truce Commission established by the Security Council by its resolution of 23 April, 1948 to report to the Security Council on the compliance with these orders.”

Mr. President, in the meantime, in order to permit the Security Council Truce Commission to proceed with maximum speed, the Security Council should ascertain which Arab authorities are

responsible for Arab aspects of the situation in Palestine and insure that such Arab authorities have designated representatives to deal with the Security Council Truce Commission. The United States considers additional information on Palestine to be desirable. The Council may wish to put to the principal parties a number of questions. Some of these questions will be familiar to you, but it seems necessary to bring together in compact form all of the relative facts that can be obtained for the further information of the Security Council and to obtain these facts before a decision is made. I am submitting the type of questions that we think should be propounded to all of the parties interested in the following substance, namely:

1. *To: Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, and Lebanon:*

(a) Are elements of your armed forces or irregular forces sponsored by your government now operating in Palestine?

(b) If so, where are such forces now located, under what command are they now operating, and what are their military objectives?

(c) On what basis is it claimed that such forces are entitled to enter Palestine and conduct operations there?

(d) Who is now responsible for the exercise of political functions in the Arab areas of Palestine?

(e) Is such authority now negotiating with Jewish authorities on a political settlement in Palestine?

(f) Have the Arab governments entered into any agreements among themselves with respect to Palestine?

(g) If so, what are the terms of the agreements?

2. *Questions to the Arab Higher Committee:*

(a) Is the Arab Higher Committee exercising political authority in Arab sections of Palestine?

(b) What governmental arrangements have been made to maintain public order and to carry on public services in Arab sections of Palestine?

¹ Made before the Security Council on May 17, 1948, and released to the press by the U. S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

(c) Have the Arabs of Palestine requested assistance from governments outside of Palestine?

(d) If so, what governments and for what purpose?

(e) Have you named representatives to deal with the Security Council Truce Commission for the purpose of effecting the truce called for by the Security Council?

3. Questions to the Provisional Government of Israel:

(a) Over which areas of Palestine do you actually exercise control at the present time?

(b) Do you have armed forces operating outside areas claimed by your Jewish State?

(c) If so, on what basis do you attempt to justify such operations?

(d) Are you negotiating with Arab authorities regarding either a truce or a political settlement in Palestine?

(e) Have you named representatives to deal with the Security Council Truce Commission for the purpose of effecting the truce called for by the Security Council?

(f) Will you agree to an immediate and unconditional truce for the City of Jerusalem and the Holy Places?

[The following extemporaneous remarks were made by Ambassador Austin before the Security Council on May 22, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on the same date.]

Mr. President, the paragraph before us reads:

"Determines that the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace and a breach of the peace" within the meaning of article 39 of the Charter.

During the brief time in which we have been considering this resolution, events have been reported to us by our Truce Commission and by others, and statements have been made here by the member states and by others, including a message from King Abdullah, and information has reached us in other ways emphasizing a fact which should have been obvious to us all the time: that the situation in Palestine is not merely a threat to the peace; it is a breach of the peace of a very serious nature.

Never before have I argued the phase of the matter which involves the consequences of that, that is to say, its reaching out into international life. But the time has come when we are about to vote on this matter, when I think we cannot ignore the international character of this breach of the peace. Probably the most important evidence and the best evidence we have on that subject is the admissions of the countries whose five

armies have invaded Palestine and are carrying on war. Their statements are the best evidence we have of the international character of this aggression.

There is nothing in the resolution about aggression. It did not occur in the wording of the resolution. But it has occurred in the statements of these aggressors, for they tell us quite frankly that their business there is political, that they are there to establish a unitary state, and, of course, the statement that they are there to make peace is rather remarkable in view of the fact that they are making war.

From King Abdullah we find a communication that is characterized by a sort of contumacy of the United Nations and of the Security Council. He sends us an answer to our questions. These are questions of the Security Council addressed to a ruler who is occupying land outside of his domain, and these questions are asked of him by a body that is organized in the world to ask these questions of him. And he answers us this way (I am reading from S/760, page 2, on the first side of which are the questions addressed to him by the Security Council, and his reply addressed to the president of the Security Council):

"I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the Government of the United States of America, the author of the proposition of addressing the questions about which you inform me, has not yet recognized the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan despite the fact that for two years it has been in a position to meet all the required conditions for such recognition.

"Yet the Government of the United States of America recognizes the so-called Jewish Government within a few hours, although the factors for this recognition were lacking. I also would like to point out that the Security Council refused more than once to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the Transjordan Government to the United Nations. Therefore, my Government does not feel that there is room for reply to the questions addressed to it."

Regardless of the contumacy of that reply to the Security Council, it is the very best evidence of the illegal purpose of this Government in invading Palestine with armed forces and conducting the war that it is conducting there. It is against the peace. It is not on behalf of the peace. It is an invasion for a purpose.

My distinguished friend, the learned Representative of Syria, says that that act, as the act of all the other five armies, is within the Charter; and that it is an act of a regional organization advancing upon this country of Palestine at the invitation of a majority of the people of that

country, which has had no government according to his claim.

Thereby he admitted the international character of whatever act this is. He walked right into the Charter of the United Nations, which is an international charter, and saw fit to call to our attention articles 51 and 52 of the Charter as a justification for this invasion. He omitted, probably by an inadvertence, to refer to that article which shows that this act of regional organization in Palestine is contrary to the Charter and in violation of it and is strictly an illegal act.

He omitted to refer to article 53, which provides, among other things, "but no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against an enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on the request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state."

Those states defined in paragraph 2 were the enemy states of World War II. Of course, that is not the position here. Therefore, we have evidence of the highest type of the international violation of the law here—an admission by those who commit the violation.

Now, it is not necessary to pass upon the juridical status of Palestine in order to have a cease-fire resolution adopted here. Therefore, we do not push any claim about any juridical status here, but it is perfectly obvious to all of us that that part of Palestine which is under the *de facto* government of the Provisional Government of Israel is not a part of the regional organization to which he refers, and therefore, this is not that cooperative effort that he would have us believe it is. This is hostility by a group, a coalition, a region—call it a regional organization—against an organized community that least claims before us that it is a state. We do not have to pass upon the question of whether it is or not. All we have to consider is the fact of what is going on there.

But here is something of considerable significance, it seems to us. We are informed that the Government of Syria in agreement with the Arab League states has proclaimed a blockade of the regional waters of Palestine and has issued warnings to foreign shipping. It is elementary that a proclamation of a blockade constitutes a claim of belligerent rights. The exercise of belligerent rights depends upon the existence of war, whether it be international war or civil war. The claim to exercise belligerent rights must rest upon a recognition of the belligerency of the opposing party.

I do not intend now to discuss the grave questions involved in this claim, nor do I intend to discuss here and now the validity of the blockade which has been proclaimed. I refer to the proclamation of the blockade alleged to be applicable to foreign shipping off the coast of Palestine merely for the purpose of adding another bit of evidence to establish the fact that there is a threat to the peace and a breach of the peace in Palestine.

It is impossible to maintain that foreign shipping off the coast of Palestine is subject to the exercise of belligerent rights and at the same time to assert that there is no threat to the peace or breach of the peace within the meaning of article 39 of the Charter. This is equivalent in its absurdity to alleging that these five armies are there to maintain peace and at the same time are conducting bloody war.

If this is a genuine position, Mr. President—that their purpose is to maintain peace—would it hurt them to adopt this resolution? No! They could perform their obligations if that is their true position. Everyone knows that this resolution adopted here by the Security Council would have a binding effect.

This would be a finding, a decision by the Security Council, and every member of the United Nations would be bound by it and bound to help keep King Abdullah where he belongs. We find in article 2, paragraph 5: "All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive"—that is what this is—"or enforcement action," and, 6: "The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security."

Now again turn to article 48. This would apply to every member of the United Nations if we adopt it in this resolution proposed by the United States. This would be a decision and article 48 provides: "The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members." And this resolution points directly at certain members of the United Nations and calls upon them to cease fire. But article 25—what does article 25 do to members of the United Nations? Let us read it:

"The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security

Council in accordance with the present Charter.”

Now, Mr. President, there are certain consequences that follow disobedience of the decisions of the Security Council. It is not necessary to step right off immediately into action under articles 41 or 42. There are other sanctions against disobedience of the decisions. Therefore, since there is no reasonable ground for difference about the existence of a threat to the peace, about the existence of disturbance of the peace, about the character—the international character—of it, the Security Council should take care of the situation under its obligations found in article 1. I had better read it. It is unsafe for me to try to quote. I found that out before.

“The Purposes of the United Nations are:

“1. To maintain international peace and se-

curity, and to that end: to take effective collective measures”— effective collective measures, not futile ones, not any more those which we have found have no influence and which we have already agreed by a unanimous vote have been flouted and disregarded, but take effective collective measures—“for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace . . .”

Before the conscience of the world how will the Security Council look if it refuses this action? Don't you think that all the world knows what we know is going on in Palestine? And, we are confronted with this duty that the Charter imposes upon us: to recognize that fact. Now, can we refuse to do it? That is the question. Can we refuse to do it?

Resolution on the India-Pakistan Question¹

The Security Council,

Having considered the complaint of the Government of India concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, having heard the representative of India in support of that complaint and the reply and counter complaints of the representative of Pakistan,

Being strongly of opinion that the early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about a cessation of all fighting,

Noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite,

Considering that the continuation of the dispute is likely to endanger international peace and security;

Reaffirms the Council's Resolution of January 17th,

Resolves that the membership of the Commission established by the Resolution of the Council of January 20th, 1948, shall be increased to five and shall include in addition to the membership mentioned in that Resolution, representative of _____ and _____ and that if the membership of the Commission has not been completed within ten days from the date of the adoption of this Resolution the President of the Council may designate

such other Member or Members of the United Nations as are required to complete the membership of five.

Instructs the Commission to proceed at once to the Indian subcontinent and there place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to facilitating the taking of the necessary measures, both with respect to the restoration of peace and order and to the holding of a plebiscite by the two Governments, acting in co-operation with one another and with the Commission and further instructs the Commission to keep the Council informed of the action taken under the Resolution, and to this end,

Recommends to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council are appropriate to bring about a cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan.

A. RESTORATION OF PEACE AND ORDER

1. The Government of Pakistan should undertake to use its best endeavours:

(a) To secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purposes of fighting and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State.

(b) To make known to all concerned that the measures indicated in this and the following para-

¹ U.N. doc. S/726, Apr. 22, 1948. Submitted jointly by the Representatives of Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Adopted at the 286th meeting of the Security Council on Apr. 21, 1948.

graphs provide full freedom to all subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste, or party, to express their views and to vote on the question of the accession of the State, and that therefore they should co-operate in the maintenance of peace and order.

2. The Government of India should :

(a) When it is established to the satisfaction of the Commission set up in accordance with the Council's Resolution of 20 January that the tribesmen are withdrawing and that arrangements for the cessation of the fighting have become effective, put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing their own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order,

(b) Make known that the withdrawal is taking place in stages and announce the completion of each stage;

(c) When the Indian forces shall have been reduced to the minimum strength mentioned in (a) above, arrange in consultation with the Commission for the stationing of the remaining forces to be carried out in accordance with the following principles:

- (i) That the presence of troops should not afford any intimidation or appearance of intimidation to the inhabitants of the State,
- (ii) That as small a number as possible should be retained in forward areas,
- (iii) That any reserve of troops which may be included in the total strength should be located within their present Base area.

3. The Government of India should agree that until such time as the plebiscite administration referred to below finds it necessary to exercise the powers of direction and supervision over the State forces and police provided for in Paragraph 8 they will be held in areas to be agreed upon with the Plebiscite Administrator.

4. After the plan referred to in paragraph 2(a) above has been put into operation, personnel recruited locally in each district should so far as possible be utilized for the reestablishment and maintenance of law and order with due regard to protection of minorities, subject to such additional requirements as may be specified by the Plebiscite Administration referred to in paragraph 7.

5. If these local forces should be found to be inadequate, the Commission, subject to the agreement of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, should arrange for the use of such forces of either Dominion as it deems effective for the purpose of pacification.

B. PLEBISCITE

6. The Government of India should undertake to ensure that the Government of the State invite the major political groups to designate responsible representatives to share equitably and fully in the conduct of the administration at the Ministerial level, while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out.

7. The Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a Plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan.

8. The Government of India should undertake that there will be delegated by the State to the Plebiscite Administration such powers as the latter considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite including, for that purpose only, the direction and supervision of the State forces and police.

9. The Government of India should at the request of the Plebiscite Administration make available from the Indian forces such assistance as the Plebiscite Administration may require for the performance of its functions.

10. (a) The Government of India should agree that a nominee of the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be appointed to be the Plebiscite Administrator.

(b) The Plebiscite Administrator, acting as an officer of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, should have authority to nominate his Assistants and other subordinates and to draft regulations governing the Plebiscite. Such nominees should be formally appointed and such draft regulations should be formally promulgated by the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) The Government of India should undertake that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will appoint fully qualified persons nominated by the Plebiscite Administrator to act as special magistrates within the State judicial system to hear cases which in the opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator have a serious bearing on the preparation for and the conduct of a free and impartial plebiscite.

(d) The terms of service of the Administrator should form the subject of a separate negotiation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Government of India. The Administrator should fix the terms of service for his Assistants and subordinates.

(e) The Administrator should have the right to communicate direct with the Government of the State and with the Commission of the Security Council and, through the Commission with the Security Council, with the Governments of India and Pakistan and with their Representatives with the Commission. It would be his duty to bring to

the notice of any or all of the foregoing (as he in his discretion may decide) any circumstances arising which may tend, in his opinion, to interfere with the freedom of the Plebiscite.

11. The Government of India should undertake to prevent and to give full support to the Administrator and his staff in preventing any threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite, and the Government of India should publicly announce and should cause the Government of the State to announce this undertaking as an international obligation binding on all public authorities and officials in Jammu and Kashmir.

12. The Government of India should themselves and through the Government of the State declare and make known that all subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, regardless of creed, caste or party, will be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State and that there will be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

13. The Government of India should use and should ensure that the Government of the State also use their best endeavours to effect the withdrawal from the State of all Indian nationals other than those who are normally resident therein

or who on or since 15 August 1947 have entered it for a lawful purpose.

14. The Government of India should ensure that the Government of the State release all political prisoners and take all possible steps so that:

(a) all citizens of the State who have left it on account of disturbances are invited, and are free, to return to their homes and to exercise their rights as such citizens;

(b) there is no victimization;

(c) minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection.

15. The Commission of the Security Council should at the end of the plebiscite certify to the Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been really free and impartial.

C. GENERAL PROVISIONS

16. The Governments of India and Pakistan should each be invited to nominate a Representative to be attached to the Commission for such assistance as it may require in the performance of its task.

17. The Commission should establish in Jammu and Kashmir such observers as it may require of any of the proceedings in pursuance of the measures indicated in the foregoing paragraphs.

18. The Security Council Commission should carry out the tasks assigned to it herein.

U.N. Temporary Commission To Observe Elections in South Korea ¹

At its 33d meeting, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea today (April 28) adopted the following resolution:

"In order to comply with the provisions of the resolution passed at its 22nd meeting, on 12 March,

"Having satisfied itself as a result of its extensive field observations in various key districts of south Korea that there exists in south Korea in a reasonable degree a free atmosphere wherein the democratic rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly are recognized and respected,

"The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea *resolves*:

"To confirm that it will observe the elections announced by the commanding General of the United States Forces in Korea to be held on 10 May 1948."

In its resolution of March 12, 1948, the Temporary Commission decided "to observe elections

announced by the Commanding General of the American forces to be held on 9 May 1948, provided the Commission has ascertained that the elections will be held in a free atmosphere wherein the democratic rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly would be recognized and respected."

The date of the elections was later altered to May 10.²

Korean People Congratulated on Elections

Statement by Secretary Marshall

[Released to the press May 12]

The Korean people are to be congratulated on the success of Korea's first democratic election on Monday, held under the observation of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. The fact that some 90 percent of the registered voters cast their ballots, despite the lawless efforts of a Communist-dominated minority to prevent or sabotage the election, is a clear revelation that the Korean people are determined to form their own government by democratic means.

¹ Released to the press by the U.N. Department of Public Information on Apr. 28, 1948.

² BULLETIN of MAR. 14, 1948, p. 344.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Thirty-first Session of the International Labor Conference ¹

The Thirty-first Session of the International Labor Conference is scheduled to convene at San Francisco on June 17, 1948, and is expected to continue at least three weeks. The Thirtieth Session was held at Geneva in June and July 1947. The forthcoming session will be the fifth to be held in the United States, others having met at Washington in 1919, New York in 1941, Philadelphia in 1944, and Seattle in 1946.

It is expected that the Conference will be attended by delegations from most, if not all, of the 55 member countries of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The delegations will be "tripartite", that is, composed of two members representing the Government, one representing management, and one representing labor. Countries which are members of the United Nations but not members of the ILO have been invited to be represented by observers at the Conference.

The ILO is an intergovernmental agency, financed by contributions from its member governments, whose purpose is to further social justice and thus provide the basis for universal and lasting peace. The Organization provides machinery for concerted international action to improve working conditions, raise standards of living, and promote social and economic stability. Established in 1919, it is now a specialized agency of the United Nations.

The principal function of the International Labor Conference is the formulation of international minimum standards governing workers and living conditions. These standards are embodied in multilateral treaties, called international labor conventions, and in formal recommendations. The member countries are obligated to consider conventions for possible ratification. If a country ratifies a convention, it is under obligation to apply its provisions and to submit annual reports to the International Labor Office on the manner in which it is doing so. Recommendations are not required to be considered for possible ratification, but countries are obligated to consider them "with a view to effect being given to them by national legislation or otherwise". Eighty-six conventions and 82 recommendations have been adopted by the 30 sessions of the Conference to date. Fifty-three of the conventions are currently in force. A total of 972 national ratifications of the conventions has been registered.

The agenda of the forthcoming session will comprise the following items: (1) the Director-General's report on the work of the Organization during the year and on social and economic trends throughout the world; (2) financial and budgetary questions, including the approval of the budget for the 1949 operations of the Organization; (3) examination of reports supplied by the member governments on the way in which they are implementing the conventions they have ratified; (4) consideration of the adoption of one international labor convention and one recommendation providing for national employment services and consideration of the adoption of a convention revising the convention on fee-charging employment agencies adopted by the Conference in 1933; (5) preliminary considerations of the question of vocational guidance with a view to framing international standards at the 1949 session; (6) wages, including the questions of wage policy, fair-wage clauses in public contracts, and the protection of wages; (7) consideration of a convention to safeguard freedom of association of workers and employers and to protect their right to organize; (8) the question of industrial relations, including the application of the principles of the right to organize and bargain collectively, collective agreements, conciliation and arbitration, and cooperation between the public authorities and employers' and workers' organizations; (9) consideration of adoption of a convention revising the conventions regulating the employment of women on night work; (10) consideration of a convention partially to revise the convention regulating the night work of young persons; (11) substitution for the provisions of the night-work (women) convention (revised), 1934, and of the night-work of young persons (industry) convention, 1919, contained in the schedule to the labor-standards (nonmetropolitan territories) convention, 1947, of the corresponding provisions of the revising conventions proposed under items 9 and 10 above; and (12) approval of an annex, relating to the ILO, to the convention on the privileges and immunities of the U.N. specialized agencies.

The Conference will be preceded on June 12 and 14 by the 105th session of the Governing Body.

¹ Prepared by the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Seventh Meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee

By James G. Evans

The Seventh Plenary Meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee was held at Cairo and Alexandria, Egypt, April 1-8, 1948. Nineteen member governments and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations were represented. His Excellency Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrashy Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt and Minister of Finance, addressed the meeting at the opening session. His Excellency Osman Abaza Bey, Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance, and head of the delegation of the host country, served as chairman of the meeting.

The International Cotton Advisory Committee was organized in 1939 "(a) to observe and keep in touch with developments in the world cotton situation and (b) to suggest as and when advisable to governments represented on it any measure suitable and practicable for the achievement of ultimate international cooperation." In order to achieve the effectiveness of its work, the Advisory Committee at its fifth meeting (Washington, May 7-14, 1946) recommended to the member governments the establishment of an Executive Committee which would cooperate with international organizations concerned with the world cotton situation, thereby providing for the exchange of views in regard to current developments. The Committee also recommended that a secretariat be organized at Washington which would assemble and make available to member governments information on world cotton production, trade, consumption, stocks, and prices.¹

Following the pattern of previous plenary meetings the agenda for the seventh meeting as recommended by the Executive Committee provided for: (1) consideration of proposals relating to organizational changes and the expenditure of funds; (2) consideration of the work program for the following year; (3) consideration of recommendations to member governments looking toward further international cooperation; and (4) a review of the cotton situation in each of the member countries and in the world as a whole. Final action of the seventh meeting consisted of 14 reso-

lutions approved unanimously at the final session held in Alexandria April 8.

Organizational Changes and the Expenditure of Funds

Leslie A. Wheeler in his report as retiring chairman recommended full participation of the Advisory Committee membership in the work of the Executive Committee at Washington. The Seventh Plenary Meeting accepted his suggestion and replaced the Executive Committee with a standing committee of all contributing members. The effect of this action will be that the International Cotton Advisory Committee will function as a standing committee at Washington between annual plenary meetings.

The Secretariat was instructed to draw to the attention of the governments concerned that all members of the United Nations and related international organizations having a substantial interest in cotton are eligible for membership in the International Cotton Advisory Committee. Accordingly the Secretariat was instructed to keep the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization informed of the Committee's activities and to invite representation on an observer basis from those organizations at the Committee deliberations (Resolution VIII).

The Standing Committee was authorized to approve expenditures totaling \$60,000 during the year ending June 30, 1949 (Resolution IV). Assessment of member governments will continue according to the formula adopted for the previous year (Resolution V). A reserve fund of \$30,000 was established out of which withdrawals may be made only when expenditures made in accordance with the approved budget exhaust the funds available on current account (Resolution VI). Continuation of membership of governments whose contributions are in arrears for more than two years is to be examined in each case by the Standing Committee (Resolution VII).

Program of Work for Secretariat—1948-49

The Advisory Committee recognized that "the assembling of relevant facts in international array is basic to the development of international under-

¹The sixth meeting of the Advisory Committee (Washington, June 9-11, 1947) approved minor organizational changes within the established structure.

standing and cooperation . . . ". Accordingly the Secretariat was instructed to compile and publish, with respect to the world cotton situation, monthly commentaries, quarterly and annual statements, and a quarterly statistical bulletin for cotton and competing fibers. The Secretariat was also instructed to initiate studies of national statistical procedures relating to cotton (Resolution III).

Recommendations to Member Governments

It was also recognized by the Advisory Committee that the statistical and other data essential to a full knowledge of the world cotton situation must be made available to the Secretariat as a basis for the work program. The Advisory Committee therefore resolved to recommend to member governments that they make every effort to provide the Secretariat with specific data, including information concerning stocks; ginnings; imports; consumption; losses by destruction; exports; re-exports; prices; indication of area to be planted; forecasts and estimates of areas planted, areas harvested, yields, and production; rayon fiber and yarn production, imports, exports, and prices; elucidating comment on the information furnished; and semi-annual statements on economic developments affecting the supply and distribution of cotton. The Secretariat was authorized to take steps to secure similar information for countries whose governments are not members of the Advisory Committee. It was suggested that the Standing Committee consider the advisability of assembling statistical data on the output of textile machinery (Resolution III).

Cotton Situation

Each delegation presented a statement of the cotton situation in the country it represented. The Secretariat presented a review of the current world cotton situation, a summary of which follows:

"The world cotton situation for the 1947-48 season is characterized by:

- (1) Production of cotton below the prewar level and considerably less than indicated consumption.
- (2) A general level of world mill activity below prewar and mill output of cotton textiles much less than world needs.
- (3) Stocks of cotton apparently ample to meet mill requirements for the current season but decreasing at a rapid rate as a result of the continuing excess of cotton consumption over production since the end of the war.
- (4) International trade in cotton hampered by financial difficulties but with prospects that total trade for the current season may be sufficient for the maintenance of mill activity during the latter part of the season.

- (5) Prices for cotton high enough to suggest increasing substitutions of synthetic fibers for cotton but too low, in relation to returns from the production of foodstuffs and other competing enterprises to stimulate the rapid expansion of cotton cultivation in countries where governmental production control measures are not in effect.
- (6) A continuation of the upward trend in synthetic fiber production with prospects for an accelerated increase in the rate of production and substitutions for cotton as war-damaged rayon plants are repaired and new plants constructed."

U.S. DELEGATION TO SECOND ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF ICAO

[Released to the press May 21]

The Department of State announced on May 21 that the President has approved the composition of the United States Delegation to the Second Annual Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), scheduled to convene at Geneva June 1, 1948.

The United States Delegation will be headed by Russell B. Adams, Board Member, Civil Aeronautics Board. J. Paul Barringer, Deputy Director, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State, will serve as vice chairman.

Invitations have been extended to both Houses of Congress to send congressional advisers as part of the Delegation.

Designated as consultants to the Delegation are: John R. Alison, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aeronautics, and Paul Aiken, Second Assistant Postmaster General.

The following have been named as Government advisers: John M. Cates, Jr., Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State; Leo G. Cyr, Assistant Chief, Aviation Division, Department of State; Paul T. David, U.S. Representative on the Air Transport Committee of ICAO; Charles F. Dycer, Director, Aircraft and Components Service, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce; Glen A. Gilbert, Chief of Technical Mission, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce; Alfred Hand, Director, Staff Programs Office, Office of the Administrator, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce; Robert D. Hoyt, Chief, International Standards Division, Civil Aeronautics Board; Robert J. G. McClurkin, Assistant Director, Economic Bureau, Civil Aeronautics Board; Emory T. Nunneley, Jr., General Counsel, Civil Aeronautics Board; H. Walker Percy, Acting U.S. Representative on the Air Navigation Committee of ICAO; Edward S. Prentice, Assistant Chief, Aviation Division, Department of State; Carl H. Schwartz, Assistant Chief, Estimates Division, Bureau of the Budget; Brackley Shaw, General Counsel, Department of the Air Force; Paul A. Smith, Rear Admiral, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, representing the United States on the Council of ICAO; and Theodore C. Uebel, liaison officer, Staff Program Offices, International Services, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce.

Included in the Delegation as industry advisers are Hall L. Hibbard, Vice President and Chief Engineer, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, and Stuart G. Tipton, General Counsel, Air Transport Association of America.

Lyle L. Schmitter, Division of International Conferences, Department of State, will serve as executive secretary; and Norman P. Seagrave, Air Coordinating Committee, will serve as technical secretary to the Delegation.

United States positions on the specific agenda items to be discussed and acted upon at the Second Assembly of ICAO have been prepared within the framework of the Air Coordinating Committee, where opportunity was provided for full and complete industry participation in United States positions.

The Second Annual Assembly of ICAO will not only review and approve actions taken by the Council of ICAO during the past year but will also discuss matters of policy and operation during the forthcoming year. ICAO now has a membership of 48 nations, most of which are expected to send representatives to the Assembly. Among the more important matters to come before the Assembly is the expected signing of an international convention concerning the protection of the rights of mortgage holders of aircraft engaged in international air commerce.

The Second Assembly is the first full meeting of the Organization since it began operations one year ago in accordance with the Chicago convention on international civil aviation. The Assembly represents a significant step in international cooperation by an important specialized agency of the United Nations.

AEC TO SUSPEND ACTIVITIES

On May 17, the Atomic Energy Commission, at its 16th meeting since it began its work on June 14, 1946, decided to suspend its activities.

The vote on the draft report of the Commission to the Security Council presented on May 7 by François de Rose of France on behalf of the Delegations of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, was 9 to 2. The two negative votes were cast by the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R.

The Report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council, the third report to be submitted by the Commission, recommends in view of the failure to achieve agreement on the international control of atomic energy "at the Commission level", that the "negotiations in the Atomic Energy Commission be suspended" until the General Assembly finds that this situation no longer exists or until such time as the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission (Canada, China, France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) find "through prior consultation, that there exists a basis for agreement".

The Commission further recommends that the three reports be transmitted to the next regular session of the General Assembly, convening in Paris on September 21, "as a matter of special concern".

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION 1945-1948: REPORT OF THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE

[Released to the press May 20]

The Department of State released on May 20 a report of the growth and accomplishments of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) as submitted to the Secretary of State by Rear Admiral Paul A. Smith, representing the United States on the Council of ICAO. This report is entitled "International Civil Aviation 1945-1948—Report of the U.S. Representative", Department of State publication 3131.

Writing from Montreal, the permanent seat of ICAO, Admiral Smith expresses the hope that the report "may serve not only to promote a clearer understanding of the purposes, accomplishments, and future objectives of the International Civil Aviation Organization but also to indicate the valuable services which it is rendering and, with the necessary support, can continue to render to international civil aviation."

In retrospect, states the report, "the Chicago conference may well claim to have been one of the most successful conferences ever held and one of the most important milestones in the history of aviation. It produced the convention which created the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and provided the organization with a constitution; and it set in motion great advances in the international standardization of air navigation practices."

The story of the formation of the provisional organization, PICAO, and its evolution according to plan into the permanent organization, ICAO, is described, as well as the development of international standards and recommended practices in the technical field and the slower, yet definite, progress in the economic field.

"On the whole", points out the report, "the outlook for ICAO is promising. . . . While there is room for improvement, the record to date justifies a high degree of confidence for the future."

High tribute is paid to the effective work of the interdepartmental Air Coordinating Committee of the United States Government upon which the United States Representative relies for formulation of policies and for general guidance.

The report concludes: "ICAO is building soundly upon a foundation of technical activities, and from this foundation of relatively easy agreement it is gradually but surely reaching toward wider understanding and agreement in the more elusive and intangible fields of aviation economics and air law."

Copies of this report are for sale for 25 cents each by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

**Major Problems Existing Between U.S. and U.S.S.R.
Are Not Bilateral Issues**

[Released to the press May 18]

The Department of State has seen the press reports of a statement by Premier Stalin in response to an "open letter" from Henry Wallace. Premier Stalin's opinion that a peaceful settlement of outstanding problems is possible and necessary in the interests of a general peace is encouraging, but the specific issues listed in Premier Stalin's statement are not bilateral issues between this country and the Soviet Union. They are of intimate and compelling interest to many countries and have been under negotiation for the past two years or more in bodies where other countries are represented, such as the United Nations and the Council of Foreign Ministers. For example, the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and its subcommittees have held over 200 meetings and the Commission on May 17 reported its inability to reach an agreement because of the adamant opposition of two of its members—the Soviet Union and the Ukraine—to proposals which were acceptable to the other nine nations represented on the Commission. A similar situation exists with regard to other issues mentioned in Premier Stalin's statement.

The Department of State on May 19 made the following information available to the press in connection with the Stalin statement:

1. *Reduction of Armaments*

The problem of the regulation of conventional armaments was discussed in the 1946 General Assembly of the United Nations, and has since been under consideration in the Commission for Conventional Armaments of the Security Council.

2. *Atomic Energy*

In the field of atomic energy, agreement on an effective plan for international control has so far been blocked by the Soviet Union.

The presentation of the Third Report of the Commission marks the recognition of an impasse which has existed practically since the negotia-

tions began almost two years and 220 meetings ago. Fourteen out of 17 of the nations which are now or have been represented on the Commission are agreed on the basic and indispensable requirements of an international control plan; the Soviet Union, Poland, and the Ukraine have been the only members of the Commission to disagree.

Despite its unceasing efforts, the Commission has now been forced to declare that: "It has been unable to secure the agreement of the Soviet Union to even those elements of effective control considered essential from the technical point of view, let alone their acceptance of the nature and extent of participation in the world community required of all nations in this field by the First and Second Reports of the Atomic Energy Commission." In this situation, the Commission has concluded that for the present no useful purpose could be served by carrying on negotiations at the Commission level and has referred the whole problem to the Security Council with a recommendation that it be forwarded to the General Assembly.

The conclusion that further work at the Commission level would be futile does not mean that the efforts to achieve international control of atomic energy are to be terminated, but it does mean that the Commission has recognized that factors necessary to bring about agreement on an effective system for the international control of atomic energy are outside the competence of the Commission. The United Nations is still confronted with the problem of international control of atomic energy and the United States Government is still ready to participate in genuinely effective control.

3. *German Peace Settlement*

By common agreement the question of a German peace settlement is one for the Council of Foreign Ministers. The Council has held two long meetings devoted to this subject. Soviet opposition to virtually every proposition put forward by the United States, Great Britain, and France has thus far blocked all progress on this question.

4. *Japanese Peace Settlement*

In July 1947 the United States proposed to the ten other members of the Far Eastern Commission that a preliminary conference be held to discuss a peace treaty for Japan, the voting procedure of such a conference to be by two-thirds majority. Eight states indicated general agreement with this proposal. The Soviet Union held that the peace-treaty problems should be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers, composed in this instance of the United Kingdom, China, the U.S.S.R., and the United States. China proposed that the peace treaty be considered by a conference of the eleven Far Eastern Commission countries and that decisions be taken by a majority which must include the four powers named above. It has so far been impossible to resolve the conflict between these widely different concepts as to the basis on which the Japanese peace-treaty conference should be convened.

5. *Evacuation of Troops From China*

As of March 31, 1948, there were stationed in China, of the armed forces of the United States, 1,496 Army personnel and 4,125 Navy and Marine personnel. These forces remain in China at the request of the National Government.

6. *Evacuation of Troops From Korea*

With respect to the suggestion that United States and Soviet occupation forces be withdrawn from Korea, the United Nations General Assembly, by resolution of November 14, 1947, recommended a plan for the early achievement of Korean independence, to be followed promptly by the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces.

The General Assembly constituted a United Nations commission to assist in this program. The Ukraine was elected to membership on the commission but refused to serve. The U.S.S.R. denied the United Nations commission entry into the northern zone of Korea. It has not only refused to collaborate in any way in the implementation of the United Nations plan but has attempted to proceed unilaterally with a plan of its own which threatens to lead to civil war among the Koreans themselves.

7. *Respect for National Sovereignty and Noninterference in Domestic Affairs*

The facts bearing on this subject are too voluminous for recapitulation here. The actions and policies of the two Governments in this respect are a matter of public record, and speak for themselves.

8. *Military Bases*

The policy of the United States in this respect

has been governed by the unanimous resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of December 14, 1946, which makes the retention of armed forces on the territories of members conditional upon the freely and publicly expressed consent of such members. In accordance with article 103 of the Charter, the United States has made it a practice to register with the United Nations the instruments of agreements. It is of interest to note that the United States has proposed in the Security Council that armed forces acting under the Security Council have unlimited rights of passage and rights to use bases wherever located. The U.S.S.R. has rejected this proposal.

9. *International Trade*

The representatives of 23 countries attended the session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment which was held in Geneva in the summer of 1947. The representatives of 56 nations participated in the final Conference on Trade and Employment held in Habana from November 1947 to March 1948. This Conference agreed upon the charter for an international trade organization, one of the main purposes of which is the elimination of all forms of discrimination in international trade. The Soviet Government declined to participate in either of these meetings.

10. *Assistance to War-Devastated Countries*

The aid being extended by the United States to other countries on a world-wide scale, through both United Nations channels and others, should be an adequate answer to this point. In the case of the European Recovery Program, in which the U.S.S.R. declined to participate, the proposal to create a new organization came from the participating European countries.

11. *Human Rights*

The United Nations turned to the question of human rights as one of its first tasks and its work in this field is well advanced. The Human Rights Commission, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, may shortly recommend a draft declaration and covenant on human rights to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly. Since both the U.S.S.R. and the United States are active members of the Human Rights Commission, it is difficult to see how this matter could be advanced in any other forum. It lies in the nature of this subject that it is immi- nently a multilateral and international problem and both the Soviet Union and the United States have, in the United Nations Commission, a wholly adequate forum in which to put forward their views.

False Accusations by Yugoslav Press Against American Officials Protested

TEXT OF U.S. NOTE TO YUGOSLAV FOREIGN OFFICE¹

[Released to the press May 19]

Text of a note dated May 18 delivered to the Yugoslav Foreign Office by the American Embassy at Belgrade on that date

The Embassy of the United States presents its compliments to the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to bring to the Minister's attention various false accusations reported by the Yugoslav press as having been made against American officials in the course of the trial of one Hija Mangovic before the Circuit Court at Cacak.

It is not the purpose of the Embassy to raise any question as to the conduct of this trial. As a matter of record, however, the Embassy feels that it must make mention of the allegations put forth, which were to the effect that Lieutenant Colonel Stratton and W. O. La Plante had employed the accused, knowing him to be a criminal, and that Lieutenant Colonel Stratton had concealed him from the Yugoslav authorities and had assisted him to escape.

On the first point it is noted from the Yugoslav press that prosecution admitted that the accused, prior to his employment by Americans, had been granted amnesty by the Yugoslav Government for his past actions. The Minister will doubtless agree that American Embassy personnel cannot be reproached for employing amnestied persons.

On the second point, the Embassy is in a position formally to declare that it is completely untrue that Colonel Stratton concealed the accused from the Yugoslav authorities. Incontestable proof of this fact will be found in the Embassy's *note verbale* No. 720 of August 5, 1947, in which the Embassy furnished to the Minister the names of all domestic servants employed by Embassy personnel. The name of the accused was duly listed therein.

It surely would not be seriously maintained that Colonel Stratton attempted to assist the accused in avoiding arrest. On one occasion an unidentified person did in fact intercept Colonel Stratton at his gate with what Colonel Stratton understood to be an inquiry about servants. Quite properly this stranger was invited to call at the Embassy where an interpreter would be available for any

appropriate inquiries. The person in question did not then or at any other time appear at the Embassy.

In view of the publicity given to the defamatory imputations against two officers of this Embassy, the Embassy feels certain that the Minister will wish publicly to correct the false statements made about these officers.

The Embassy avails itself [etc.]

Procedure for Filing Ownership Declaration in Yugoslavia

[Released to the press May 19]

The American Embassy at Belgrade has been informed by the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs that foreign owners of Yugoslav Government prewar internal debt claims and securities must submit a declaration of ownership relative to their holdings by May 31, 1948, or forfeit them to the state.

The Ministry explained that some owners declared their titles before June 30, 1947, as prescribed by law, and later transmitted their securities for conversion prior to December 31, 1947, but did not submit a declaration of ownership. In order to permit claimants to file this declaration of ownership, the Yugoslav authorities have extended the period for filing to May 31, 1948. This extended period applies also to claimants who did not declare and deposit their claims and securities within the prescribed period. Claimants who have already submitted a declaration of ownership need not do so again, however.

The foregoing applies to Yugoslav internal-debt obligations payable in dinars and originating prior to April 18, 1941, and to nonfunded claims of all kinds against the Yugoslav Government.² The Yugoslav Ministry of Finance at Belgrade was to receive the declarations relative to the Government securities, while those pertaining to nonfunded claims were to be sent to the agencies where such claims originated.

¹ Printed from telegraphic text.

² BULLETIN of June 22, 1947, p. 1219.

Greece and Bipartite Board for U.S.-U.K. Zones of Germany Adhere to Economic Cooperation Act

[Released to the press by the Department of State and the ECA May 18]

The Department of State and the Economic Cooperation Administration on May 18 released copies of the exchange of notes between the United States and Greece signifying Greek adherence to the purposes of the Economic Cooperation Act. Also released on May 18 were copies of the corresponding exchange of letters between the United States and the American and British Military Governors in Germany, who constitute together the Bipartite Board for the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany.

The publication of these texts follows the release on May 8 of exchanges between the United States and 11 participating European countries, namely: Austria, Denmark, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Nor-

way, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.¹ Since that time the Belgian Government authorized the publication of the text of its exchange of notes with the United States, which is similar to that between the United States and the Netherlands. Notes have not been exchanged as of this date with Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, and the French zone of occupied Germany.

The primary difference between the Greek letter and those signed by other countries is that it provides that assistance rendered to Greece during the period covered by the letter will be extended through the American Mission for Aid to Greece in substantially the same manner as for the economic assistance being provided under the present Greek Aid Program and pursuant to the existing aid agreement of June 20, 1947.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE

The American Chargé d'Affaires at Athens to the Greek Foreign Minister

April 15, 1948

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform you that the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (Title I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) became law on April 3, 1948.

You will note the general requirement of the Act that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a country of Europe which participates in a joint recovery program based on self-help and mutual cooperation, an agreement must have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115(b) of the Act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until July 3, 1948 the Government of the United States proposes, under the terms of subsection 115 (c) to arrange for the performance, with respect to your country, of those functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115(c) of the Act being fulfilled.

Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether your Government adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the Act authorized assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertak-

ings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose, and also whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115(b). The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a).

My Government would be required by the Act to terminate assistance authorized by subsection 115(c) to your country if at any time it should find that your Government was not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act as my Government might consider applicable. I should appreciate being notified whether your Government is complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to it under the Act pursuant to this letter, is prepared to comply with the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b).

It is contemplated that, during the period covered by this letter, such assistance under the Act as may be furnished to your Government will be by grant and will be extended through the American Mission for Aid to Greece in substantially the same manner as for economic assistance being provided under the present Greek aid program, including the provisions for deposits of Greek currency against imports at the full landed cost including the foreign exchange certificate charge. The existing agreement of June 20, 1947 between our Governments shall continue to remain in force. The economic assistance to be fur-

¹ BULLETIN of May 16, 1948, p. 640.

nished to your Government during the period covered by this letter will be under the terms of that agreement as they apply to economic matters, and pursuant also to other relevant undertakings of your Government within the framework of that agreement. The provisions of the future agreement between our two Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (six) of subsection 115(b) of the Economic Cooperation Act will apply with respect to all assistance for your Government which is determined to have been made by grant during the period covered by this letter. I trust that your Government will concur in these arrangements.

I am sure your Government understands that the proposals set forth in this letter cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of my Government to make assistance available to your country.

Please accept [etc.] K. L. RANKIN

The Greek Foreign Minister to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Athens

May 12, 1948

DEAR MR. RANKIN: Referring to your letter sub. No. 346 of April 15, 1948 I have the honor to advise that the Greek Government has authorized me to inform you of its adherence to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102 (b) and in subsection 102 (a), respectively, and in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to my country.

The Greek Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115 (b) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and intends to conclude an agreement with your Government pursuant to that section. It is understood that your Government would be required by the Act to terminate assistance if at any time it should find that the Government of Greece was not complying with such provisions of subsection 115 (b) of the Act as your Government considers applicable.

The Greek Government is complying with and for so long as assistance may be available to it under the Act pursuant to your letter, is prepared to comply with all the applicable provisions of subsection 115 (b) of the Act, and is also engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose.

The Greek Government understands that, during the period covered by your letter, it is contemplated by your Government that such assistance under the Act as may be furnished hereunder will be by grant and that such assistance will be extended through the American Mission for Aid to Greece in substantially the same manner as the economic assistance being provided under the present Greek aid program, including the provisions for deposits of Greek currency against imports at the full landed cost including the foreign exchange certificate charge. It is understood that the existing agreement of June 20, 1947, between our Governments shall continue to remain in force, and the economic assistance to be furnished to the Greek Government during the period covered by your letter will be under the terms of that agreement as they apply to economic matters and pursuant also to other relevant undertakings of the Greek Government within the framework of that agreement. It is understood that the provisions of the future agreement between our Governments concerning any deposits to be made pursuant to paragraph (6) of subsection 115 (b) of the Economic Cooperation Act will apply with respect to all assistance for the Greek Government which is determined by your Government to have been made by grant during the period covered by your letter.

I am authorized to state that the Government of Greece understands that the proposals contained in your letter do not constitute an obligation on the part of your Government to make assistance available to my country.

Please accept [etc.] C. S. TSALDARIS

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BIPARTITE BOARD FOR U.S.-U.K. ZONES OF OCCUPATION OF GERMANY

The U.S. Political Adviser on German Affairs at Berlin to the Bipartite Board

May 1, 1948

SIRS: 1. The Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (title one of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) became law on 3 April 1948.

2. You will note the general requirement that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a participating country as defined in subsection 103(A) of the act, an agreement must

have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115(B) of the act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until 3 July 1948, the Government of the United States proposes, under the terms of subsection 115(C) to arrange for the performance, with respect to the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany, of those functions authorized by the act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of

the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115(C) of the act being fulfilled.

3. Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether the Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany, adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the act authorizes assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for the purpose, and also whether the Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany, intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115(B). The purposes of the act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(B) and the policies referred to in subsection 102(B) are those designated as such in subsection 102(A).

4. The Government of the United States would be required by the act to terminate assistance authorized by subsection 115(C) to the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany if at any time it should find that such zones were not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(B) of the act as the Government of the United States might consider applicable. I should appreciate being notified whether the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany are complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to them under the act pursuant to this letter, are prepared to comply with the applicable provisions of subsection 115(B).

5. It is contemplated that all assistance to the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany hereunder will be made available upon terms of payment. The proceeds of exports from all future production and stocks of the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany will be available for payment for such assistance at the earliest practicable time consistent with the rebuilding of the German economy on healthy, non-aggressive lines. Such proceeds shall be applied for such payment on a basis at least as favorable to the United States as that agreed upon respecting payment for imports under the memorandum of agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom dated 2 December 1946, as amended, relating to the economic integration of the United States and the United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany. Detailed terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the act at a later time.

6. I should also like to have the agreement of the Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany, that deposits in German marks in

respect of assistance furnished hereunder will be made pursuant to current procedures and will be held or used for such purposes as may be agreed between the Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the Bipartite Board.

7. I am sure the Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom Zones of Occupation of Germany, understands that the proposals set forth in this letter cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of the Government of the United States to make assistance available to such zones.

ROBERT D. MURPHY

General Clay and General Robertson to Ambassador Murphy

May 14, 1948

SIR: 1. We have received your letter of 1 May 1948 concerning aid to bizonal Germany under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and have the honor to present you with this reply for transmittal to the Economic Cooperation Administrator.

2. The Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany, adheres to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102(B) and in subsection 102(A) respectively, and in furtherance of which the act authorizes assistance to be provided to such zones.

3. The Bipartite Board has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115(B) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and intends, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany, to conclude an agreement with the Government of the United States pursuant to that subsection. It is understood that the Government of the United States would be required by the act to terminate assistance if at any time it should find that such zones were not complying with such provisions of subsection 115(B) of the act as the Government of the United States considered applicable. The United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany are complying with and, for so long as assistance may be made available to them under the act pursuant to your letter, are prepared to comply with all the applicable provisions of subsection 115(B) of the act and are also engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of continuing organization for this purpose.

4. The Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany, understands that all assistance to such zones under the act pursuant to your letter will be made available upon payment terms and

that the proceeds of exports from all future production and stocks of US/UK zones of occupation of Germany will be available for payment for such assistance at the earliest practicable time consistent with the rebuilding of the German economy on healthy, non-aggressive lines. It further understands that such proceeds shall be applied for such payment on a basis at least as favorable to the United States as that agreed upon respecting payment for imports under the memorandum of agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom dated 2 December 1946, as amended, relating to the economic integration of the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany. It is further understood that detailed terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the act at a later time.

5. The Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany, agree that deposits in German marks, in respect of assistance furnished pursuant to your letter, will be made pursuant to procedures as may be required by the administrator in accordance with the provision of the act, and will be held or used for such purposes as may be agreed between the administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the Bipartite Board.

6. The Bipartite Board, on behalf of the United States and United Kingdom zones of occupation of Germany, understands that the proposals con-

tained in your letter do not constitute an obligation on the part of the Government of the United States to make assistance available to such zones.

GENERAL LUCIUS B. CLAY,
United States Military Governor

GENERAL BRIAN ROBERTSON,
United Kingdom Military Governor

Registration of Property Claims in Bulgaria

[Released to the press May 14]

The Department of State announced on May 14 that a recent Bulgarian law for the nationalization of urban real property requires that foreigners owning such property should register, by June 15, 1948, their ownership with the Municipal People's Council of the municipality in which the property is located.

The Bulgarian law defines urban real property subject to nationalization as property situated within the limits of urbanization plans and owned by private persons and corporations for the receipt of income from invested capital. Such property in villages is apparently exempt from the terms of the law.

The Department of State is requesting an extension of the dead line for registering the above-mentioned statements of ownership but is unable to state whether favorable action will be taken on the request.

Signing of Protocol With France Modifying Double Taxation Convention

Summary of Provisions

[Released to the press May 17]

A protocol between the United States and France for the purpose of modifying in certain respects the convention of October 18, 1946, between the two countries relating to double taxation was signed at Washington on May 17, 1948, by George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, and Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador in Washington.

The object of the protocol is to effect certain modifications in the provisions of the convention, signed at Paris October 18, 1946, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of evasion in the case of taxes on estates and inheritances and for the purpose of modifying and supplementing certain provisions of the convention of July 25, 1939, between the two countries relating to income taxation.

The convention of October 18, 1946, is under consideration in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and has been the subject of hearings before a subcommittee of that Committee. The protocol has been negotiated with France as a

result of proposals made in the course of those hearings.

The protocol provides that it shall be ratified and that it shall become effective and continue effective as though it were an integral part of the convention of October 18, 1946.

Remarks of Secretary Marshall and Ambassador Bonnet

[Released to the press May 17]

Mr. Ambassador, the signing of this protocol will, we hope, hasten the coming into force of the double-taxation convention concluded by the United States and France in 1946.

Upon the entry into force of that convention, together with this protocol, the taxpayers—both citizens and enterprises—of the two countries will benefit by the elimination, for the most part, of double taxation affecting the settlement of estates, and also by increased advantages under the income-tax convention of 1939, now in force.

In this way the two Governments have shown

their mutual desire to relieve still further the burdens which arise from double taxation.

Mr. Secretary, I am glad that the signing of this protocol will make possible the prompt ratification both of the convention signed in 1946 and of this protocol which is an integral part of it.

I believe that the coming into force of that Convention will not only permit to rectify unfair individual situations resulting from double taxation, but will also tend to facilitate harmonious commercial relations between our two countries, in keeping with the principles upon which they are in full agreement.

American Citizens Removed From Vessel by Lebanese Authorities at Beirut

[Released to the press May 21]

The Department of State has been informed by the American Minister to Lebanon, Lowell C. Pinkerton, that 40 American citizens, together with 29 persons of other nationalities, were removed by Lebanese authorities May 19 at Beirut from the American S.S. *Marine Carp*. All were men between 19 and 55 years of age. The Legation was informed that all of these persons were being interned in the former French barracks at Beka, Lebanon.

The Legation made representations to the Lebanese authorities against the removal of these American passengers. A short time earlier the American Minister had intervened with the Lebanese Foreign Office on behalf of the Americans when it appeared possible that search of these passengers and baggage aboard the vessel might lead to their removal from the vessel. The American Minister, upon learning of the search action, had sent aboard an officer of the Legation who remained during the incident.

At the time of the American intervention the Lebanese authorities stated that passengers it chose to remove from the vessel would be removed by force if necessary. The Legation thereupon advised American citizens aboard the vessel that physical resistance might lead to bloodshed. The result was that the removal of selected passengers was accomplished without use of force and without violence. Some pistols, ammunition, and certain electrical equipment were seized. The ship then sailed for Haifa.

In addition to the 40 American citizens removed, the Lebanese authorities also removed 24 Palestinians, three Canadians, one Pole, and one Mexican.

The American citizens removed were:

George Alper	Leon Goldstein
David Beinín	Bernard Goobich
Oded Bouria	Bernard Greene
Meyer Brafterman	Martin Gross
George Brodsky	Nadar Halevi
David Crohn	Victor Hoffer
Benjamin de Roy, Jr.	Nahmin Horwitz
Steven Esrater	Robert S. Jacobs
Samuel Frazin	Ahud Kadish
Harlow Geberer	Murray Kadish

Eli Kalamanowitz	Abraham Rosenthal
Raymond Kaplin	Max H. Rosenweig
Bernard Kasan	Abraham H. Sharaby
Robert Keller	Herman Sklar
Nathan Kramer	Ernest Sokal
Nathan J. Krothinger	Theodore Steinberg
Leonard Loeb	Michael Stomachin
Irwin Maurer	David Taub
Jeash Nagdimon	Gilbert Ziff
Lee Dov Rappoport	K. Jackie Zucker

Sweden and Luxembourg File Letters of Intent Under Foreign Assistance Act

[Released to the press by ECA May 7]

Two additional European countries—Sweden and Luxembourg—have filed letters of intent and have qualified for assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act. Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator for Economic Cooperation, announced on May 7.

This brings the total of countries which have so qualified to 13, including France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Belgium, Ireland, and China. Countries still to file such letters are Greece, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, and western Germany.

At the same time, Mr. Hoffman announced additional authorizations for shipment of commodities to four European countries as follows:

Country	Commodity	Quantity	Authorization
Austria	Wheat	18,000 long tons .	\$1,976,099
Denmark	{Crude soya-bean oil	536 long tons . .	328,000
	{Protein feed (peanut meal).	2,000 long tons .	290,000
Greece	Fertilizer	2,250 short tons .	214,920
The Netherlands	Linseed oil	4,400,000 lbs . .	1,291,000

After allowances for adjustments and revisions in previously announced authorizations, this action brings the total authorizations to \$110,629,337. This is exclusive of ocean transportation, amounting to \$5,851,000.

CBS Correspondent Slain in Greece

[Released to the press May 19]

The body of George Polk, Columbia Broadcasting System correspondent in Greece, with arms and legs trussed, was washed ashore in Salonika Bay on the morning of May 16. A preliminary autopsy indicated that he had been shot through the back of the head and that his body had been in the water for some days. Personal effects were still on the body.

The American Consul General at Salonika had reported on May 12 that Polk had been reported missing following his departure from his hotel on Sunday morning, May 9. He had taken no baggage or personal effects with him and left no word of his plans or destination. Polk had made a dinner engagement for the following night and had requested his wife to proceed from Athens to Salonika on May 12 in order to accompany him on a trip to Kavalla.

Although a copy of a letter found in Polk's room indicated that he had visited Salonika for the purpose of contacting Markos, it is not known whether his death was connected with such a trip. He had made no request for the permit required to visit a military zone, although he was familiar with the regulations in this respect.

American Consul General Gibson at Salonika has reported that the local Salonika police, with the aid of British Police Mission officials, have been carrying on an intensive investigation in an endeavor to locate the perpetrators of this crime. Moreover, Prime Minister Sophoulis has announced that he has given instructions to alert the entire police force of the country to assist in this case. Minister of Public Order Constantine Rendis and his Director General are now in Salonika and have offered a reward of 25 million drachmas (approximately \$2,500) to anyone furnishing information.

On May 17, Greek Prime Minister Sophoulis addressed the following letter to American Chargé d'Affaires Rankin at Athens

I wish to express to you the deep regret of the Government for the terrible and shocking murder of Mr. Polk, the American correspondent, which has aroused indignation and horror and has deeply moved the Greek people. The Government considers it a matter of honor to spare no effort toward arresting the assassin, clearing up this matter, and turning over the criminal immediately into the hands of justice, in order that the sense of hospitality of the Greek people which has been deeply hurt may be fully satisfied. The Greek people will not tolerate such crimes which may indeed soil and humiliate our ancient civilization, a civilization which the sound thinking Greek people are determined to uphold intact and which they consider as the most honorable continuation of their history.

May 30, 1948

Assassination of Greek Minister of Justice

[Released to the press May 4]

Secretary of State Marshall has sent the following message to Constantine Tsaldaris, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece

I have been deeply shocked by the brutal assassination of the Greek Minister of Justice, Christos Ladas. Please convey my most sincere sympathy and that of the United States Government to the Greek Government and to the families of Christos Ladas and the other victims of this cowardly and criminal attack.

Discussions on Gold Transferred by Germany to Bank for International Settlements

[Released to the press May 14]

Representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, on the one hand, and of the Bank for International Settlements on the other, have met in Washington to discuss the subject of gold transferred by Germany to the Bank for International Settlements.

During these discussions it was found that the Bank had inadvertently acquired gold which had been looted by Germany. By an exchange of letters dated May 13, 1948, the Bank for International Settlements agreed to deliver to the three Governments, on demand, 3,740 kilograms of fine gold, valued at about \$4,200,000, in full settlement of all looted gold acquired by it from Germany.

Upon receipt, the gold will be distributed by the Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold at Brussels pursuant to the Paris Reparation Agreement.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek Inaugurated as President of Chinese Republic

[Released to the press May 20]

The United States Government notes with pleasure the occasion of the inauguration of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as the first President of the Republic of China and Marshal Li Tsung-jen as the first Vice President of the Republic of China under the new constitution. The election of these outstanding leaders of China by secret ballot in the National Assembly was an auspicious beginning for constitutional government in China. The United States Government looks forward to the success of their joint efforts directed toward promoting economic recovery and stability in China and thus alleviating the hardships which the Chinese people are suffering. It is hoped that the China Aid Program will assist them in their efforts to this end.

Achievements of the Bogotá Conference

BY NORMAN ARMOUR¹

Assistant Secretary for Political Affairs

Charter for the Organization of American States

The first task of the Bogotá conference was to draft a charter for the Organization of American States. This job was completed in a form that was highly satisfactory to all delegations including our own. The new charter sets forth the basic principles that guide the American nations in their mutual relations. Those principles clearly affirm the sovereign equality of all nations, their determination to settle all their disputes by peaceful means, and the consideration that an attack against one of them is an attack against all. The charter, and the Organization which gives it form, is founded upon the highest principles of law and justice, under which nations of varying size and power agree to live together in mutual respect and cooperation.

The principal features of the organization for which the charter provides are likewise of a thoroughly democratic character. Every five years—and in special circumstances at other times—the Inter-American Conference will meet. This Conference is the top representative body of the Organization, empowered to deal with any matter relating to the friendly relations among the American states. For emergency purposes, there is a meeting of consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 21 republics. This body is called together when needed, for example, in the event that the peace and security of the Americas is threatened by a fact or situation requiring important decisions as to joint defensive measures to be taken. Finally, there is the Council of the Organization sitting in permanent session in Washington. An outgrowth of what was formerly the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, the Council is assisted in its work by three subordinate bodies: the Economic and Social Council, the Cultural Council, and the Council of Jurists. In all these representative bodies each state has one vote, and none of them has a veto.

The permanent Organization of American States and the secretariat of the entire Organization, retain the familiar name of the Pan American Union. There are, in addition, a number of specialized conferences and organizations which deal with technical matters of common interest such as public health, agricultural sciences, child welfare, the status of women, and others. All these conferences and agencies together comprise the Organization of American States.

For the first time, the new charter of the Or-

ganization brings together the principles and basic organizational structure through which the 21 republics will continue their cooperative relations. The charter, signed in Bogotá by all 21 republics, will be transmitted by the Department of State to the President with a view to his seeking the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification at the appropriate time.

Economic Agreement

Another basic field of endeavor at Bogotá was that of economic cooperation. Last summer the conference of Rio de Janeiro called upon the Bogotá conference to formulate a basic agreement for economic cooperation. This task was likewise satisfactorily executed at Bogotá.

In the economic agreement, which will also be submitted to the Congress for approval, the American republics set forth certain basic ideas and plans which are considered essential to their economic development.

It is recognized that technical cooperation is of great importance to the improved use of the natural resources of the Americas. To this end increased facilities, in the form of a trained technical staff, will be made available to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, and the various governments agree to intensify their present efforts to extend technical advice and help to each other.

Financial cooperation forms another major part of the economic agreement signed at Bogotá. Recognizing the responsibility of every country to take steps within its own borders to improve its financial position, the agreement nevertheless points to the desirability of continuing medium and long-term loans from one government to another to supplement the role of private investment in the over-all development of economic resources. Such government-to-government financing must, it is agreed, be restricted to economically sound projects which do not require excessive protection or subsidies.

Private investment is recognized as playing a major role in the expected economic development of the American republics, and the economic agreement of Bogotá points to the importance of creating satisfactory opportunity and security for

¹ Excerpts from remarks delivered over the national network of the Columbia Broadcasting System at Washington, D.C., on May 12, and released to the press on the same date.

the foreign as well as domestic investor. The agreement declares that just as foreign investors must respect the laws of the country in which they engage in business and must accept a responsibility for contributing to the economic and social improvement of its people, so must the governments accord fair and equitable treatment to foreign capital as well as to domestic. The American governments, in the Bogotá agreement, undertake not to take discriminatory action against foreign investments. They specifically agree that any expropriation shall be accompanied by the payment of a just price in a prompt, adequate, and effective manner.

It is generally believed that these and other provisions of the basic economic agreement of Bogotá will go far toward meeting the fundamental needs of the other American republics for capital and technical skills with which to develop their rich and varied resources. Government loans in appropriate amounts and for appropriate purposes will continue to play their part in this process. But of greater importance are the provisions of the agreement which are directed toward the attraction of private capital in the building up of the other American republics. Effective application of the guaranties offered to foreign investors in the Bogotá agreement should make it possible for increasing amounts of United States capital to be invested in Latin America for productive and mutually advantageous purposes. This process and its ensuing raising of purchasing power and living standards will, of course, be of benefit to United States industry and commerce as well as to that of other countries of the Hemisphere.

Peaceful Settlement and Rights of Women

The United States Delegation signed two other treaties at Bogotá. One of these was a treaty which brings together the various procedures for the peaceful settlement of international disputes among the American states. The other was a convention agreeing to grant to women the right to vote and hold national office—an important step forward in the process of enabling the women of all the Americas to achieve the broader rights to which they are entitled. For constitutional reasons the Delegation of the United States was not able to sign a similar convention according women equal civil rights, since in our country the major responsibility for such matters rests with our States rather than with the Federal Government.

Resolutions

The United States also abstained from approving a resolution adopted by the Conference with respect to the termination of colonies and other territories of European states in the Americas.

Among the various resolutions approved by the Conference, the one relating to the continuity of diplomatic relations among the American republics is of particular significance in our inter-American relations. This resolution establishes the principle that continuity of diplomatic relations among the American republics is desirable as a contribution to their increasing solidarity and cooperation. At the same time, it is provided that the establishment or maintenance of diplomatic relations with a given government does not imply any judgment in regard to the internal policies of that government; nor can the establishment or severance of diplomatic relations with another government be used as a means for obtaining unjustified advantages of any character. The policy embodied in this resolution is entirely consistent with the policy of nonintervention adopted at Montevideo in 1933 and embodied in the new charter of the Organization of American States.

A number of other important resolutions and declarations were adopted at Bogotá. Several of these had to do with the broad field of social welfare and human rights. In fact, it should be noted that all through the discussions at Bogotá, including the debates on economic affairs, there was a constant emphasis placed upon the ultimate goal of inter-American cooperation—the raising of living standards of all the people and an increased respect for the dignity of the human individual in all classes of society.

I should like to mention the declaration in which the American republics unanimously condemned the aims and methods of international Communism and other forms of totalitarianism as hostile to the political principles and the ideas of economic and social justice which the American republics have long upheld. In this resolution the American republics took notice of a world situation far beyond the bounds of their own Continent. The reality of international Communism's opposition to all that the American states stand for was thrust forcibly upon the consciousness of the delegates at Bogotá by the obvious efforts of Communist adherents to sabotage the Conference. It is comforting to know of the united stand which the Americas took at Bogotá in opposition to new forms of totalitarianism and in stronger determination to achieve the ideals of political and economic democracy that are set forth in all their constitutions.

The United States and its sister republics of Latin America may well be proud of the record of achievement of the conference at Bogotá. In the face of great difficulties it succeeded in establishing new and firmer foundations for the cooperative relations of the Americas. Its work will have lasting and material benefits for the future peace, security, and economic and cultural advancement of the peoples of all our 21 American nations.

Colombia Expresses Gratitude for American Red Cross Aid During Bogotá Demonstrations

Exchange of Messages

[Released to the press May 13]
May 2, 1948.

I convey to Your Excellency my most sincere and cordial salutations and express to you the thanks of the Government and people of Colombia for the most helpful and effective collaboration and assistance rendered by the American Red Cross on the occasion of the distressing events of recent days which placed the stability of our democratic institutions in grave jeopardy. The invaluable and opportune demonstration of solidarity of the great nation and Government of which Your Excellency is President is a proof of the bonds of sincere and loyal friendship which unite our two peoples and Governments and which have been strengthened on this occasion. I renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration and of my deep and undying gratitude.

MARIANO OSPINA PEREZ
President of the Republic of Colombia

May 12, 1948

I thank you sincerely for your courteous telegram of May 2, the contents of which have been communicated to the American Red Cross. I speak for myself and for the American people in saying that we have esteemed it a privilege to be able to furnish neighborly assistance to the Colombian people.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

U.S. Prepared To Resume Diplomatic Relations With Nicaragua

[Released to the press May 6]

In view of the resolution of the Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogotá concerning the desirability of continuity of diplomatic relations among the American republics, the United States Government has informed the Government of Nicaragua that it is prepared to appoint a new Ambassador to Nicaragua and has requested the *agrément* of the Nicaraguan Government for a candidate for nomination to this position.

Prior to this action, the Governments of the other American republics were informed that the United States Government contemplated appointing an Ambassador to Nicaragua.

Grants-in-Aid Awarded to Cultural Leaders

Gaylord W. Anderson, director of the School of Public Health, University of Minnesota, has been awarded a grant by the Department of State in cooperation with the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency for a series of lectures in the other American republics.

Luis Carlos Mancini, Assistant to the Minister of Justice of Brazil, has arrived in Washington for conferences with the Federal Security Agency officials as part of a three months' tour of the United States to study American methods of dealing with child-welfare problems.

Jorge A. Broggi, Director of the National Institute of Geology, Lima, has arrived in Washington for a series of conferences with officials of various Government agencies in this city and a visit to scientific centers in other parts of the country.

Jorge Pando Gutierrez, Director General of Statistics of Bolivia, arrived in Washington to consult with Census Bureau officials concerning the organization of the Census Department of Bolivia in preparation for the 1950 census there. Mr. Pando's work here is being conducted under the grant-in-aid program administered by the Department of State.

Lesley Frost To Visit in Latin America

The Department of State has awarded a grant-in-aid to Miss Lesley Frost for a six-months visit to several Latin American republics, including Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico, where she will lecture and give survey courses in American literature at various cultural centers.

Air-Transport Agreement With Venezuela Signed

[Released to the press May 14]

The Department of State announced that an air-transport agreement was signed on May 14 in Caracas between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United States of Venezuela. Ambassador Walter J. Donnelly signed on behalf of the United States of America, and Dr. Andres Eloy Blanco, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the United States of Venezuela.

This air-transport accord is the first agreement to be signed between the present Government of Venezuela and the Government of the United States of America and is also the first international air-transport agreement authorizing routes

for a Venezuelan airline. It is thus an agreement of major significance in the creation of ties between the two countries concerned.

The agreement is based upon the terms of the "standard form" bilateral air-transport agreement drawn up at the Chicago aviation conference in 1944, as modified by the so-called Bermuda provisions concerning fair competition, rates, and other related aspects of air-transport operations. It is in basic accord, therefore, with the international agreements which the United States of America has with most of the countries of South America: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, as well as with the modern agreements between the United States and Australia, Austria, Belgium, China, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Italy, Lebanon, New Zealand, the Philippine Republic, Siam, Syria, the United Kingdom, and the Union of South Africa. This type of agreement is utilized in most modern international air-transport agreements. The remainder of the 36 bilateral air-transport agreements which the United States has entered into with other countries, including that with Colombia, were entered into prior to the formulation of the "Bermuda principles".

U.S. and Canada Conclude Agreement for Sanitary Control of Shellfish Industry

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press May 5]

The United States and Canada concluded on April 30, 1948, by an exchange of notes, an agreement to provide for cooperative efforts toward sanitary control of the shellfish industry. The agreement is the result of discussions between the United States Public Health Service and the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare.

The texts of the notes follow:

No. 106

The Canadian Ambassador presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and, on the instructions of his Government, has the honour to inform him that in order to improve sanitary practices in the shellfish industries of Canada and the United States and to facilitate the exchange of information with reference to endorsement of shellfish certifications, the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare and the United States Public Health Service have agreed on the desirability of an Agreement being concluded on the points and in the terms set forth in the annexed memorandum.

May 30, 1948

Letters of Credence

Paraguay

The newly appointed Ambassador of Paraguay, Señor Dr. Don Juan Felix Morales, presented his credentials to the President on April 23. For the text of the Ambassador's remarks and for the President's reply, see Department of State press release 318 of April 23, 1948.

Tourist Travel to Philippines

[Released to the press April 12]

The Department of State announces that the Philippine Government welcomes tourist travel and that the food supply, taxis, and other facilities are now adequate for a normal flow of visitors. The Department will issue passports to tourists upon assurance that they have adequate maintenance while in the Philippines.

Philippine Republic Extended Time for Renewing Trade-Mark Registration

The extension until June 30, 1948, of time for renewing trade-mark registrations with respect to the Philippines was granted by the President in Proclamation 2786 (13 *Federal Register* 2565) on May 11, 1948.

If such an agreement is acceptable to the United States Government, it is the proposal of the Canadian Government that this Note and its Annex together with a reply agreeing thereto, constitute an agreement between the two Governments effective from the date of the reply from the United States authorities.

Canadian Embassy,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
4th March 1948.

A N N E X

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

4th March 1948

In order to improve the sanitary practices prevailing in the shellfish industries of Canada and the United States, it is agreed as follows:

1. Whatever manual of recommended practice for sanitary control of the shellfish industry is approved by both the United States Public Health Service and the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare, will be regarded as setting

forth the sanitary principles that will govern the certification of shellfish shippers.

2. The degree of compliance with those principles obtained by the State authorities of the United States will be reported to the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare by the United States Public Health Service, and the degree of compliance obtained by the Provincial and other competent authorities in Canada will be reported by the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare to the United States Public Health Service.

3. Whenever inspections of shellfish handling facilities or of shellfish growing areas are desired by either party to this Agreement, the other party will endeavour to facilitate such inspections.

4. This Agreement may be terminated by either party giving thirty days' notice.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of Canada and has the honor to refer to his note No. 106 of March 4, 1948 proposing that an agreement be entered into between the Governments of the United States of America and Canada in the following terms:

[The above memorandum of agreement is here repeated.]

The Memorandum of Agreement as set forth above is acceptable to the Government of the United States of America. As proposed in His Excellency's note, therefore, that note and the present reply are regarded as constituting an agreement between the two Governments, effective on the date of the present note.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 30, 1948.

Field Investigation of Dredging Operations in Niagara River

[Released to the press May 14]

On February 13, 1948, the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada, was requested by Canada and the United States to conduct an investigation into certain dredging operations that were conducted on Strawberry Island in the Niagara River with a view to ascertaining whether these operations might lead to removal of obstructions that would result in pollution of waters of the Niagara River. On April 2, 1948, the reference was amended to include all questions relating to the pollution of the Niagara River.

The Commissioners have arranged for a field investigation of conditions existing in the Niagara River with respect to these matters, beginning at

Buffalo, N. Y., on May 21. The United States Commissioners are A. O. Stanley, former Senator from Kentucky, Chairman of the United States Section, and Roger B. McWhorter, Chief Counsel of the Federal Power Commission. William R. Vallance of the Department of State will go to Buffalo on May 20 to make preliminary arrangements for the field inspection and to accompany the Commissioners. Other representatives and technicians are expected to be present from the Public Health Service, the Army Engineers, and the health services of the Province of Ontario and New York State.

THE DEPARTMENT

Operations of the Department of State in Connection With Programs of the Economic Cooperation Administration

I Under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, the Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) is responsible for operations required to carry out the programs assigned to ECA by the Act or by Executive order, including the review and appraisal of requirements of participating countries.

II In its relations with ECA, the Department of State will be guided by the principles set forth in Title I, Sec. 105 (b) of the Act:

"(1) the Administrator and the Secretary of State shall keep each other fully and currently informed on matters, including prospective action, arising within the scope of their respective duties which are pertinent to the duties of the other;

"(2) whenever the Secretary of State believes that any action, proposed action, or failure to act on the part of the Administrator is inconsistent with the foreign-policy objectives of the United States, he shall consult with the Administrator and, if differences of view are not adjusted by consultation, the matter shall be referred to the President for final decision;

"(3) whenever the Administrator believes that any action, proposed action, or failure to act on the part of the Secretary of State in performing functions under this title is inconsistent with the purposes and provisions of this title, he shall consult with the Secretary of State and, if differences of view are not adjusted by consultation, the matter shall be referred to the President for final decision."

III To facilitate the orderly and systematic discharge of the Department's responsibilities under the Act, and to insure that the Department's total concern with foreign policy formulation and execution is adequately related to programs admin-

istered by the ECA, there is hereby established the post of Coordinator for Foreign Aid and Assistance in the Office of the Under Secretary. Under the direction of the Secretary and the Under Secretary, the Coordinator will be assigned the following role:

A General responsibilities. The Coordinator will advise and assist the Secretary and Under Secretary in coordinating Departmental planning and operations on foreign aid and assistance programs administered by the ECA, and will serve as the Department's principal liaison officer with ECA.

B Duties and relationships. In cooperation with the staffs of all units of the Department concerned and utilizing to the full existing facilities and channels of decision, action and communication the Coordinator will:

1 Assure the establishment and maintenance of necessary relationships with the Economic Cooperation Administration;

2 On behalf of the Secretary, as provided in the Act, assure that the responsible officers of the Department keep the staff of the Administrator currently informed on matters under the Secretary's cognizance which are pertinent to the duties of the Administrator. Likewise, the Coordinator will serve as the central officer in the Department to assure that the responsible officers of the Department receive similar information from the staff of the Administrator;

3 Expedite and otherwise facilitate the preparation by the appropriate units of the Department of necessary instructions to the Department's foreign posts;

4 Serve as Chairman of the Department's policy committee for foreign aid and assistance programs, referred to in Departmental Announcement 941 of January 19, 1948, and arrange for adequate representation of the Department on inter-agency foreign aid and assistance committees;

5 Facilitate the reconciliation or definition of policy and operational disagreements arising abroad between the chiefs of diplomatic missions and the chiefs of ECA special missions which have not been received through the participation of the U.S. Special (ECA) Representative in Europe;

6 Assist, as necessary, in arranging for the responsible offices of the Department to provide, subject to reimbursement, such administrative and other services for the ECA in Washington and the Special Representative and the special missions abroad as may be agreed upon between the Secretary and the Administrator;

7 Aid the responsible officers of the Department as necessary on the development and conclusion of agreements with the participating European countries;

8 Prepare reports to the Secretary and Under

Secretary on activities and progress under the Act;

9 Perform such other tasks relating to the Department's participation in foreign aid and assistance programs as may be assigned by the Secretary or Under Secretary.

C Organization. The Coordinator, as a staff aid to the Under Secretary, will be provided with the necessary assistants to carry out the responsibilities of his post.

D Relationships within the Department. The Coordinator will:

1 Serve as the normal channel for the formal interchange of information between the Department and ECA as required by the Act;

2 Facilitate and expedite the development of uniform Departmental policies on foreign aid and assistance matters.

E Relationships with other agencies. The Coordinator will have continuing relationships with:

1 The ECA, as the principal liaison officer of the Department;

2 Committees of Congress and inter-agency committees through or in concert with appropriate officers of the Department.

Appointment of Officers

The State Department announced on May 6 the appointment of Frederick C. Oechsner as Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of International Information.

Resignation of Clair Wilcox

The Department of State announced on April 30 the resignation of Clair Wilcox as Director of the Office of International Trade Policy.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

On May 21, 1948, the Senate confirmed the following nominations:

Robert Butler to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Cuba;

Ralph H. Ackerman to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Dominican Republic;

George P. Shaw to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Nicaragua.

On May 5, 1948, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Ely E. Palmer to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Afghanistan.

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Contributors

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The Department of State

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The Department of State bulletin

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

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Genocide: Report of the U.S. Representative on ECOSOC Committee¹

Composition of the Committee

The *ad hoc* Committee on Genocide, hereinafter referred to as the Committee, was established by resolution no. 117 (VI) of the Economic and Social Council, March 3, 1948. The following states were named by the resolution to serve on the Committee: China, France, Lebanon, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States, and Venezuela. The Delegation of the United States to the Committee consisted of John Maktos, of the Department of State, Representative, and Miss Katherine B. Fite, of the Department of State, and Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, of the Department of Justice, Advisers.

Terms of Reference of the Committee

The resolution of the Economic and Social Council of March 3, 1948, reads as follows:

“The Economic and Social Council,
TAKING COGNIZANCE of the General Assembly Resolution No. 180(II) of 23 November 1947.

Establishes an Ad Hoc Committee composed of the following Members of the Economic and Social Council: China, France, Lebanon, Poland, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Venezuela.

Instructs the Committee:

(a) to meet at the Headquarters of the United Nations in order to prepare the draft Convention on the Crime of Genocide, in accordance with the above-mentioned resolution of the General Assembly, and to submit this draft convention, together with the recommendation of the Commission on Human Rights thereon to the next session of the Economic and Social Council; and,

(b) to take into consideration in the preparation of the draft convention, the draft convention prepared by the Secretary-General, the comments of the Member Governments on this draft convention, and other drafts on the matter submitted by any Member Government;

Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures to enable the Committee effectively to carry out the tasks entrusted to it.”

Preceding Resolutions of the General Assembly

On December 11, 1946, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution to the following effect:

“Genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings; such denial of the right of existence shocks the conscience of mankind, results in great losses to humanity in the form of cultural and other contributions represented by these human groups, and is contrary to moral law and to the spirit and aims of the United Nations.

Many instances of such crimes of genocide have occurred when racial, religious, political and other groups have been destroyed, entirely or in part.

The punishment of the crime of genocide is a matter of international concern.

The General Assembly therefore,

Affirms that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns, and for the commission of which principals and accomplices—whether private individuals, public officials or statesmen, and whether the crime is committed on religious, racial, political or any other grounds—are punishable;

Invites the Member States to enact the necessary legislation for the prevention and punishment of this crime;

Recommends that international co-operation be organized between States with a view to facilitating the speedy prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, and, to this end,

Requests the Economic and Social Council to undertake the necessary studies, with a view to drawing up a draft convention on the crime of genocide to be submitted to the next regular session of the General Assembly.”

A further resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on November 23, 1947, stating:

“The General Assembly,

REALIZING the importance of the problem of combating the international crime of genocide;

REAFFIRMING its resolution 96(I) of 11 December 1946 on the crime of genocide;

DECLARING that genocide is an international crime entailing national and international responsibility on the part of individuals and States;

¹ U.N. doc. E/794, May 24, 1948.

NOTING that a large majority of the Governments of Members of the United Nations have not yet submitted their observations on the draft Convention on the crime of genocide prepared by the Secretariat and circulated to those Governments by the Secretary-General on 7 July 1947;

CONSIDERING that the Economic and Social Council has stated in its resolution of 6 August 1947 that it proposes to proceed as rapidly as possible with the consideration of the question of genocide, subject to any further instructions which it may receive from the General Assembly,

Requests the Economic and Social Council to continue the work it has begun concerning the suppression of the crime of genocide, including the study of the draft Convention prepared by the Secretariat, and to proceed with the completion of a convention, taking into account that the International Law Commission, which will be set up in due course in accordance with General Assembly resolution 174(II) of 21 November 1947, has been charged with the formulation of the principles recognized in the Charter of the Nurnberg Tribunal, as well as the preparation of a draft code of offences against peace and security;

Informs the Economic and Social Council that it need not await the receipt of the observations of all Members before commencing its work; and

Requests the Economic and Social Council to submit a report and the Convention on this question to the third regular session of the General Assembly."

History of the Committee's Work

The first meeting of the Committee was held on April 5, 1948, at Lake Success. The Committee continued to sit through May 10, 1948.

The United States Representative was elected chairman of the Committee, the Soviet Representative, vice-chairman, and the Lebanese Representative, rapporteur.

The Committee, upon the motion of the Soviet Representative, voted that before proceeding to the actual drafting of a convention on genocide, it would discuss and make preliminary decisions on ten basic principles outlined in a paper presented by the Soviet Representative. (U.N. doc. E/AC.25/7.) After a discussion of the principles, the Committee proceeded to the actual work of drafting.

A special subcommittee was elected by the Committee to draft the formal articles of the treaty (articles 11 through 19). The subcommittee consisted of the Representatives of the United States, as chairman, Poland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The articles prepared by the subcommittee were adopted by the Committee substantially as drafted.

To aid it in its work, the Committee had before it a draft convention on genocide prepared by the

Secretariat of the United Nations (U.N. doc. E/147), a draft convention submitted by the French Government (U.N. doc. E/623/Add.1), a draft convention circulated informally by the Soviet Representative, and a draft convention submitted by the United States on September 30, 1947 (U.N. doc. E/623, pp. 35-40). It was pointed out by the United States Representative that it had been specifically stated in the United States Mission's press release no. 376 of February 10, 1948, that this draft did "not represent the final position of the United States Government".

The Committee at first decided to give priority to no one text, but later decided to use as a basis of discussion a draft text submitted by the Chinese Representative. (U.N. doc. E/AC.25/9.)

The draft convention finally agreed upon is attached as annex A. The text of the convention as a whole was adopted by a vote of 5 to 1 (the U.S.S.R. dissenting), with 1 abstention (Poland).

Summary of the Draft Convention

Briefly stated, the draft convention declares genocide to be a crime under international law (article 1), and defines it in terms of "deliberate acts committed with the intent to destroy a national, racial, religious or political group, on grounds of the national or racial origin, religious belief, or political opinion of its members" (article 2). In other words, to fall within the category of genocide, an act must have the above specified intent and motive. The "deliberate acts" are listed as:

- "(1) killing members of the group;
- "(2) impairing the physical integrity of members of the group;
- "(3) inflicting on members of the group measures or conditions of life aimed at causing their deaths;
- "(4) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group."

Article 3 defines so-called "cultural genocide" as any deliberate act committed with the intent to destroy the language, religion, or culture of a national, racial, or religious group on grounds of the national or racial or religious belief of its members, such as:

- "(1) prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group;
- "(2) destroying or preventing the use of libraries, museums, schools, historical monuments, places of worship or other cultural institutions and objects of the group."

In article 4, not only genocide, but also conspiracy, attempt, and direct public or private in-

Comments on the Draft Convention

The United States Representative opposed the inclusion of so-called "cultural genocide" in the convention (article 3), feeling that the subject should more properly be taken up in connection with the protection of minorities. He stated that the act of creating the new crime of genocide was one of extreme gravity, and the United States felt that the convention should be confined to those barbarous acts directed against individuals which form the basic concept of public opinion on this subject. The French Representative, not being satisfied with the formula worked out in article 3, also opposed its inclusion.

The United States Representative was also opposed to the inclusion of "direct incitement" as a punishable act under article 4. He stated that incitement to commit genocide should be punishable only so far as it constituted "attempt" or "conspiracy" (which are made punishable under the same article), but that incitement to commit genocide should not be separately listed as a punishable offence.

ANNEX A: DRAFT CONVENTION ON GENOCIDE**As adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide²****PREAMBLE**

The High Contracting Parties,

DECLARING that genocide is a grave crime against mankind which is contrary to the spirit and aim of the United Nations and which the civilized world condemns;

HAVING BEEN PROFOUNDLY SHOCKED by many recent instances of genocide;

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the fact that the International Military Tribunal at Nurnberg in its judgment of September 30th–October 1st 1946 has punished under a different legal description certain persons who have committed acts similar to those which the present Convention aims at punishing, and

BEING CONVINCED that the prevention and punishment of genocide requires international cooperation,

Hereby agree to prevent and punish the crime as herein after provided:

Article I

(Genocide: a crime under international law)

Genocide is a crime under International law whether committed in time of peace or in time of war.

Article II

("Physical" and "biological" genocide)

In this Convention genocide means any of the following deliberate acts committed with the intent to destroy a national, racial, religious or political group, on grounds of the national or racial origin, religious belief, or political opinion of its members:

- (1) killing members of the group;

- (2) impairing the physical integrity of members of the group;

- (3) inflicting on members of the group measures or conditions of life aimed at causing their deaths;

- (4) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.

Article III

("Cultural" genocide)

In this Convention genocide also means any deliberate act committed with the intent to destroy the language, religion, or culture of a national, racial or religious group on grounds of the national or racial origin or religious belief of its members such as:

- (1) prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group;

- (2) destroying or preventing the use of libraries, museums, schools, historical monuments, places of worship or other cultural institutions and objects of the group.

Article IV

(Punishable acts)

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) genocide as defined in Articles II and III;

- (b) conspiracy to commit genocide;

- (c) direct incitement in public or in private to commit genocide whether such incitement be successful or not;

²The notes in parentheses placed before the articles which indicate the subject dealt with therein are not intended to be part of the convention.

- (d) attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) complicity in any of the acts enumerated in this article.

Article V
(Persons liable)

Those committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article IV shall be punished whether they are Heads of State, public officials or private individuals.

Article VI
(Domestic legislation)

The High Contracting Parties undertake to enact the necessary legislation in accordance with their constitutional procedures to give effect to the provisions of this Convention.

Article VII
(Jurisdiction)

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article IV shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed or by a competent international tribunal.

Article VIII
(Action of the United Nations)

1. A party to this Convention may call upon any competent organ of the United Nations to take such action as may be appropriate under the Charter for the prevention and suppression of genocide.
2. A party to this Convention may bring to the attention of any competent organ of the United Nations any case of violation of this Convention.

Article IX
(Extradition)

1. Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article IV shall not be considered as political crimes and therefore shall be grounds for extradition.
2. Each party to this Convention pledges itself to grant extradition in such cases in accordance with its laws and treaties in force.

Article X
(Settlement of disputes by the International Court of Justice)

Disputes between the High Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice provided that no dispute shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice involving an issue which has been referred to and is pending before or has been passed upon by a competent international criminal tribunal.

FINAL CLAUSES

Article XI
(Languages, date of the Convention)

The present Convention of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic shall bear the date of . . .

³The dates for the time limits will have to be filled in according to the date of the adoption of the Convention by the General Assembly.

Article XII

(States eligible to become parties to the Convention. Means of becoming a party)

1. The present Convention shall be open until 31 . . . 194 . . .³ for signature on behalf of any Members of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. After 1 . . . 194 . . .³ the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State that has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XIII

(Coming into force of the Convention)

1. The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the receipt by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of not less than twenty instruments of ratification or accession.

2. Ratification or accession received after the Convention has come into force shall become effective as from the ninetieth day following the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XIV

(Duration of the Convention—Denunciation)

1. The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of five years dating from its entry into force.
2. It shall remain in force for further successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties that have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.
3. Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XV

(Abrogation of the Convention)

Should the number of Parties to this Convention become less than sixteen as a result of denunciations, the Convention shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become operative.

Article XVI

(Revision of the Convention)

1. Upon receipt by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of written communications from one-fourth of the number of High Contracting Parties, requesting consideration of the revision of the present Convention and the transmission of the respective requests to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General shall transmit such communications to the General Assembly.

2. The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such requests.

Article XVII

(Notifications by the Secretary-General)

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and non-member States referred to in Article XII of all signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Articles XII and XIII, of the date upon which the present Convention has come into force, of denunciations received in accord-

ance with Article XIV of the abrogation of the Convention effected as provided by Article XV and of requests for revision of the Convention made in accordance with Article XVI.

Article XVIII

(Deposit of the original of the Convention and transmission of copies to Governments)

1. The original of this Convention shall be deposited in the Archives of the United Nations.

2. A certified copy thereof shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States referred to under Article XII.

Article XIX

(Registration of the Convention)

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

Accomplishments of UNESCO¹

BY GEORGE V. ALLEN

Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

Three years ago the representatives of 50 nations, assembled in this city, signed the Charter of the United Nations. One of the aims of this Charter, as stated in its provisions, was "To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion . . ."

UNESCO is part and parcel of the international intergovernmental system of the United Nations. UNESCO must be the last inner sanctuary of those forces working to find a basis, through education and honest cooperation among peoples, for a lasting and just peace.

While the central objective of UNESCO is the same as that of the United Nations, the special province of UNESCO is to promote collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture.

UNESCO's contribution to this central objective will be made slowly, perhaps almost imperceptibly, for such, in general, is the nature of education and of cultural and scientific collaboration.

We must avoid confusion on this point. UNESCO has an immediate program—indeed, many programs. In every project, steps can be taken at once, some targets can be reached soon. But let us keep constantly in mind the long-range objective and not be distracted from the patient, constructive labors to which UNESCO summons us.

UNESCO is not directly concerned with the resolution of many of the immediate political and economic issues of the world, even though most of these issues will inevitably find some reflections in our deliberations. UNESCO's unique function is rather to mobilize the forces of education, science, and culture for the ultimate establishment of a free and peaceful world community.

The conviction that a free and peaceful world community can be achieved does not yet have

strong roots in the minds of men. UNESCO's job is to enrich the soil and help strengthen the roots. Like good gardeners, we must go on with that spade work, without looking for miracles of rapid fruition, and undeterred by fears of drouth or blight.

UNESCO is a small organization with a large job. If you could see UNESCO in action it would look something like this. In an old hotel in Paris, about 400 people are at work. While they are engaged in a tremendous enterprise, they are spending only about seven million dollars a year. In one room a former school superintendent from Poland is gathering information about the destruction of schools and laboratories and libraries in the war-devastated countries. A Frenchman in another office is studying the needs in those same countries for radio sets and film projectors and newsprint.

Reports are coming to them from field staffs in Europe and China, Burma, the Philippines, and other countries ravaged by war.

In another office at UNESCO House, Professor James Quillen, of Stanford, is preparing suggestions which will come back to educators in this country and in all the member states on ways in which textbooks and teaching materials can be improved so as to contribute to international understanding.

At the same time UNESCO will be promoting the publication of books which explain national traditions and viewpoints of its member states to one another.

In another corner of UNESCO House you would see three or four men busily drawing up suggestions for radio scripts and for educational films which will be submitted to producers in each country. These programs and films emphasize themes of human cooperation, and the common heritage of the arts and sciences of mankind.

¹Excerpts from an address made before the Pacific Regional Conference on UNESCO at San Francisco on May 13, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

These are but a few illustrations of UNESCO at work.

UNESCO's work originates in UNESCO House, but in its accomplishment it draws upon the educational and intellectual resources of all its member nations. UNESCO House is a physical center of international cooperation. It provides what has never existed before—a continuing home for international conferences of educators and scientists and scholars. It provides such humdrum, but indispensable, services as conference rooms, secretarial staff, and interpreters. It is a meeting point and a growing point for the international mind.

One of UNESCO's activities is international communication. This embraces the international use of radio and films and press; the free flow of ideas across national boundaries; the interchange of books; and the development of public libraries. We seek to destroy any barriers to the freest flow of information and thought between nations. We seek, moreover, to prevent the great instruments of mass communications from being manipulated in order to warp the minds of men.

An incident which occurred in Poland recently illustrates the unfortunate barriers to the free interchange of information which exist. In our Embassy in Warsaw, we have an information office where Polish citizens may obtain information about the United States—texts of speeches made in the United States and of editorials published in the American press. A few days ago, the Polish Government promptly began to detain for questioning any Poles who visited our information office. A high Polish official declared that the American Embassy in Warsaw was placing Polish citizens in jeopardy by making information available to them!

I am glad to point out that copies of *Izvestia* and *Pravda* are sold alongside the *Wall Street Journal* on the newsstands of New York. Volumes by Karl Marx and Adolf Hitler are found alongside the works of Voltaire and Rousseau on library shelves throughout this country.

The UNESCO effort to increase communication among nations embraces not only the interchange of ideas but also of persons. UNESCO seeks the widest flow of students, scholars, and cultural leaders among the nations of the world, in all directions.

There are now approximately 20,000 foreign students in the United States and about half as many Americans abroad. It is my view that the United States, in keeping with the principles of UNESCO, should always ask to keep open the door for the widest interchange of visits between Americans and the people of every other country. I would not be warranted in leading you to expect that the interchange of persons with eastern Europe is likely to increase in the near future, either under UNESCO or any other program. The Ameri-

can Embassy in Moscow, watchful for any indication that the Soviet authorities might relax the adamant attitude they had previously shown, was prompt to renew various suggestions for cultural interchanges which had long been pending. One was a suggestion that the conductor of the Moscow Symphony Orchestra might serve as a guest conductor in Boston. However, this subject, like numerous others we had been pressing, has continued to fall on entirely deaf ears. Nor was any invitation obtained for an American conductor to visit Moscow.

This is merely one of dozens of efforts which have been made by the American Government consistently for the past 15 years. Nonetheless, we should continue to be eager to take advantage of any opportunity which others may make possible for the widest exchange of visitors or students with any nation which shows any inclination to permit it. We must do so if we remain loyal to our UNESCO pledge.

The question is often asked, "What has UNESCO actually accomplished up to the present time?" Our aims are high, but have we done anything concrete? While UNESCO's accomplishments are not all that we could hope for, we are able to report tangible results.

Nineteen hundred and forty-seven was the first year of operations for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Much of its work during this first year was the exploration and planning which are indispensable preliminary steps in any significant international enterprise. Even so there were some real accomplishments in this initial year. For example:

UNESCO sent trained investigators to 6 countries and questionnaires to 14, to compile information on needs in educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction. Findings were published in news letters and the *Book of Needs*.

UNESCO stimulated member countries to help meet these needs. Typical examples of gifts: 300 sets of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (United States of America); 25,000 copies of classics (France); 5,000 maps, 700 sets of periodicals, 450 pamphlets (South Africa); 250,000 textbooks (Junior Red Cross of California, for Philippines); 1,000,000 pencils (San Francisco Campfire Girls); school stationery, books, and clothing (Swiss school children, for Greece).

Training fellowships are being contributed by Belgium (5), France (20), British Film Producers (10), American Chemical Society (10), Phi Delta Kappa (1), Rotary International (2), New Zealand (\$75,000), Australia (\$200,000).

UNESCO has very little money to spend itself on direct aid, but has established 62 UNESCO scholar-

(Continued on page 730)

Security Council Action on Palestine

Cease-Fire Order¹

The Security Council

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION that previous resolutions of the Security Council in respect to Palestine have not been complied with and that military operations are taking place in Palestine;

Calls upon all Governments and authorities, without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned, to abstain from any hostile military action in Palestine and to that end to issue a cease-fire order to their military and paramilitary forces to become effective within thirty-six hours after midnight New York standard time, 22 May 1948;

Calls upon the Truce Commission and upon all parties concerned to give the highest priority to the negotiation and maintenance of a truce in the City of Jerusalem;

Directs the Truce Commission established by the Security Council by its resolution of 23 April 1948² to report to the Security Council on the compliance with the two preceding paragraphs of this resolution;

Calls upon all parties concerned to facilitate by all means in their power the task of the United Nations Mediator appointed in execution of the resolution of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948.

Four-Week Truce³

The Security Council,

DESIRING to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Palestine without prejudice to the rights, claims and position of either Arabs or Jews,

Calls upon all Governments and authorities concerned to order a cessation of all acts of armed force for a period of four weeks,

Calls upon all Governments and authorities concerned to undertake that they will not introduce fighting personnel into Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Yemen during the cease fire and

Calls upon all Governments and authorities concerned, should men of military age be introduced into countries or territories under their control, to undertake not to mobilize or submit them to military training during the cease fire,

Calls upon all Governments and authorities concerned to refrain from importing or exporting war material into or to Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Yemen during the cease fire,

Urges all Governments and authorities concerned to take every possible precaution for the protection of the holy places and of the City of Jerusalem, including access to all shrines and sanctuaries for the purpose of worship by those who have an established right to visit and worship at them,

Instructs the United Nations Mediator for Palestine, in concert with the Truce Commission, to supervise the observance of the above provisions, and *decides* that they shall be provided with a sufficient number of military observers.

Instructs the United Nations Mediator to make contact with all parties as soon as the cease fire is enforced with a view to carrying out his functions as determined by the General Assembly.

Calls upon all concerned to give the greatest possible assistance to the United Nations Mediator,

Instructs the United Nations Mediator to make a weekly report to the Security Council during the cease fire,

Invites the states members of the Arab League and the Jewish and Arab authorities in Palestine to communicate their acceptance of this resolution to the Security Council not later than 6.00 p.m., New York Standard Time, on 1 June 1948,

Decides that if the present resolution is rejected by either party or by both, or if, having been accepted, it is subsequently repudiated or violated, the situation in Palestine will be reconsidered with a view to action under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Calls upon all Governments to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of this resolution.

U.S. Asks Jewish and Arab States To Cooperate in Cease-Fire Order

[Released to the press May 24]

The Department on May 24 telegraphed the chiefs of the American Missions in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen directing them to approach either the Chief of State or the Foreign Minister in the country to which each is accredited to say that the United States Government is gravely disturbed at the present course of developments in Palestine and that the United States Government hopes that the

¹ U.N. doc. S/773, May 22, 1948. Resolution adopted at the 302d meeting of the Security Council on May 22.

² BULLETIN of May 9, 1948, p. 594.

³ U.N. doc. S/801, May 29, 1948. Resolution adopted by the Security Council on May 29, 1948.

government to which he is accredited will, as a fellow member of the United Nations, give full cooperation in respect to the cease-fire resolution adopted May 22 by the Security Council.

The Department followed this action by telegraphing similar instructions to the American Vice Consul in charge of the Consulate General in Jerusalem, William C. Burdett, to approach the Government of Transjordan.

The appeal of the United States Government was taken unilaterally and follows numerous representations made on the question of Palestine to both the Arab states and Jewish leaders.

Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

- Official Records. First Year, Second Session. Special Supplement No. 2. Summary Records of the Meetings of the Committee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced Persons. 64 pp. printed. [70¢.]
- Second Year, Fifth Session. Supplement No. 4. Report of the Second Session of the Economic and Employment Commission. [E/445 and E/445/Add. 1] 21 pp. printed. [20¢.]
- Supplement No. 5. Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press. [E/441 and E/441/Add. 1] 16 pp. printed. [20¢.]
- Supplement No. 6. Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and Report of the Committee of the Whole. [E/452 and E/491] 27 pp. printed. [30¢.]
- Supplement No. 1. Report of the Commission on Human Rights. [E/600] 59 pp. printed. [60¢.]
- Index to the Resolutions of the Economic and Social Council. First to Fifth Sessions Inclusive, 1946-1947. E/INF/20, Feb. 18, 1948. 53 pp. mimeo.
- Composition of the Economic and Social Council and Subsidiary Organs. E/INF/21, Feb. 4, 1948. 18 pp. mimeo.

THE CONGRESS

Fascism in Action: A Documented Study and Analysis of Fascism in Europe. H. Doc. 401, 80th Cong., 1st sess. ii, 206 pp.

The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism: Supplement I, One Hundred Years of Communism, 1848-1948; Supplement II, Official Protests of the United States Government Against Communist Policies or Actions, and Related Correspondence. H. Doc. 619, 80th Cong., 2d sess. iv, 129 pp.

Loan to the United Nations to Finance Construction of Permanent Headquarters in the United States: Message from the President of the United States, transmitting an agreement between the United States and the United Nations concerning a loan of \$65,000,000, without interest, to be made by the United States to the United Nations to finance the construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in the United States. H. Doc. 595, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 4 pp.

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

UNESCO—Continued from page 728

ships, and has furnished 50 sets of scientific apparatus to technical schools, at a cost of \$75,000.

UNESCO has also published a useful handbook of suggestions to teachers in devastated countries, *The Teacher and the Postwar Child*. This is so useful that the United States Office of Military Government in Germany has translated and published it.

UNESCO held its first international summer school for teachers on ways of teaching to promote international understanding. Eighty-two of the world's best teachers, from 31 countries, took part in this 6-week summer school. A pamphlet has been published describing the summer school, *Unesco in Action*.

UNESCO has also pushed ahead the ambitious project for the scientific investigation of the tropical basin of the Amazon; an international conference at Belém, Pará, Brazil, drew up plans for this long-term project. Moreover, UNESCO has established three regional centers, in Cairo, Rio de Janeiro, and Nanking. These field science cooperation offices are centers for promoting contacts and exchange of scientific information among scientists in isolated areas.

Negotiations have been started for establishing demonstration ("pilot") projects in fundamental education in Haiti, British East Africa, and China.

The faith in which UNESCO was created is the faith which animates us today.

There are governments of both the right and left today which reject the free spirit of inquiry and the free meeting of minds. Some of these countries have never joined UNESCO. Others which joined UNESCO have since fallen under the domination of dictatorial governments. In these circumstances what are the prospects for UNESCO's success?

No man can predict or promise success. Our efforts cannot be conditioned upon guaranties that we shall succeed.

We do not fear to meet the representative of any country in any international forum. UNESCO is an international forum where speech is free.

We recognize that a forum is also a battleground of ideas; we go prepared not merely to defend, but to advance our principles with all the force and vigor we command.

We have charted a course of international cooperation. The pursuit of that course is fraught with difficulties. The conduct of policy presents us with no easy questions and admits of no easy answers. These are public questions. It is for the peoples of the world to clarify and formulate a truly public answer.

The United States in the United Nations

[Lake Success, May 28 to June 3, 1948]

Palestine

The Security Council agreed on June 2 that Arab and Jewish replies to its May 29 call for a four-week cease-fire constituted unconditional acceptance. It decided that the U.N. mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, should make arrangements on the scene for institution of the cease-fire. On June 3 the Council agreed that discussion of control machinery for the cease-fire, such as provision of neutral military observers, should await receipt of Count Bernadotte's first weekly report.

Ambassador Austin told the Council that the U.S. would give the mediator its full support in measures to implement the cease-fire and to work out a peaceful settlement in line with the General Assembly resolution of May 14. He suggested that three days should be enough time to fix the hour for the cease-fire period to begin.

Mr. Austin said he hoped that Count Bernadotte could stress, during the four weeks, that part of the General Assembly resolution which authorized him to call on U.N. specialized agencies and other nonpolitical bodies for aid in advancing the economic and social welfare of Palestinians.

The Council's May 29 resolution was based on a draft proposed by the U.K. It was approved by an 8-0 vote (Syria, U.S.S.R., and Ukraine abstaining) after rejection of a U.S.S.R. draft, based on chapter VII of the Charter (peace enforcement), which would "order" the parties to end hostilities. The U.S. supported the U.S.S.R. proposal, Mr. Austin pointing out that it was similar to one he had made on May 17. It met the same fate, receiving the same five votes (Colombia, France, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., U.S.), two short of the required seven.

The U.K. draft was much amended before passage. Nine amendments put forward by Mr. Austin were accepted, as were others proposed by Canada, France, the Jewish Agency, and the Arab Higher Committee. In final form the resolution, although grounded in the conciliation principles of the Charter's chapter VI, warns that if the cease-fire is not effective "the situation in Palestine will be reconsidered with a view to action under chapter VII".¹

The reply of the Provisional Government of

Israel, received June 1, based its acceptance of the cease-fire on five "assumptions". The Arab League reply, transmitted June 2, accepted in the light of certain "explanations". In both cases the qualifications were chiefly concerned with interpretation of the resolution's provisions governing importation of arms and fighting personnel during the cease-fire period.

Atomic Energy

On June 2 the Security Council received the Third Report of the Atomic Energy Commission. Adopted on May 17 by a 9-2 vote (U.S.S.R., Ukraine), the report says that the Commission has "reached an impasse" because the Soviet Union will not "agree to even those elements of effective control considered essential from the technical point of view, let alone their acceptance of the nature and extent of participation in the world community required of all nations in this field by the first and second reports of the Atomic Energy Commission."

The Third Report is submitted to the Security Council for consideration and transmittal, together with the two previous reports to the General Assembly as "a matter of special concern".

The report states that "this situation" is beyond the competence of the Commission and recommends that negotiations at the Commission level be suspended until the General Assembly finds "that this situation no longer exists" or until the Commission's six permanent members (Canada, China, France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) "find that there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy."

The Soviet Union flatly rejects the majority plan on the ground that it constitutes an unwarranted infringement of international sovereignty.

The Commission's majority "is fully aware of the impact of its plan on traditional prerogatives of national sovereignty," the report adds, "but in the face of the realities of the problem it sees no alternative to the voluntary sharing by nations of their sovereignty in this field".

The report notes that the majority plan is a "substantial achievement" in that it will serve as the basis of any further discussion of this subject". The majority plan calls for an international agency, established by treaty, which would

¹ For text of the resolution, see *ante*, p. 729.

control in some degree all phases of atomic-energy activities and have broad powers of inspection to prevent clandestine activities. The plan specifies in great detail the powers and functions of the control agency.

Referring to the insistence of the Soviet Union that a convention outlawing atomic weapons and providing for destruction of existing weapons must precede any control agreement, the report asserts that the Commission's majority "considered that such a convention, without safeguards, would offer no protection against non-compliance."

Annexes to the Third Report (U.N. doc. AEC/31) include a summary of the majority plan, the U.S.S.R. proposals, the analysis and rejection of the U.S.S.R. proposals which the Commission's Working Group adopted on April 5, 1948, and two speeches by Andrei Gromyko in rebuttal.

Kashmir

The Security Council's Commission on Kashmir, at an informal meeting May 28, decided to hold its first formal meeting in Geneva on June 15 and then to proceed to the Indian subcontinent. Charles P. Noyes, adviser to Ambassador Austin on Security Council and general affairs, represented the U.S. at the meeting.

The Commission's roster was completed June 2 by appointment of J. Klahr Huddle as U.S. Representative. Mr. Huddle, a veteran Foreign Service officer, is the first U.S. Ambassador to the Union of Burma.

On June 3 the Security Council voted to instruct the Commission not only to give priority to the India-Pakistan dispute over the affiliation of Kashmir and Jammu but also to investigate three other issues which are troubling the two countries' relations.

U.S. Representation

The Senate confirmed on June 1 the President's appointment of Philip C. Jessup to be Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council. He succeeds Herschel V. Johnson, who has been named Ambassador to Brazil. Dr. Jessup is on leave from Columbia University, where he has the Hamilton Fish chair of international law and diplomacy. Since January 1948, he has represented the U.S. in the Interim Committee of the General Assembly, a post he will continue to hold.

The President on May 28 named Joseph E. Johnson to be an additional Deputy Representative of the U.S. in the Interim Committee. Dr. Johnson, now professor of history at Williams College, was associated with the Department of State from 1942 to 1947, participating in activities which led to the organization and early operation of the United Nations.

International Law Commission

Ambassador Austin notified Secretary-General Lie on June 1 that Manley O. Hudson is the U.S. national candidate for election to the U.N. International Law Commission. Nonnational candidates nominated by the U.S. are Alberto Ulloa Sotomayor of Peru and Jean Spyropoulos of Greece.

The 15-member Commission will be elected by the General Assembly at its next session from candidates nominated by member governments.

Dr. Hudson has been Bemis professor of international law at Harvard University since 1923. He was a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague from 1936 to 1946.

Mid-East Economic Commission

The U.N. will establish an Economic Commission for the Mid-East with membership restricted to the countries of the area, if the Economic and Social Council adopts a report (U.N. doc. E/AC.26/16) which a special committee forwarded to it on June 1.

During the six-week session of the committee, the U.S. agreed to give up its claim to membership in the proposed commission provided that no other great power became a member. France, China, and the U.K. took the same position, but the U.S.S.R. asserted that as a great power contiguous to the area it had a right to membership. The 11-nation committee rejected this view by a 10-1 vote.

Committee members represented China, Egypt, France, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S., and Venezuela. The U.S. member was Henry L. Deimel of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.

Human Rights

Painstaking review of the draft Declaration of Human Rights occupied the Human Rights Commission during the first ten days of its third session, which began May 24. By June 3 the Commission, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, had completed its review of 11 of 33 articles in the draft prepared by its Drafting Committee during the first weeks of May.

At this session the Commission will also go over the draft of a Covenant of Human Rights. The Declaration is a statement of goals or standards of freedom for individuals. The Covenant is a treaty, to be ratified by the several nations, guaranteeing certain liberties to their nationals and residents.

The Commission plans to transmit both drafts, together with recommendations on implementing the rights stated in the Covenant, to the Economic and Social Council before that parent body meets at Geneva on July 19.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of Meetings¹

Adjourned During May		1948
United Nations:		
Atomic Energy Commission	Lake Success	June 14, 1946– May 17, 1948
Commission for Palestine	Lake Success	Jan. 9–May 17
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Economic and Employment Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	Apr. 19–May 6
Statistical Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	Apr. 26–May 7
Commission on Narcotic Drugs: Third Session	Lake Success	May 3–20
Population Commission: Third Session	Lake Success	May 10–
ECE (Economic Commission for Europe):		
Third Session	Geneva	Apr. 26–May 7
Committee on Electric Power	Geneva	May 10–
Panel on Housing	Geneva	May 13–15
Committee on Coal	Geneva	May 25–
Council of Foreign Ministers: Deputies for Austria	London	Feb. 20–May 24
First Meeting of Planning Committee on High Frequency Broadcasting	Geneva	Mar. 22–May 22
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control Practices Division	Montreal	Apr. 20–May 12
Second North Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting	Paris	May 19–
International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Preparatory Conference.	Geneva	Apr. 24–May 15
Conference To Plan for Establishment of an International Institute of Hylean Amazon.	Iquitos, Peru	Apr. 30–May 10
Pan American Sanitary Organization: Meeting of Executive Committee	Washington	May 3–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Teachers Organization	Paris	May 3–4
Committee of Experts for the Study of a Plan for Translations of Great Books.	Paris	May 10–14
Meeting of Experts on Art and General Education	Geneva	May 11–15
IRO (International Refugee Organization): Sixth Part of First Session of Preparatory Commission.	Geneva	May 4–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Expert Committee for the Preparation of the Sixth Decennial Revision of the International Lists of Diseases and Causes of Death.	Geneva	May 4–11
Expert Committee on Malaria: Second Session	Washington	May 19–25
First Meeting of South Pacific Commission	Sydney	May 10–
Fourth International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Malaria	Washington	May 10–18
International Telegraph Consultative Committee	Brussels	May 10–29
International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference	Geneva	May 15–
Health Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute	Harrogate, England	May 24–28
Sixth Meeting of the Caribbean Commission	San Juan, PR	May 24–29
In Session as of May 1, 1948		1946
Far Eastern Commission	Washington	Feb. 26–
United Nations:		
Security Council	Lake Success	Mar. 25–
Military Staff Committee	Lake Success	Mar. 25–

¹ Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Calendar of Meetings—Continued

United Nations—Continued			1947
Commission on Conventional Armaments	Lake Success		Mar. 24-
Security Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question.	Lake Success		Oct. 20-
General Assembly Special Committee on the Greek Question	Salonika		Nov. 21-
			1948
Temporary Commission on Korea	Seoul		Jan. 12-
Interim Committee of the General Assembly	Lake Success		Feb. 23-
General Assembly: Second Special Session on Palestine	Flushing Meadows		Apr. 16-
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council): Human Rights Commission: Third Session.	Lake Success		May 20-
			1946
German External Property Negotiations (Safehaven):			
With Portugal	Lisbon		Sept. 3-
With Spain	Madrid		Nov. 12-
			1947
Council of Foreign Ministers: Commission of Investigation to Former Italian Colonies.	Former Italian Colonies		Nov. 8-
			1948
Provisional Frequency Board	Geneva		Jan. 15-
International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea	London		Apr. 23-
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):			
Second European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting	Paris		May 4-
Legal Committee: Annual Meeting	Geneva		May 28-
Scheduled for June 1-30, 1948			
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):			
Second Session of General Assembly	Geneva		June 1-
Conference of North Atlantic States Concerned in Joint Support of Iceland Air Navigation Services.	Geneva		June 21-
United Nations:			
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):			
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Third Session	Ootacamund, India		June 1-
Economic Commission for Latin America	Santiago		June 7-
Subcommission on Economic Development	Lake Success		June 14-
Permanent Central Opium Board: 50th Session	Geneva		June 14-
Trusteeship Council: Third Session	Lake Success		June 16-
Diplomatic Conference on Revision of Convention for Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.	Brussels		June 5-19
Meeting of International Association for Hydraulic Structures Research	Stockholm		June 6-
International Conference on Textiles	Buxton, England		June 7-12
International Telephone Consultative Committee: Rates and Traffic and Technical Meetings.	Stockholm		June 7-22
ILO (International Labor Organization):			
105th and 106th Sessions of Governing Body	San Francisco		June 9-
31st General Session of Conference	San Francisco		June 17-
Third International Conference on Large Dams	Stockholm		June 10-
Specialist Conference on Tropical and Sub-tropical Soils	Hertfordshire, England		June 14-28
WHO (World Health Organization):			
Sixth Session of Interim Commission	Geneva		June 18-
First General Assembly	Geneva		June 24-
Second International Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering Conference.	Rotterdam		June 21-30
Eleventh International Conference on Public Education	Geneva		June 24-

U.S. Proposes Conference on Questions Regarding Danube River ¹

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH THE U.K., FRENCH, AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS

The United States has proposed in similar notes delivered on May 25 ² to the British, French, and Soviet Embassies in Washington that a conference be convened July 30 in Belgrade for bringing about agreement on a new convention regarding the regime of navigation of the Danube. This proposal is pursuant to a Four Power declaration at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in December 1946.

The Danube River normally is the major artery of trade between eastern and western Europe. Absence of agreement on a new convention facilitating effective intercourse in this important sphere leaves it an unsettled area in international relations where constructive cooperation is sorely needed.

The Balkan treaties of peace, which became effective September 15, 1947, contained commitments to the principle of freedom of navigation for the Danube. These treaties were signed by the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian S.S.R., the United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and others. Identical articles (article 34 in the Bulgarian, article 38 in the Hungarian, and article 36 in the Rumanian treaty) state:

“Navigation on the Danube shall be free and open for the nationals, vessels of commerce, and goods of all States, on a footing of equality in regard to port and navigation charges and conditions for merchant shipping. The foregoing shall not apply to traffic between ports of the same State.”

As a corollary to the agreement on this article, the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agreed in the November–December 1946 session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York that a conference to work out a new convention regarding the regime of navigation of the Danube be called within six months of the coming into force of the Balkan treaties—i.e., a call should be issued by March 15, 1948. This agreement was issued as a Four Power declaration December 12, 1946.

It provided that participants should be the Four Powers, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, the Ukrainian S.S.R., and Yugoslavia. It further provided that Austria, too, “shall take

part in the conference after the question of a treaty with Austria has been settled”.

In notes to the three European powers, the United States, on February 27, 1948, initiated discussions to obtain agreement among the Four Powers regarding a time for calling the conference. The notes expressed United States concern for a meeting at the “earliest practicable time.”

The United States has urged full participation for Austria. This position has been based on the importance of Austrian interests as a major riparian nation and the part Austria can play in development of more abundant commerce beneficial to all Danubian interests. The United States also had in mind its frequently stated position that Austria should enjoy the status of a liberated nation. On these considerations, and because treaty discussions then getting under way in London might settle the treaty question without much delay, the United States in its initial note of February 27 suggested that the time for issuing a conference call be extended beyond March 15 to some time later in 1948.

The United Kingdom and France agreed; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognized the “grave importance” of settlement of questions about Danube navigation but rejected Austria’s unresolved status as a factor in determining a time for the conference. Thus, there was agreement with the United States desire for a meeting at the earliest practicable time, but there were differences of opinion as to what that time would be.

The United States responded April 12, again urging the importance of Austrian participation, reiterating its desire for an early conference, and suggesting that work of the conference could be facilitated and speeded if the Four Powers would exchange views in Washington beforehand.

The Soviet Government replied on May 8, terming the idea of preliminary discussions in Washington unacceptable, again rejecting Austrian participation, stating its understanding that Yugoslavia would “make it possible for a Danube conference to be held in the city of Belgrade”, and suggesting May 30 as a date.

The United States notes of May 25 point out that arrangements could not possibly be concluded for

¹ Released to the press May 26, 1948.

² Not printed.

May 30, propose the practicable date of July 30, and again urge Austrian participation—in at least a consultative capacity, as it now participates in deliberations of other international bodies, such as the Economic Commission for Europe.

Without seeking any special rights, commercial or other, for itself, the United States has evidenced active interest in the freedom of Danube navigation ever since the end of the recent war in pursuance of its permanent interest in opening the way to fuller international trade and facilitating commerce. It has consistently pursued the inter-

est in the deliberations of the Allied Council for Austria, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and the Council of Foreign Ministers. The needs of the peoples of both eastern and western Europe require that international agreement be reached on constructive means to facilitate free and open navigation on this vital European waterway. The welfare of all these peoples would be enhanced—and their living standards improved—by freer international commerce, upon which European and world reconstruction so largely depends.

**DECISIONS AT THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS
IN DECEMBER 1946**

1. Danube provisions in the Balkan peace treaties (identical articles 34 in the Bulgarian, 38 in the Hungarian and 36 in the Rumanian treaty, signed February 10, 1947) :

“Navigation on the Danube shall be free and open for the nationals, vessels of commerce, and goods of all States, on a footing of equality in regard to port and navigation charges and conditions for merchant shipping. The foregoing shall not apply to traffic between ports of the same State.”

2. Four Power Declaration, adopted December 6, 1946, regarding the calling of a Danube conference :

“1. The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and France agree

to call within six months of the coming into force of the Peace Treaties with Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, a Conference to work out a new convention regarding the regime of navigation on the Danube to be composed of representatives of the Danubian States: the U.S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., Bulgaria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and representatives of the following States, members of the Council of Foreign Ministers: the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.

“2. Subsequent changes in this convention, should they become necessary, shall also be made by the Conference composed as indicated above.

“3. Austria shall take part in the above-mentioned conferences after the question of a Treaty with Austria has been settled.”

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL

Following a preliminary exchange of views initiated by this Government, the United States yesterday proposed to the British, French, and Soviet Governments that a conference be called for July 30 on certain questions regarding the Danube River.

This vital European waterway normally affords the nations of eastern and western Europe their principal means of carrying on commerce. Its free

and open navigation, with resultant benefits of more abundant trade, is of very real urgency to the peoples of all Europe in their daily lives. It is our conviction that a beneficial new convention for the regime of navigation on the Danube should be worked out as soon as possible.

Until we reach agreement on a new convention, this important sphere remains an unsettled area in international relations. It should be, instead, an area of constructive cooperation.

INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM DESIGNATED BY INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE

[Released to the press May 29]

A network of main international highways for truck transport was tentatively designated by the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe meeting in Geneva in April for the western European countries of Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and Bizonal Germany.

Routes selected for the international system include much of Germany's *Autobahn* and Italy's *Autostrada*, together with some of the better national highways of the other countries and with projected roads yet to be constructed.

Although roads in other countries not represented at Geneva were designated, no action is to be taken to incorporate them into the international system until agreements are reached with such countries.

The designated network will assist tourist travel as well as freight traffic since special efforts will be made to expedite customs formalities at the frontier crossing points.

Agreement on this road network is considered further evidence of cooperation among western European governments and reflects a desire to develop and promote highway transport. Previously these same governments had agreed to freedom of movement of truck transport. The designated international highway system is to be developed to assure uniform design standards and markings in each of the participating countries.

U.S. DELEGATION TO SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOIL MECHANICS AND FOUNDATION ENGINEERING

[Released to the press May 28]

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the Second International Conference on Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering, scheduled to be held at Rotterdam, June 21-30, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

T. A. Middlebrooks, Chief, Soils Branch, Office of Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army

Vice Chairman

Dr. Karl Terzaghi, Consulting Engineer, Graduate School, Harvard University

Members of the Delegation

T. B. Chambers, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture

Edwin A. Daday, Comdr., Civil Engineer Corps, United States Navy, Staff of Commander of Naval Forces East Atlantic and Mediterranean, London

June 6, 1948

Gail A. Hathaway, Special Assistant to Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army
 B. F. Jakobsen, Chief, Plans and Specifications Section, South Pacific Division, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army
 Charles J. Merdinger, Lt. Comdr., Civil Engineer Corps, United States Navy, Oxford, England
 Clarence Rawhouser, Engineer, Dams Division, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior
 James B. Thompson, Assistant to Head of Soil Mechanics and Paving Section, Bureau of Yards and Docks, Department of the Navy
 Carl P. Vetter, Chief, Office of River Control of the Colorado River, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior
 Walker R. Young, Chief Engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior

The Conference will discuss the utilization of soil as a building material in dams and other structures and compare findings of experiments and exchange information on experiences in soil mechanics since the First Conference, which was held at Harvard University, Cambridge, June 22-27, 1936.

The agenda of the meeting includes the following topics: (1) theories, hypotheses, and considerations of common nature; (2) tests in the laboratory; (3) investigations in the field; (4) stability and deformation of artificial fills; (5) slides in natural ground; (6) earth pressure on artificial supports; (7) settlement of buildings on footings and mats; (8) pile foundations; (9) problems in road and railway construction; (10) improvement of the mechanical properties of the soil; (11) ground-water observations and drainage; (12) survey of the work of laboratories and individuals in the field of soil mechanics; and (13) suggestions for exchange of information.

To stimulate interest in and to encourage the preparation of papers for the Second International Conference, national committees were organized in a number of countries. The United States National Committee on Soil Mechanics was created in February 1947. Philip C. Rutledge of Northwestern University is the chairman of the Committee.

U.S. DELEGATION TO THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON LARGE DAMS

[Released to the press May 26]

The Department of State announced on May 26 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Third International Congress on Large Dams, scheduled to be held at Stockholm, June 10-17, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Gail A. Hathaway, Special Assistant to Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army

Vice Chairmen

Joel D. Justin, Consulting Engineer, Cornell University

(Continued on page 751)

THE RECORD OF THE WEEK

Soviet Violations of Treaty Obligations: Document Submitted by the

Department of State to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations¹

I. GERMANY

Agreements

1. The final delimitation of German-Polish frontier should await the peace settlement (Potsdam protocol, VIII, B).

2. Payment of reparations to leave enough resources to enable German people to subsist without external assistance. Reparation claims of U.S.S.R. to be met by removals of capital goods and appropriation of external assets. Economic controls in Germany to be limited to those essential to curb German war potential and insure equitable distribution of essential goods among zones (Potsdam protocol, II, B, 15, 19; III, 1).

3. Economic Directorate of Aca agreed, May 24, 1946, that each member would submit report on reparations removals from its zone.

4. Germany to be treated as a single economic unit (Potsdam protocol, II, B, 14).

5. All democratic political parties to be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany (Potsdam protocol, II, A, 9).

6. Control Council agreed to prevent German political leaders or press from making statements criticizing allied decisions or aimed at disrupting allied unity or creating hostile German attitude toward any of occupying powers (Control Council Directive No. 40).

7. The Allied Control Authority has authorized the free exchange of printed matter and films in the different zones and Berlin (Control Council Directive No. 55).

8. Freedom of speech and press are guaranteed (Potsdam protocol, II, A, 10). Germany is to be prepared for eventual reconstruction of political life on democratic basis (Potsdam protocol, II, A, 3).

9. German external assets in Finland, eastern Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania, to be vested in the German External Property Commission (Control Council Law No. 5).

10. Quadripartite legislation has been enacted to provide for tax uniformity and stabilization of wages in all zones (Control Council Laws Nos. 12 and 61; Control Council Directive No. 14).

Violations

1. U.S.S.R. has repeatedly maintained that the Oder-Neisse line constitutes the definitive German-

Polish frontier and has approved incorporation of territory east of this line into Poland.

2. U.S.S.R. has taken large amounts of reparations from current production, has absorbed a substantial part of German industry in Soviet zone into Soviet state-owned concerns, and has otherwise exploited and drained German resources in a manner not authorized by Potsdam protocol or other agreements.

3. U.S.S.R. has refused to submit report on any reparations removals from its zone.

4. U.S.S.R. has consistently obstructed all four-power attempts to implement this principle and has carried out a unilateral economic policy in its own zone. In particular it has refused to cooperate in establishing a common export-import program for Germany as a whole, and in permitting "equitable distribution of essential commodities between zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports."

5. Soviet authorities have restricted the freedom of action of non-Communist parties by depriving them of equal facilities with the SED, interfering in their internal affairs, coercing their leaders, dictating party actions, and in general denying them the autonomy essential to democratic political organizations. They have denied the Social Democratic Party the right to operate in the Soviet zone as an independent organization.

6. Soviet authorities have permitted and encouraged scurrilous propagandistic campaign by the Soviet zone press and political leaders directed against the western powers, and particularly the United States.

7. Soviet authorities have repeatedly barred such materials originating in other zones from the Soviet zone or Soviet sector of Berlin.

8. Soviet authorities have instituted a system of suppression, intimidation and terrorism through military, police, and party authorities that nullifies any genuine freedom of speech and press. A totalitarian system of police control is being built up which suppresses basic human rights and legal processes and indulges in arbitrary seizures of property, arrests, deportation, forced labor and other practices which are incompatible with democratic principles.

9. U.S.S.R. has directly appropriated German external assets in these countries without investing and assignment by the German External Property

¹Reproduced from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee print of the report on S. Res. 213.

Commission as required by Control Council Law No. 5.

10. Soviet authorities have permitted the land governments of Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt to grant partial tax exemptions to large groups of wage and salary earners in violation of this legislation. This move is intended to stop the exodus of skilled workers to the western zones, encourage qualified workers to take jobs in Soviet-owned factories, and make propaganda for the improving living standards of Soviet-zone workers.

II. AUSTRIA

Agreements

1. The Allied Council would insure the removal of all restrictions on movement within Austria of persons, goods, or other traffic; economic unity to be promoted (new control agreement of June 28, 1946, art. 4,a).

2. Obligation to open the way for the Austrian people to find economic security (Moscow declaration). Obligation of Allied Council (i.e. occupying powers) to assist Austrian Government to recreate a sound national life based on stable economic and financial conditions (new control agreement, art. 3,c).

3. Obligation to assist Austrian Government to recreate a sound national life based on stable economic and financial conditions; to assist Austrian Government to assume full control of affairs of state in Austria; to facilitate full exercise of Austrian Government's authority equally in all zones; to promote the economic unity of Austria (new control agreement, arts. 3,c; 3,d; and 4,a).

4. Obligations with respect to stable economic and financial conditions, free movement within Austria as a whole, and economic unity (new control agreement, arts. 3,c; 4,a).

5. Obligation to assist Austrian Government to recreate a sound and democratic national life based on respect for law and order (new control agreement, art. 3,c).

6. Obligations with respect to law and order, assumption by Austrian Government of full control of affairs of state, full exercise of Austrian Government's authority equally in all zones (new control agreement, arts. 3,c; 3,d; and 4,a).

7. Obligation with respect to full exercise of Austrian Government's authority equally in all zones (new control agreement, art. 4,a).

Violations

1. Soviet-instituted system of licensing specified categories of goods for shipment from eastern to other zones (December 1947) impedes free movement of goods and traffic throughout Austria as a whole.

2. Properties seized by Soviets as oil in 1945,

land in February 1946, industrial plants in April 1946, and later exceed what might reasonably be construed as legitimate German assets under the Potsdam protocol. Removals of equipment and materials under guise of "German assets" and "war booty".

3. Withholding of certain food and industrial production from Austrian economy and from application of Austrian law.

4. Soviets designate certain railroad cars as "war booty", prohibit their movement from Soviet to other zones, and propose Austrians "repurchase" these cars (April 1948).

5. Soviet interference with Austrian efforts to maintain law and order through arbitrary arrest or abduction of Austrians (i.e., abduction of transport official from a train in December 1947).

6. Confiscation in eastern zone and Soviet sector of Vienna of certain issues of the United States-sponsored *Wiener Kurier* and other publications; threats to distributors of such publications.

7. Local Soviet military authorities insist that 17 nonelected Communist mayors remain in office in Soviet zone against authority of provincial and national governments.

III. EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Poland

Agreements

"This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates" (Crimean Conference, February 12, 1945).

"The three powers note that the Polish Provisional Government in accordance with the decisions of the Crimea Conference has agreed to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates . . ." (Potsdam agreement, August 2, 1945)

Violation

On several occasions prior to the elections and following persistent reports of reprehensible methods employed by the Government against the democratic opposition, this Government reminded the Polish Provisional Government of its obligations under the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and was joined on these occasions by the British Government. On January 5, 1947, the British and Soviet Governments were asked to associate themselves with this Government in approaching the Poles on this subject, and the British Government made

similar representations to the Soviet Government reiterating the request that the Soviet Government support the British and American Governments in calling for a strict fulfillment of Poland's obligations. The Soviet Government refused to participate in the proposed approach to the Polish Government. The British and American representations were summarily rejected by the Polish Government as "undue interference" in the internal affairs of Poland.

Of the 444 deputies elected to the parliament in the elections of January 19, 1947, the Polish Peasant Party (reliably reported to represent a large majority of the population) obtained only 28 places, thus demonstrating the efficiency with which the government had prepared the ground. On January 28, the Department of State issued a release to the press stating that reports received from our Embassy in Poland immediately prior to and subsequent to the elections, based upon the observations of American officials, confirmed the fears which this Government had expressed that the election would not be free.

Hungary

Agreement

1. Under the armistice agreement an Allied Control Commission was established under the chairmanship of the U.S.S.R. and with participation of the United States and United Kingdom (armistice agreement, January 1945, art. 18 and annex F).

2. The three heads of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States, and United Kingdom declared their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems (Yalta agreement, February 1945).

3. Upon the cessation of hostilities, it was agreed at Potsdam that the United States, United Kingdom and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would consult with a view to revising the procedures of the Allied Control Commissions for Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary to provide for effective participation by the United States and United Kingdom in the work of those bodies (Potsdam protocol XI, August 1945).

Violation

1. The U.S.S.R. representative on the Acc for Hungary consistently acted unilaterally in the name of the Acc without consultation with or notice to his United States and United Kingdom colleagues, thus denying them any semblance of effective participation in the work of the Acc.

2. Contrary to the Yalta agreement, the U.S.S.R., acting through the Hungarian Communist Party and its own agencies and armed forces in Hungary, far from concerting its policy toward assisting the Hungarian people to solve their problems by democratic means, unilaterally subverted the will of the Hungarian people to totalitarianism in negation of fundamental freedoms. For example—

(1) General Sviridov, Deputy Soviet Chairman of the Acc, without consulting the United States and United Kingdom Acc representatives, dissolved Catholic youth organizations, June 1946.

(2) Soviet armed forces arrested Bela Kovacs, member of Parliament and former secretary general of Smallholders Party, February 1947.

(3) General Sviridov precipitated a political crisis enabling the Communist minority to force the resignation of Prime Minister Nagy, May-June 1947.

(4) The Soviet Government refused repeated United States proposals that it join in tripartite examination of Hungary's economic situation with a view to assisting Hungary to solve its pressing economic problems, 1946.

(5) Discriminatory economic agreements were forced upon Hungary, including the establishment of joint Soviet-Hungarian companies, 1945-47.

(6) The Soviet Acc contended that only the occupational forces who control the airfields can permit the Hungarian Government to negotiate air agreements. Notwithstanding, the Soviets formed a Hungarian-Soviet civil air transport company. The Soviets also permitted the Hungarian Government to negotiate agreements with certain other countries but not with the United States or Britain.

3. Despite repeated requests, the U.S.S.R. declined to discuss the revision of procedures for the Acc's as agreed at Potsdam. Instead, the U.S.S.R. continued to act unilaterally in the name of the Acc's in matters of substance without consultation with, or notice to, the United States and United Kingdom members. For example—

(1) Instructions were issued by the Soviet High Command regarding the size of the Hungarian Army without consulting the British or United States representatives.

(2) The Soviet deputy chairman of the Acc ordered the Hungarian Government without the knowledge of the United States to disband certain Catholic youth organizations in June-July 1946. He also recommended dismissal of certain Government officials.

(3) In the fall of 1946 permission was given by the Soviet element of the Allied Control Commission, without consulting the Americans or British, for the formation of the Hungarian Freedom Party.

(4) Early in 1947 the Hungarian police were ordered by the Soviet chairman in the name of the Allied Control Commission to suppress the publication of Ciano's diary.

(5) In early 1947 the Soviet chairman stated he had personally given approval to the Hungarian Government to resume diplomatic relations with certain countries in the name of the Allied Control Commission and without prior discussion with the British or Americans.

(6) In May 1947 the Acc chairman refused the United States permission to visit Hungarian Army units.

(7) The Soviets refused to permit free movement of the American element of the Allied Control Commission.

(8) The Soviets refused to transmit to the American representative data on the arrest by the Soviet Army of Bela Kovaacs.

Bulgaria

Agreement

1. By the terms of the armistice agreement an Allied Control Commission under Soviet direction during the period of hostilities but with the United States and United Kingdom participation was established (armistice agreement, October 1944, art. XVIII).

2. Bulgaria was obligated to restore United Nations property, to make reparation for war damage as later determined, to restore all United Nations rights and interests, and to make available to Greece and Yugoslavia immediately on reparation account foodstuffs in quantities to be agreed by the United States, United Kingdom, and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (armistice agreement, October 1944, arts. IX, X, XI, and par. 1 of protocol).

3. The three heads of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States, and United Kingdom declared their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

4. The United Kingdom, United States, and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated they had no doubt that representatives of the allied press would enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Bulgaria (Potsdam communique X, August 1945).

5. Upon the termination of hostilities, agreement was reached at Potsdam that consultations should be held with a view to revising the procedures of the Allied Control Commissions for Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary to provide for

effective three-power participation in the Commissions (Potsdam protocol XI, August 1945).

6. The U.S.S.R. undertook to give friendly advice to the Bulgarian Government regarding the desirability of the inclusion in the government of two representatives of democratic groups, "who (a) are truly representative of the groups of the parties which are not participating in the Government, and (b) are really suitable and will work loyally with the Government" (Moscow Conference, December 1945).

Violation

1. The Soviet chairman of the Acc repeatedly took unilateral action in the name of the Acc and without consultation with his United States or United Kingdom colleagues, thus effectively negating the United States and United Kingdom participation in that body.

2. The U.S.S.R. has aided and abetted the Bulgarian Government in failing to fulfill these provisions of the armistice to varying degrees. The Soviets have refused to consider with the United States and United Kingdom Bulgaria's obligation to restore and restitute United Nations property and interests and, while deliveries of foodstuffs were made to the Yugoslavs unilaterally, the U.S.S.R. has blocked three-power consideration of amounts to be shipped to Greece. None has been shipped to that country.

3. The Soviet Government has consistently refused to concert policies with the United States and United Kingdom to assist the people of Bulgaria to solve their political and economic problems democratically. On the contrary the Soviet Government, through the local Communist Party, has unilaterally subverted representative democratic processes in Bulgaria and assisted in denying the Bulgarian people the exercise of fundamental freedoms. For example, in 1945 the Soviets unilaterally interfered in the internal affairs of Bulgaria's largest political party by demanding and obtaining the replacement of Dr. G. M. Dimitrov as Secretary General of the Agrarian Union.

4. The Soviet Chairman of the Acc consistently thwarted American press coverage of Bulgarian developments by negative or extremely dilatory action on United States Government requests for entry permits for reputable American correspondents. Conversely, representatives of the *Daily Worker* and other left-wing periodicals were permitted to enter Bulgaria without difficulties.

5. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics refused repeated United States and United Kingdom requests to consult as agreed, and continued to operate the Acc's unilaterally without effective participation of or even, on occasion, knowledge

of the United States and United Kingdom members.

6. The Soviet authorities, despite the Moscow agreement, aided and abetted a minority Bulgarian Communist regime in thwarting the implementation of that agreement and prevented the broadening of the Bulgarian Government envisaged therein.

Rumania

Agreement

1. The three heads of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States, and United Kingdom declared their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems (Yalta agreement on liberated Europe, February 1945).

2. Upon the cessation of hostilities, it was agreed at Potsdam that the allied control Commission procedure should be revised to provide for effective United States and United Kingdom participation in the work of those bodies (Potsdam protocol XI, revised Allied Control Commission procedure in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary).

3. The three Governments stated that they had no doubt that, in view of the changed conditions resulting from the termination of the war in Europe, representatives of the allied press would enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Rumania.

Violation

1. Contrary to its agreement at Yalta, the U.S.S.R., acting through the Rumanian Communist Party and its own agencies and armed forces in Rumania, systematically and unilaterally subverted the democratic will of the Rumanian people to totalitarianism in negation of their fundamental freedoms. Major examples of such U.S.S.R. actions may be cited as follows:

(1) Unilateral intervention by Soviet occupation authorities and by Vishinsky (February-March 1945) in effecting the overthrow of Premier Radescu's interim representative government and the installation of a Communist-controlled regime. Refusal in this connection to concert either with the United States representatives in Rumania or on a governmental level.

(2) Unilateral support of Premier Groza's retention of office in defiance of the King's demand for his resignation and the United States request for tripartite consultation in response to the King's appeal (August 1945).

(3) Direct and indirect unilateral interference by the Soviet occupation authorities in the election campaign of 1946, extending to the use of Soviet troops to break up meetings of the opposition and the arbitrary exercise of censorship.

(4) Preclusive exploitation of the Rumanian, economy, from 1944 onward, through (a) armistice extractions many times in excess of the requirements of the armistice agreement and in large measure unauthorized by that agreement, (b) through the establishment of Soviet-controlled joint companies covering the principal economic activities of Rumania, and (c) through commercial agreements the knowledge of whose terms was repeatedly refused to the other two Yalta powers.

(5) Rejection of a proposal by the United States and United Kingdom in December 1946 for setting up a joint commission to study the economic situation in Rumania.

(6) Unilateral intervention, from March 1945 onward, in Rumanian commercial negotiations with countries outside the Soviet orbit.

2. Despite repeated requests, the U.S.S.R. refused to consult with a view to accomplishing the procedural revision agreed to at Potsdam and continued unilaterally to operate the Acc in Rumania without effective participation by the United States and United Kingdom. Examples of such actions may be cited as follows:

(1) Issuance of directives to Rumanian authorities by Soviet element of Acc, throughout armistice period, without agreement of United States and United Kingdom representatives, sometimes in the face of United States and United Kingdom protests, often without even notification or discussion. Many of these directives were prejudicial to United States interests.

(2) Obstructive handling, throughout armistice period, of clearances to enter Rumania for official United States personnel and aircraft.

3. In contravention of this agreement, the Soviet chairman of the Control Commission, by the usurpation of authority, delayed and withheld entry permits to Rumania for accredited United States correspondents, ejected several correspondents from that country on fabricated charges, and censored United States press dispatches. These obstructive tactics, which continued throughout the armistice period, were particularly in evidence prior to the Rumanian elections of November 1946.

IV. KOREA

Agreements

1. Reestablishment of movement of persons, motor, rail transport and coastwise shipping between the zones of north and south Korea (agreement of Joint United States and Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics Conference, January-February 1946).

2. Consultation by the Joint United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Commission with "Korean democratic parties and social organizations" in the preparation of proposals for the formation of a provisional Korean government (Moscow agreement, December 27, 1945, III, 2).

3. That the Joint United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Commission would consult with political groups "truly democratic in their aims and methods", who would declare their willingness to "uphold the aims of the Moscow Decision," "abide by the decisions of the Joint Commission in . . . the formation of a provisional Korean government . . ." (Joint Commission communique No. 5, April 18, 1946).

4. That a signature of the communiqué No. 5 (later included in decision No. 12) will be accepted as a declaration of good faith with respect to upholding fully the Moscow agreement and will make the signatory party or organization eligible for consultation by the Joint Commission; that such signatories who, after signing the communiqué, foment or instigate active opposition to the Joint Commission, the two powers, or the Moscow agreement, can be declared ineligible for consultation only by mutual agreement of the two delegations on the Joint Commission (exchange of letters between Secretary Marshall and Foreign Minister Molotov, May 2 through May 12, 1947, citing the November 26, 1946, December 24, 1946, exchange of letters between the Soviet and American commanders).

Violations

1. The Soviet command in north Korea has since 1946 refused to discuss or implement the agreements reached on these matters, resisting efforts toward reestablishing the natural economic unity of the country. Concessions to economic coordination have been made only on a barter basis. No regularized movement of persons or transport has been established beyond that allowing the limited supply by the United States of its outposts that are accessible only by roads through Soviet-occupied territory.

2. The U.S.S.R. delegation on the Joint Commission consistently refused to allow such consultation except under unilateral interpretations of the phrase, "democratic parties and social organizations," which interpretation, in each case, would exclude all but pro-Soviet political groups.

3. The U.S.S.R. delegation refused to consult with groups adhering to communique No. 5 if the representatives of the group had ever expressed opposition to the provision for placing Korea under the period of trusteeship envisaged in the Moscow agreement.

4. The U.S.S.R. delegation refused to adhere to the agreement when an attempt was made to schedule the party consultations. The U.S.S.R. delegation unilaterally asserted that, despite the signature of communiqué No. 5, and despite assurances of cooperation with the Commission, and a pledge to refrain from fomenting or instigating active opposition, the members of a so-called anti-trusteeship committee could not be consulted by the Joint Commission.

V. MANCHURIA

Agreements

1. "The high contracting parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance in the postwar period with a view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction in both countries and to contributing to the cause of world prosperity" (Sino-Soviet treaty and agreements of August 14, 1945, art. VI).

2. ". . . In accordance with the spirit of the aforementioned treaty, and in order to put into effect its aims and purposes, the Government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to render to China moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources, such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government as the central government of China.

"2. In the course of conversations . . . the Government of the U.S.S.R. regarded the three eastern provinces (i.e. Manchuria) as part of China" (note of V. M. Molotov, August 14, 1945, relating to the treaty of friendship and alliance).

3. "The administration of Dairen shall belong to China" (agreement concerning Dairen of August 14, 1945).

Violations

1. "Industry . . . (in the three eastern provinces, also known as Manchuria) . . . was directly damaged to the extent of \$858,000,000 during Soviet occupancy . . . the greatest part of the damage to the Manchurian industrial complex . . . was primarily due to Soviet removals of equipment" (Department of State press release No. 907 of December 13, 1947, citing Pauley report).

2. The Chinese Government has failed to receive from the U.S.S.R. since August 14, 1945, the promised military supplies and other material resources. But when Russian troops withdrew from Manchuria. "Chinese Communists in that area appeared with Japanese arms in very substantial quantities . . . the natural assumption is that they were taken with the acquiescence, at least, of the Russians." (Quotation is from testimony of W. W. Butterworth at hearing before the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, December 17, 1947.)

3. Chinese Government troops attempting to en-

ter Manchuria subsequent to the Japanese surrender were denied the right to land at Dairen by the Soviet authorities there and were forced to utilize less advantageous landing points.

Due in large part to Soviet obstructionism, China has up to the present time been unable to establish a Chinese Government administration at Dairen.

Firm and Determined Course for the Democracies

BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL¹

Secretary of State

It is unnecessary I think for me to re-outline what has taken place recently between the United States and the Soviet Union in particular and the western European countries and the Soviet and satellite countries in general. However, there are certain aspects of the situation which it might be profitable to discuss. For example, in our intense desire for peace, in our longing for some firm basis of accord between or among the principal nations of the world, we are apt to be confused as to the actual facts and conditions involved in achieving our desires. The method of modern totalitarian propaganda is to twist, pervert, and confuse and to create an impression which may not in any way represent the true situation or the possibilities for successful action. As I have explained in public statements we have reached a virtual stalemate in a number of courts of action. The Conference of Foreign Ministers has struggled unsuccessfully for months and days on end to find a basis of agreement for a settlement regarding Austria. We have had similar experiences with relation to a peace settlement for Germany, making virtually no progress whatever. As a matter of fact, in London last December it required 10 days to reach agreement merely on the agenda for the meeting, and the meeting itself was seized upon largely by the Soviet authorities as an opportunity for propaganda statements for wide distribution, particularly in Germany and the satellite states. You are probably more familiar with the efforts of the Security Council of the United Nations with regard to the problem of atomic energy and a number of other matters pertaining to the regulation of the peace of the world. The Assembly of the United Nations, not afflicted by the veto power, has been able to dispatch groups of its members to observe conditions in Greece and Korea, but these groups have been seriously limited or handicapped by the refusal of the Soviet Union and other governments of eastern Europe to participate, or even to permit the free movement and action of these representatives of the United Nations Assembly on territories under their control. Endless discussions or negotiations have failed to secure the coop-

eration which is imperative to the stabilization of the world situation and the development of a sound basis for continuing peace.

There is an overwhelming demand for some agreement to wipe out fear of war and to bring about a return to normal conditions, and therefore strong resentment of any statement or lack of action that appears contrary to the fulfilment of that desire. These great desires are impelled by deep emotions but those emotions must not lead us into ill-advised and trustful actions which hazard the future of this country. I am sure that no one's desire is greater than mine to find a basis for peaceful security and a return of general prosperity to the world. But it is my official duty to see that this country is not misled by its emotions into commitments or actions which would threaten our future.

As a matter of fact, I think excellent progress has been made since the first of the year. It has been history-making and will later on be so recognized. I feel certain that the continuation of the firm course we have been following will lead to the solution of the worst of our difficulties and will eventually clear the way to a sound basis for peace. I am absolutely certain that only such a firm and determined course can save the situation for the democracies.

In this connection, it is of the utmost importance that all Americans realize the significance of our position in the world today. Our leadership is recognized the world over, but the obligations of such leadership are not completely recognized by us Americans ourselves. We are generous, sometimes to a fault, but it is just as important that we be understanding. By this I mean that we must try our best to realize the situation of other peoples and their point of view and their inevitable reactions to many things that are publicly proclaimed in this country. We often defeat our own generosity or aims by ignoring the sensitivity of people, their national pride, and the utterly different surroundings in which they live compared to ours here in America. This applies not only to the nations of western Europe; it applies also to those behind the Iron Curtain. There, however, the people are fed on the diet of a controlled press and an astonishing propaganda, astonishing because of its utter

¹ Excerpts from an address made before the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Portland, Oreg. on May 28, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

indifference to the facts. For this reason it is not easy, even with the best of will, to get across to them the real facts concerning our attitude.

One particularly important aspect of our position of acknowledged leadership is the constant fear of the people of Europe that we cannot be depended upon, that we will change our minds, that we will turn from a formally adopted policy like the European Recovery Program without notice and without regard to the devastating effect of such vacillation. This fear is based somewhat on a faulty understanding of the way in which policy is really developed in a democracy such as ours. But we, on the other hand, must be careful not to encourage it by thoughtless or spasmodic action. It is essential that we debate as we do the "pros" and "cons" of each proposed line of action. But once we have decided upon it, it is even more important that we do not quickly weaken or appear to weaken in our support of that policy and shift to some other point of view. The present destructive proposal for the amendment or emasculation of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is a case in point.

We are an impatient people. We demand quick action. That has accounted for much of our success in developing this country. But much more of patience and persistence is required in dealing with great international situations.

There is another factor of the present situation which I wish to mention. It is very important to realize that the world today is in a ferment of profound unrest. The great mass of the ill-favored people of the world have come to realize all that they lack in comparison with the advantages enjoyed by others. The tremendous development of communications and of the motion picture has brought to these masses at least a partial understanding of the unfairness of their situation. In any comparison we stand on a pinnacle. Nowhere in the world have the mass of the people enjoyed such a high standard of living and such opportunities as in this country.

In the development of this world movement I have referred to, our situation can win us friends or make us enemies. We must not ignore these two possibilities. But it is even more important to have in mind that there is this great surge of feeling under way, which is a ground swell now, but may become a tidal wave later, unless it is met by some definite hope of improvement through the action of the governments concerned and through the rehabilitation of the economy of the world, which is the purpose of our present programs. Meanwhile, this unrest presents a fertile field for those who advocate violence as a corrective measure or action for ulterior purposes.

In dealing with the international situation, particularly with reference to the Soviet Union and its satellite states, the democracies suffer from a

certain tactical vulnerability arising from the complete freedom of expression and the generosity of debate within their countries, in contrast to the procedure on the other side of the fence where a carefully agreed upon line of action is set in motion, with no possibility of criticism because a strong hand compels complete support. Such a method enjoys great advantages for the moment. In the end, I think it will defeat itself, if history is a true indication of probabilities. But in the short-term issues, like those of the present period, it does present great difficulties for us.

For example, we have today a heated public discussion as to what is the proper procedure for this Government in its relations with the Soviet Union, a discussion which largely ignores the fact that we are faced with a deliberate, a cynical propaganda campaign to offset a sincere effort on our part to establish a basis for profitable negotiations and agreements leading to a stabilization of the world situation.

Now that is a very general statement. I will particularize. A diplomatic interchange took place as you all know between our Ambassador in Moscow and the Soviet Foreign Minister.² Contrary to diplomatic precedent, the one Government chose to release without notice to the other a portion of the discussion. All of its own statements were released to the press but only a portion of the statements of our Ambassador. However, the procedure went much further than that. In the last and the most important paragraph—one of only four sentences, two of the sentences were omitted, completely distorting the meaning so as to form the basis for the Soviet propaganda purpose.

In Ambassador Smith's statement, the closing paragraph contained the following sentences:

"My Government earnestly hopes that the members of the Soviet Government will not take lightly the position of the United States Government, as here expressed. They have it in their power to alleviate many of the situations which today weigh so heavily on all international life. It is our earnest hope that they will take advantage of these possibilities. If they do, they will not find us lacking in readiness and eagerness to make our own contribution to a stabilization of world conditions entirely compatible with the security of the Soviet peoples."

This statement clearly meant that if the Soviet Government would abandon certain courses of conduct and action which have kept the world in a state of uneasiness and confusion since the close of hostilities, they would thereby produce an entirely new international atmosphere—and that if they did, then they would not find any lack of response from this Government.

² BULLETIN of May 23, 1948, p. 679.

In the version published by the Soviet Government, the second and third sentences I have just read above were omitted, and in the radio broadcast from Moscow the first three words of the last sentence were also omitted.

By this means it was possible momentarily to create the impression that the United States had proposed direct or unilateral negotiation, when the full text was not susceptible of any such interpretation.

What does that mean to you? It meant to me that the officials of the Soviet Government knew we would recognize that the purpose of their release was to gain a propaganda advantage in order

to mislead the American public, in fact the world public, as to the sincerity of their desire to reach an understanding.

In dealing with these difficulties in the situation, I feel, and I think all will agree, that it is very important to maintain the reputation for the integrity of action of this Government. We cannot afford to pursue any line of action, however successful it might be for the time being, which would reflect on the integrity of our purpose or actions in the future. We cannot stoop to a propaganda procedure which takes little account of facts and less of the proprieties.

U.S. Answers Soviet Protest Regarding Activities of American Aircraft Near Japan

[Released to the press May 27]

On May 25 the American Embassy in Moscow replied to various Soviet notes of protest¹ concerning the activities of American aircraft over waters adjoining Japan.

The Embassy's note informed the Soviet Government that a thorough investigation had been conducted of the instances cited in the Soviet notes and that careful study had been given to the allegations of the Soviet Government that the activities of United States aircraft in these waters violated the freedom of commercial navigation. In no single one of the more than 50 cases to which objection had been made by the Soviet Government, however, was there evidence, either in the Soviet notes or from the investigation undertaken by the United States authorities, that the aircraft in question were in such an attitude or position, regardless of their altitude, that they constituted any interference with commercial navigation. The note continued that the Government of the United States desired to point out that under the Moscow Agreement the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers issues all orders for the occu-

pation and control of Japan. In carrying out this responsibility the Supreme Commander has used the Air, Army, and Naval forces at his disposal to prevent smuggling and illegal entry into Japan. Effective measures to accomplish this mission must include surface and aerial surveillance of shipping in offshore waters of the areas concerned, as well as ground action on peripheral shores. Low flying within the limits of safety in conducting this off-shore patrol is absolutely necessary for recognition purposes. These activities serve the interests of the Soviet Government as well as of other nations concerned with the occupation and control of Japan.

The note points out that the United States Government considers these activities legitimate and is unable to accept the Soviet contention that they constitute in any way a violation of the freedom of commercial shipping.

In conclusion, the note informs the Soviet Government that American pilots have been instructed to avoid the creation of any hazard in carrying out their responsibilities under orders from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

Suspension of Austrian Treaty Negotiations

GENERAL STATEMENT

[Released to the press May 26]

The meetings of the Foreign Ministers' Deputies for Austria in London have been temporarily suspended while it is ascertained whether there exists a justifiable basis for continued negotiations. In view of the progress which had been made in the Austrian treaty negotiations and of the ever-narrowing area of disagreement still remaining, the Department of State hoped that the

treaty could have been concluded at this time and the Austrian people restored to their rightful state of full freedom and independence.

The Soviet Delegation, however, supported the claims of Yugoslavia to territory in Southern Carinthia and Styria and to reparations from Austria in the amount of 150 million dollars. The United States Delegation, along with the British and French Delegations, has been unable to find any justifiable basis for the recognition of these claims. The 1937 frontier between Austria and

¹ Not here printed.

Yugoslavia was fixed by plebiscite in accordance with the Treaty of St. Germain and sanctioned by international recognition since 1920. The revision of this frontier would be an unwarranted imposition on a small liberated country, inconsistent with the spirit of the Moscow Declaration, and prejudicial to the stability of this area and Austria's hope of becoming a self-supporting nation. It had always been assumed by the United States Government, and has been repeatedly so stated, that the restoration of Austria as a state liberated from German domination in accordance with international commitment involved the restoration of the whole state and not merely a part thereof.

The United States, likewise, has never concealed, nor deviated from, its intention to uphold the principle of no reparations from Austria. The Governments of the United States, U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom agreed at the Potsdam Conference "that reparations should not be exacted from Austria". The United States by many forms of material assistance has been faithful to its pledge under the Moscow Declaration to assist Austria to obtain economic security. It could not now be party to an agreement which would place Austria in economic servitude to Yugoslavia for an indefinite period.

The problem of concluding an Austrian treaty should have permitted a swift and easy solution.

Since the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the United States Government has endeavored to obtain consideration of this problem. Its repeated attempts to bring about a speedy solution were consistently frustrated by the delaying tactics of the Soviet Union. When the machinery was finally established in January of 1947 to negotiate the treaty, it was believed that a fair and just solution would be achieved. Now, after almost a year and a half of continuous negotiations, and more than 325 meetings of the representatives of the Four Powers, we again find the solution deferred.

The conclusion of an acceptable Austrian treaty permitting a reestablished Austrian state to develop freely on a sound basis is regarded as essential to the peace and security of Europe. The future course of the treaty negotiations offers a test of the desire for the development of international cooperation. The machinery has been established and continues available; the issues are clear and simple; the tasks of occupation have been fulfilled; the Austrian nation three years after liberation deserves the right to manage its own affairs freely; the necessity for final settlement of the Austrian problem is long over-due. The United States Government stands ready to resume discussions whenever there is hope that the basic issues of the Austrian treaty can be resolved.

LETTER FROM THE U.S. DEPUTY ON THE AUSTRIAN TREATY NEGOTIATIONS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS¹

[Released to the press May 24]

May 24, 1948

As chairman of the next meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, deputies for Austria, I am informed that the delegations are unable to remain indefinitely in London. In these circumstances, it is difficult for me to set a date for the resumption of the Austrian treaty negotiations, but I am prepared at any time to call the next meeting of the deputies as soon as possible upon receiving information that there exists a justifiable basis for continued negotiation, particularly with respect to assurances concerning the maintenance of Austria's 1937 frontiers and the principle of no reparations.

In order to ensure continuity and to facilitate communications with a view of avoiding delay in convocation of the next meeting, I am authorized to inform you that Mr. Gerald Keith, Counselor of the United States Embassy, London, has been designated to act as liaison for exchange of information with the secretariat or with the representatives of other governments. He will act in

this capacity upon my departure. I shall be grateful if you would be kind enough to inform the other deputies of this communication.

SAMUEL REBER

Letters of Credence

Costa Rica

The newly appointed Ambassador of Costa Rica, Señor Don Mario A. Esquivel, presented his credentials to the President on May 26. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 422 of May 26, 1948.

Correction

In the BULLETIN of April 25, 1948, page 541, footnote 2 should read "Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1553" instead of "1533".

¹ Printed from telegraphic text.

Greek Investigation Into Death of CBS Correspondent

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL

[Released to the press May 26]

The American Chargé d'Affaires at Athens, Mr. Karl L. Rankin, has reported that the Greek investigation into the tragic death of George Polk,¹ whose body was found in Salonika Bay on May 16, is being efficiently handled by the Greek police and national security agency. The two Columbia Broadcasting System representatives who are conducting an independent investigation in Salonika, Messrs. Winston Burdett and John Secondari, have also reported that they are getting the fullest cooperation of the Greek police.

The American Chargé is in constant touch with the Greek Ministers of Justice and Public Order and describes the investigation being carried out under their supervision as "vigorous and thorough". At Athens, First Secretary George Edman and Third Secretary Oliver M. Marcy have been specially designated to follow this investiga-

tion daily. At Salonika this is being done personally by the Consul General, Mr. Raleigh Gibson. The British Police Mission in Greece is also taking an active part in the investigation.

I am assured that all possible angles and motives in connection with this murder are being impartially explored. It is pointed out, however, that the circumstances of the crime render the task of investigation extremely difficult. So far, no arrests or response to the Greek Government's offer of a reward have been reported.

All information available to the Department on this subject is being communicated to a group of members of the Overseas Writers Association headed by Mr. Walter Lippman in Washington. In Greece, American correspondents who wish to observe on the spot the measures being taken to apprehend the authors of the crime are being given the full support and assistance of American officials and of the Greek Government.

TEXT OF NOTE FROM AMBASSADOR DENDRAMIS TO SECRETARY MARSHALL²

[Released to the press May 29]

May 28, 1948

The Ambassador of Greece presents his compliments to His Excellency the Secretary of State and has the honor to inform him that the Greek Government has instructed him to report on the Polk case as follows:

The investigation of the horrible murder of George Polk continues to be vigorously prosecuted by all appropriate agencies of the Greek State. A summary of the activities to date follows:

(1) On the day of the discovery of the body at Salonika, the Prime Minister, Mr. Sophoulis, and the Minister of Press and Information, Mr. Alianos, issued statements condemning the crime and promising a full and exhaustive enquiry.

(2) On the day following the discovery of the body the Minister of Public Order, Mr. Rentis, himself proceeded to Salonika to supervise the investigation. On the same day, Mr. Rentis, in the name of the Greek State, offered a reward of 25 million drachmae for information leading to

the arrest of the guilty. Mr. Rentis has since remained in close personal touch with the progress of the investigation.

(3) The investigation is proceeding with every facility of the State at work. No possibilities of guilt are excluded.

(4) Greek authorities are also working closely with the other foreign agencies on the case. These include: two special American representatives of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Mr. Burdett and Mr. Secondari; the American Mission for Aid to Greece, the American Consulate-General, the American Embassy and the British Police Mission. With the exception of the CBS representatives, who arrived later, all agencies listed above have been working on the case since the beginning.

The Greek Ambassador has been asked to assure the Secretary of State that the utmost effort is being made by the Greek Government and other interested agencies in this tragic case which has shocked Greek public opinion. He has also been instructed to assure the Secretary that justice will be done regardless of what the investigation may disclose.

¹ BULLETIN of May 30, 1948, p. 713.

² Printed from telegraphic text.

STATEMENT BY THE GREEK UNDER SECRETARY FOR PRESS AND INFORMATION

[Released to the press May 26]

In view of the great interest of the American journalistic world in the case of the murder of George Polk, the Greek Government would welcome and facilitate any correspondent or committee of correspondents from America to ascertain on the spot the urgent steps taken by the Greek Government in carrying out a thorough

investigation, in every direction, with a view to discovering those guilty and punishing them most severely.

Such correspondents or a committee of correspondents will at the same time have the opportunity of ascertaining, while in Greece, that there exists a regime of absolute freedom of press for every journalist.

Lebanon Rejects U.S. Demand for Release of American Citizens

NOTE FROM THE LEBANESE FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO LEBANON¹

[Released to the press May 23]

May 22, 1948

Referring to your letter No. 151 of May 20, 1948, relative to the landing and internment, effected May 19, of a certain number of Jewish immigrants traveling on board the S. S. *Marine Carp*, I have the honor to inform you that this measure has been taken by the military authorities in view of the safety of the Lebanese Army of Occupation in Palestine and for order and security in Palestine territory occupied.

The said passengers were traveling to Haifa, not provided with regular immigration permits, and at a time when this port, reserved for operations of embarkation of British forces, has been declared a zone forbidden to all landing of passengers.

It was manifest that the able-bodied men among these illegal immigrants were going, as some thousands of others who have preceded them, to join elements of trouble and anarchy in Palestine and to attack the Lebanese forces which have intervened with other Arab forces to reestablish order and put an end to the violence and acts of terrorism committed by the Zionists.

You know, in effect, Mr. Minister, that the Lebanese Army and the other Arab armies have intervened in Palestine, with the consent and at the request of the large majority of its inhabitants, to protect those inhabitants against the crimes of a Zionist minority constituted into terrorist organizations—Haganah, Irgun or Stern—reinforced by a continuous illegal immigration which has been admitted by the Minister of Immigration of the so-called state of Israel.

These organizations whose origin dates back well beyond the UNO recommendation for partition were created under the mandate outside the law and have been responsible for the most atro-

cious crimes perpetrated in Palestine, Egypt, Italy, the Orient, Britain, and which the Jewish Agency itself had discredited before the so-called Jewish state had assembled these organizations and had incorporated them in its armed forces.

Their ill deeds which have gone beyond national limits and have affected the most sacred rights of humanity—such as at Deir, Yassin, Haifa or Tiberias—have justified intervention of the Arab Governments. The latter have moreover been injured in their essential right: violation of frontiers before all intervention; attack upon Arab consular representations at Jerusalem of which the Secretary of the Lebanese Consulate was a victim and especially the will for expansion into aggressive Zionism expressed by the words of the Ben Gurion or of one Shertok before they were chief of government of [and] Minister of Foreign Affairs of the pretended state of Israel.

It is in fact to fulfil the mission arising from the intervention in Palestine which has been forced upon the Lebanese Army and to secure its own security and that of Arab armies that it has had to take the measure in question.

I should, moreover, point out that certain of the illegal Jewish immigrants debarked and bearers of American passports far from claiming American citizenship and protection, and gloried in obedience to the state of Israel.

The able-bodied men of every nationality so debarked and detained, numbering 69, follow the list of names attached.² They have been directed to the detention camp of Baalbek where they are lodged and fed in care of Lebanese authorities and can be visited at any time by the representatives of the American Legation.

¹ Printed from telegraphic text.

² BULLETIN of May 30, 1948, p. 712.

Extension of the Trade Agreements Act

EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVE DOUGHTON AND SECRETARY MARSHALL

[Released to the press May 24]

The Secretary of State released on May 24 the exchange of correspondence with Representative Doughton, ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. Representative Doughton wrote to the Secretary of State requesting an expression of views regarding H.R. 6556, a bill to extend the Trade Agreements Act.

May 21, 1948

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

As you know, H.R. 6556, which provides for an extension of the Trade Agreements Act for one year, makes drastic changes in the procedure for negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements.

In your opinion, in view of the scope of the proposed changes, would the best interests of the Nation be better served if the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act were permitted to expire than for H.R. 6556 to be enacted in its present form?

Your expeditious reply to this inquiry will be of great value to, and much appreciated by, the Minority Members in their consideration of the bill in the House of Representatives. It is now contemplated that the bill will be debated in the House on Wednesday, May 26, 1948.

With expressions of high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

R. L. DOUGHTON

May 24, 1948

DEAR MR. DOUGHTON:

I have your letter of May 21 asking my opinion whether our national interests would be better served by permitting the expiration of the Trade Agreements Act than by the passage of HR-6556 with its drastic changes in procedure.

The Trade Agreements Program has been a cornerstone of our foreign economic policy for fourteen years. Through it we have exercised a significant part of our leadership in world economic affairs.

The principle of the Trade Agreements Program is incorporated in the European Cooperation Act of 1948. The present Congress so provided because it recognized that European recovery waits upon a great expansion in European production for which there must be markets and that

markets in turn wait upon a lowering of barriers to trade among the European countries and between such countries and other nations.

Although HR-6556 extends the Trade Agreements Act for one year, it does so with such crippling amendments that only a shadow of the original Act is preserved while its substance is destroyed.

HR-6556 provides for a cumbersome procedure which would involve interminable delays and serious questions of responsibility.

It substitutes a single Agency (Tariff Commission) for the present Trade Agreements Committee composed of representatives of seven government agencies all directly interested in the tariff, as the body responsible for investigation and recommendation to the President.

Most serious of all it, in effect, makes pure protection the sole criterion for tariff action and forbids the Tariff Commission from participating in deliberations of the Trade Agreements Committee, in which, under the present system, other important aspects of the national interest are also taken into account.

In my judgment enactment of HR-6556 would make the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program unworkable.

Under the circumstances I think our national interests would be better served to permit the Trade Agreements Act to expire than for HR-6556 to be enacted. But it is my earnest hope that this Congress will extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for three years without the proposed crippling amendments.

Faithfully yours,



THE CONGRESS

Conventions and Recommendations Formulated at the Twenty-Ninth Session of the International Labor Conference: Message from the President of the United States, transmitting authentic texts of three conventions and two recommendations formulated at the twenty-ninth session of the International Labor Conference, held at Montreal from September 19 to October 9, 1946. H. Doc. 603, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 29 pp.

Addresses on U.N. Appeal for Children and Relations With U.S.S.R.

On May 25, Secretary Marshall made an address on behalf of American Overseas Aid and United Nations Appeal for Children at Madison Square Garden, New York City; for the text of this address, see Department of State press release 406 of May 25, 1948.

On May 26 Charles E. Bohlen, Counselor, Department of State, made an address at the commencement exercises at the University of Arizona, Tucson; for the text of this address see *Problems of American Foreign Relations* (Department of State publication 3169).

Officials From Chile, Brazil, and Argentina Awarded Grants-in-Aid

The Department of State has awarded grants-in-aid to the following:

Regina M. Real, Curator of the Museum of Fine Arts of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, for a three months' stay for the purpose of visiting museums and observing museum administration in this country.

Edwin Ihl, Entomology Specialist of the Compañía Salitrera de Rarapaca y Antofagasta, Temuco, Chile, for a three months' study of beetle-control work in the United States. His work will be carried on in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution.

Enrique Romero Brest, Inspector of Physical Education of the Ministry of Education of Argentina, and President of the Association of Physical Education Teachers of that country, to study physical-education methods in use in the schools of this country.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

J. Burke Knapp as Director of the Office of Financial and Development Policy, effective May 24, 1948.

John Hilldring Declines Appointment as Special Assistant

[Released to the press May 26]

On May 26 the Secretary of State was advised by Major General John Hilldring that he is unable to take up his duties as Special Assistant on Palestine Affairs for reasons of ill health.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Elisabethville, Belgian Congo, was opened to the public May 12, 1948.

June 6, 1948

Large Dams—Continued from page 737

Walker R. Young, Chief Engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior

Members of the Delegation

E. Robert de Luccia, Chief, Bureau of Power, Federal Power Commission

B. F. Jakobsen, Chief, Plans and Specifications Section, South Pacific Division, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army

T. A. Middlebrooks, Chief, Soils Branch, Office of Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army

Clarence Rawhouser, Engineer, Dams Division, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior

Dr. Karl Terzaghi, Consulting Engineer, Graduate School, Harvard University

Carl P. Vetter, Chief, Office of River Control of the Colorado River, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior

The purpose of the Congress is to discuss and demonstrate recent developments in the building of large dams. Invitations have been issued to the 20 governments which are members of the International Commission on Large Dams.

Dams higher than the Hoover (Boulder) Dam, the highest in the world, are now being planned in both Europe and India. The Congress will review the subject and attempt to draw some conclusions as to the practicability of dams of this size. The Congress will also discuss experiences arising from the testing and the actual use of special cements for large dams. Other topics to be considered are a critical exposition of the measurement of uplift pressures and stresses arising therefrom, research methods and instruments for the measure of stresses and deformation in earth and concrete dams, and the most recent precautions to avoid the formation of pipings.

The first two days of the Congress will be devoted to the presentation of reports and to discussions, while the following five days will be spent on a study tour of a number of dams and hydroelectric power plants and of one of Sweden's large industries.

The First Congress was held at Stockholm in 1933, simultaneously with the sectional meeting of the World Power Conference. The Second Congress was held at Washington, in 1936, simultaneously with the plenary meeting of the World Power Conference.

The International Commission on Large Dams, which arranges for the congresses, was constituted in 1928 for the purpose of promoting research in matters connected with large dams and of collecting experiences in regard to their design, construction, maintenance, and operation. The member nations of the Commission function through national committees. The United States Committee on Large Dams is headed by Michael W. Straus, Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior.

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“AID FROM AMERICA”: Foreign Relief Operations in Italy

by Durand Smith

What happens to foreign-aid funds after they have been appropriated by the Congress? Few taxpayers know, except in a vague and general way, how that portion of their tax dollars is spent. This article tells something of what has been done and is being done with the money allocated to Italy under the post-UNRRA relief program¹ and the interim-aid program.²

Italy received \$121,000,000 in relief assistance under the first program, now virtually completed; the second program, which is also nearing completion, is providing Italy with approximately \$182,000,000 in aid.

To keep its people from going hungry and to keep its economy running Italy must import wheat and coal. The bulk of the American funds therefore has been used to purchase these two basic commodities. In addition, fats, pulses, petroleum products, blister copper, sugar, medical supplies, dairy products, pesticides, fish, and canned meat have been procured. All the wheat (including flour) has been bought in the United States and almost all the coal. Offshore purchases have consisted of coal from the Ruhr, wet salt fish from Iceland, raw sugar from Cuba, canned meat from Mexico, and blister copper from Chile.

Lack of dollars and other foreign exchange made it impossible for Italy to purchase these vitally important supplies; they were given to the Italian Government by the American Government.

In July 1947 the U.S. Relief Mission to Italy³ was organized. It consisted of nine Americans: the relief adviser, two assistant advisers, four field observers, and two secretaries, all of whom were appointed to the Foreign Service Reserve or Staff. The seven men were given diplomatic status as attachés of the American Embassy in Rome. Office space was provided by the Italian Govern-

ment in a building on the well-known Via Veneto a few steps from the Embassy. Italian personnel eventually numbering about 40 were employed there for clerical and administrative duties.

An agreement between the two Governments concerning the rendering of assistance was signed on July 4 in Rome. The Ambassador, James Clement Dunn, signed for the American Government; Alcide de Gasperi, President of the Council of Ministers, and Carlo Sforza, Minister for Foreign Affairs, signed for the Italian Government.⁴

From mid-July through August negotiations were carried on between the Mission and the Italian Government regarding the implementation of the agreement. Many discussions took place about the reception, allocation, distribution and sale of supplies, about pricing and local currency proceeds, about publicity and labeling. A milestone was reached on August 27 when the first shipload of relief supplies, 9,620 tons of coal, arrived in Genoa. Another milestone was passed during the first week of September when the field observers left Rome to make a preliminary survey of their areas and to establish regional offices. One field observer made his headquarters in Milan, another in Venice, a third in Naples; the fourth operated out of Mission headquarters in Rome.

It was a constant problem to make clear to the Italian people how “Aid From America” actually was a gift; Italians still had to pay normal prices

¹The United States foreign-relief program was authorized by Public Law 84, 80th Cong., 1st sess., approved May 31, 1947 (61 Stat. 125).

²The United States foreign-aid program was authorized by Public Law 389, 80th Cong., 1st sess., approved Dec. 17, 1947 (61 Stat. 934).

³The name was changed to U.S. Foreign Aid Mission to Italy when the second program came into being.

⁴Another agreement, under the foreign-aid program, was signed on Jan. 3, 1948, by the same three representatives.

for their bread and their household gas, although American flour was used in baking more than half of their bread and American coal produced their gas.

The programed supplies—approved by the Department of State and the Italian Technical Delegation in Washington after they had received comments and recommendations from the Mission and Italian Government officials in Rome—were upon arrival in Italy distributed in great part through commercial channels. They were sold for lire at agreed-upon prices which were calculated not to disturb the economy of the country. The proceeds derived from the sale of the commodities were placed in a special account which came to be known as the lire fund. Under the post-UNRRA relief program it amounted to approximately 41 billion lire. Relief and work-relief projects approved by the Mission were then financed by this fund, which also paid the local administrative expenses of the Mission.

Certain products were, however, not sold. Soap was turned over to hospitals and sanatoria; streptomycin for the treatment of specific types of tuberculosis was given to low-income patients in institutions; evaporated milk was donated to institutions serving luncheons to poor children; 20 percent of the penicillin was distributed free of charge.

The job of the field observers was a varied and comprehensive one: to check on the distribution and utilization of supplies, to advise and report on the expenditures from the lire fund, to observe and report on economic conditions, and to publicize to the greatest extent possible the purpose, source, character, amounts, and progress of the programs.

The Italian Government provided each field observer as well as the adviser and assistant advisers with an automobile. Each field observer engaged locally an assistant, who acted as interpreter, a secretary, and a driver. The field observer in Naples was responsible for south Italy and Sicily, a territory which embraces five regions (Campania, Lucania, Puglia, Calabria, and Sicily) consisting of 24 provinces. During the eight months the Naples office was maintained, he visited every province. Two of the more remote Sicilian provinces were visited once, the others from two to six times.

A constant flow of reports went from the field to Rome by letter, by telegram, and by telephone. Everything of significance was reported from weather conditions and coal stocks to tourist traffic and the antimalaria campaign. In addition these visits attained two objectives: (1) to let the Italian officials know that a representative of the American Government was constantly checking on distribution and compliance; and (2) to secure wide and favorable publicity. The field observer continually attempted to make clear to Italians that a fraction of the taxes he had had to pay to his own Government had been freely given to the Italian Government, which in turn used the funds to make bread available, to provide fuel for the railroads and gas for cooking. And he almost invariably found it necessary to explain why everyone still had to pay for such things and what was done by the Italian Government with the money obtained by the sale of the free American wheat, coal, and other supplies.

One such episode provided unexpected but valuable publicity. In late January the field observer and his assistant visited a large steel mill at Castellammare di Stabia near Naples to check on "Aid from America" coal and to talk with some of the workmen. Three days later the front page of *La Voce*, the Communist daily newspaper of Naples, carried a long attack on the Mission. The headline said that an attempt by two American agents, described as "Truman clerks", to enlighten the workmen had failed, that instead the agents received a lesson in political economy. The article went on to state that "both were disappointed and much embittered" and that when they heard the workmen denounce the Italian Government they "became pale and tried in vain to justify the Government. So they went off."

The relief project which was probably most appreciated was the child-feeding program. This provided free lunches for approximately 1,100,000 needy children in kindergarten and elementary schools. The field observers visited many of the institutions. In south Italy vociferous and genuine enthusiasm was always manifested, and traditions of hospitality frequently included an address of welcome by the cutest child, a huge bouquet of flowers, a tiny cup of thick black coffee, or a glass of a local liqueur.

Many of the institutions were handicapped by

inadequate equipment; windows lacked glass; children sometimes had to eat their lunches standing because there were no benches.

Signs giving credit to "Ainti dell' America" were distributed to these institutions to be prominently displayed. It was with considerable satisfaction that these signs were observed in kindergartens in Taranto and Siraensa run by the *Unione Donne Italiane* (Union of Italian Women), a Communist organization. In Marsala the Communist mayor and the field observer together visited the principal institution where the child-feeding program was operating and were tumultuously received. The mayor later insisted on being host to the field observer and his assistant for the traditional cup of coffee. His cordiality and appreciation for American aid were genuine if paradoxical.

The lire fund was likewise used to help a number of "Boys' Towns" or "Children's Villages". One was the Villaggio Norma de Martino, beautifully and healthfully situated on the bay five miles south of Salerno. Private gifts permitted the reconstruction and renovation of about 100 units of Quonset and Nissen huts to make them serviceable as school rooms, dormitories, refectories, kitchens, and so on, for housing, feeding, and teaching 500 abandoned, orphaned, or poor children. The lire fund paid the operating expenses for the first six months. The village was dedicated and opened on April 15, three days before the elections, with appropriate ceremonies in which Ambassador Dunn participated.

A malaria-control campaign, an anticholera campaign, the building of a penicillin plant, highway and bridge reconstruction, land reclamation, irrigation, labor on state railroads, food parcels for the unemployed—in all the lire fund made possible or contributed to approximately one hundred projects.

Every feasible method to achieve publicity was used. Weekly bulletins issued by the Mission kept newspapers, periodicals, officials, and others informed of the progress of the programs. The field observers called on journalists and secured local coverage of their visits. The Italian radio was likewise helpful with announcements and interviews; upon the arrival of each hundredth ship it broadcast the ceremonies: the three hundredth in late January in Bari, the four hundredth in early March in Reggio Calabria, the five hundredth

on April 2 in Taranto, the six hundredth on April 15 in Naples. Ambassador Dunn's participation and speeches always gave great prominence to the occasions.

Newsreels and documentary films publicized "Aid from America" throughout Italy. During the election campaign window displays in 10 cities told the story. An ideal spot was found in Naples; the display there consisted of an effective photomontage of unloading operations, using genuine samples of American wheat, flour, coal, penicillin, streptomycin, and DDT.

More than a dozen posters, a common and accepted medium in Italy, plastered building walls in the cities as well as the villages. They were designed to attract attention to the amount of aid and also to explain graphically the use of the lire fund.

Suitable labels and markings on commodities were used where practicable. Bills for household gas bore a rubber-stamped notice that the gas was produced by free American coal. When an Italian employee of the Mission in Naples received her gas bill the day before the elections she noticed that someone had almost entirely obliterated the familiar notice. The Communist newspaper of Naples, *La Voce*, had attacked the Italian Government months before for its "servility" to American capitalists in requiring the gas companies to give credit on their bills.

Leftist newspaper propaganda proved quite helpful. At first it minimized the extent of American aid, then it admitted the size of the programs but denied that supplies were entirely free, and finally it changed to charges of misuse of the lire fund.

The Italian people, especially in the south, were cheerful, hospitable, and grateful for the help America was giving them. In Sicily the courtesy and hospitality shown the field observer on many occasions were all but overwhelming; the subsequent publicity value was considerable. In spite of the most vigorous efforts he was forced, in order to avoid offending Sicilians, whose hospitality is legendary, to accept during one trip three bottles of various liqueurs, a box of typical Sicilian sweets, a leather album, innumerable bouquets of flowers (not boutonnières but armfuls), and countless meals and drinks. In Ragusa, accompanied by the prefect and the mayor, wherever

(Continued on page 777)

THE INSTITUTE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS: COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS

by Louis J. Halle, Jr.

I

The picture of the tropics that most of us once entertained is of distant Edens in which nature is so bountiful that men need only gather the fruits that fall from overhead. Writers of popular romance have perpetuated this picture, which doubtless harks back to the days when thinly populated tropical wildernesses provided rich cargoes for the densely populated centers of power to the north. The north looked toward the undeveloped equatorial regions for wealth. One clue to the course of empire in modern times may be found in the extent to which this situation has been reversed over large areas, so that populations in the tropics now look to the north for means to achieve a reasonably safe and comfortable living.

The tropics, by and large, are not rich in the most fundamental form of wealth, good agricultural soil. Slopes that support luxuriant rain-forest will not support corn for more than a few seasons, as tropical farmers often learn to their sorrow. Sparseness of population, in relation to the agricultural soil available, has largely accounted for the fact that tropical peoples in times past have been able to feed themselves adequately. Quantity of agricultural land, which allows the farmer to move on as the soil becomes exhausted, is a satisfactory substitute for quality as long as it lasts. With the doubling of populations in 25 to 50 years and the progressive disappearance of frontiers, however, the problem has acquired its practical aspects.

The great majority of the other American republics lie within the tropics, and all of them are primarily agricultural. Nevertheless, most of them must supplement the production of their own farms by imports from abroad, and many of their people know what it is to be hungry. Those who work the land may be less articulate on this point than those concentrated in the centers of population, who get their food from public markets and complain of high costs when what they actually have to complain of may be low agricultural pro-

ductivity. Low agricultural productivity is the hidden root of many evils in the Hemisphere.

This situation would be an unhappy one indeed if the reason for low productivity were simply the limitations of the land. The fact is, however, that graduates of agricultural colleges could tell how to bring about substantial increases in the productivity of agriculture on most of this same land—and how to do it without creating deserts for tomorrow's farmers. It is done primarily with tools and technique. Taken together, they can in many areas pay for themselves, leave a surplus, and preserve or improve the agricultural capacity of the land for the constantly increasing populations that have to live off it.

The Chairman of the President's Famine Emergency Committee said last year that "the most practical way of overcoming the chronic world food shortage would be to transfer some of 'our farming know-how,' capital, machines, and tools to such potentially productive areas as Latin America."

II

In carrying out its policy of cooperation for the common welfare, our country has no more important contribution to make to the economic and social development of its neighbor republics than that of the technical "know-how" acquired by its own citizens in the course of its own national development. We do not deplete our store of knowledge and experience by sharing it; on the contrary, we often increase it. To the extent that it helps our neighbors enhance their social and economic circumstances, it surrounds us with a community of healthier neighbors than we would otherwise have. This is very much to the good. Healthy countries are politically stable countries; they are able to contribute to the common welfare; they are able to resist undemocratic political influences from abroad; they make for profitable commerce. The point need not be labored, since it is a truism that our civilization owes its very existence to the dissemination and interchange of knowledge.

The primary mission of the cooperative agricultural programs conducted jointly by agencies of other American governments and this Government's Institute of Inter-American Affairs is the transfer of technical knowledge in the field of agriculture.¹ This involves the direct application of technical knowledge by United States technicians to the problems of agricultural development among our neighbors, taking the form of actual large-scale operations, and also the training of local technicians to carry on as the United States withdraws.

The history of the Institute's agricultural programs reflects the continual adjustment of plans and operations to the changing circumstances of war and peace. This fluidity of adjustment is intellectually distressing to those who demand a long-range mathematical rigidity in the planning and conduct of human affairs. Especially with new enterprises of this sort, however, it allows for taking advantage of acquired experience along the way and of unanticipated possibilities for constructive development. It is indispensable to the process of growth.

The Institute's Food Supply Division, which has these programs in hand, was organized six months after Pearl Harbor, in June 1942, to deal with emergency food problems arising from the war. The immediate purpose of most of the programs it embarked upon (in cooperation with the Governments of Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela) was to increase the supply of food for workers engaged in procuring strategic war materials and for armed forces maintained by the United States at military and naval bases in the Hemisphere. The Brazilian labor force sent up the Amazon to extract rubber, for example, had to be supplied with food, and the Brazilian program was undertaken for the immediate purpose of producing that food locally. The Costa Rican program was undertaken with the immediate aim of providing perishable foods for United States troops in the Canal Zone, and by July 1946 it had supplied them with some 5,000 net tons of fruits and vegetables worth \$400,000.

These emergency aims naturally had priority while our countries continued at grips with the

¹ For an article by Mr. Halle on the Inter-American Institute in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, see BULLETIN of May 23, 1948, p. 659.

emergency. As it passed, however, it became increasingly practicable to survey what had been accomplished in the long-range development of agricultural processes, to envisage the permanent benefits toward which the programs were making their way, and to plan accordingly. Our general policy of cooperation had, from the beginning, been viewed as a vital permanent aspect of the good-neighbor policy, even if the initial direction taken by these cooperative programs had been largely determined by the immediate needs of a Hemisphere at war. It represented a historical development rather than a temporary expedient.

III

While the Institute formerly participated in ten agricultural programs, its participation is now limited to four—in Costa Rica, Haiti, Paraguay, and Peru. The Paraguayan program will serve as an illustration of the magnitude and character of these programs. A report of the Food Production Division sums up the original problem of Paraguay in the following concise terms:

“December 31, 1947 marks the completion of five years of experience for STICA (Servicio Técnico Interamericano de Cooperación Agrícola), the *servicio* which was created in 1942 by the Paraguayan and U.S. Governments to study, propose and attempt to carry out solutions for Paraguay's agricultural problems. When U.S. technicians, who were sent by the Food Supply Division to join Paraguayan personnel in this task, first arrived they discovered that Paraguay possesses tremendous agricultural resources which more than compensate for absence of a seaport: a tropical climate suitable for production of most temperate and tropical zone crops, wide expanses of fertile soil awaiting development, abundant virgin forests, and one of the greatest concentrations in the world of undeveloped hydroelectric energy. Yet, despite these natural advantages, agricultural production there was insufficient to satisfy domestic demands, much less to provide a surplus for foreign markets and build up dollar supplies. Its subsistence-type economy, based on farming, cattle-raising and timber exploitation, supports a population of over one million, more than two-thirds of whom live within a hundred miles of Asunción, the capital city, yet almost all of whom know little of modern agricultural techniques. STICA's task

then was to build a program, based on these conditions, which would serve as a beginning for an integrated agricultural economy."

It is to be noted that the balance between population and practicably arable land is more favorable in Paraguay than in most other American republics. Approaching the capital, Asunción, from the south, you fly over vast areas of fertile grasslands that are all but unpopulated. Paraguayans, in conversation with you, express their concern at the lack of an adequate population to exploit the possibilities of the land—a complaint that has a certain music for those who have confronted the more common and more direful problem of inadequate land. This land is ready to produce in abundance, awaiting simply the application of proper tools and techniques. The average Paraguayan farmer lives well enough, by the standards he knows, but he could live a great deal better. The Paraguayan Government is seriously concerned with dealing with this situation, and looks to our country for the experience and technical "know-how" that can provide the remedy.

Here is what Paraguay and the United States have done so far to meet this situation, through the cooperative *servicio* known as STICA.

A 500-acre farm has been established 30 miles from Asunción, called the National Institute of Agronomy. It is one of several foundation-stones of the joint agricultural program. On it, the seeds of new crops and of improved varieties are produced, tested, and labeled for distribution, while experimentation in agricultural methods is conducted to determine those best adapted to the needs of the country and the means of the farmer. The experimentation also serves to demonstrate such principles as contour-plowing, crop-rotation, and the use of green fertilizers.

Another foundation-stone is a model dairy farm established by STICA on the outskirts of Asunción. It demonstrates proper methods of pasturage and experiments with new varieties of pasture grass. It demonstrates pasteurization and the sanitary handling of milk, including bottling. It demonstrates the improvement of dairy stock. And, finally, it markets excellent milk of its own production in Asunción.

The third foundation-stone is a 27,000-acre ranch owned by the Paraguayan Government and supporting 6,000 head of beef cattle, which in turn support it. Here STICA demonstrates the improve-

ment of breeds and the effective management of pastures and livestock.

These three institutions cover the range of agricultural activity in Paraguay: crops, dairy, and beef. The principal device used to transfer to the Paraguayan farmer the practices and the stock they develop is a supervised rural-credit project, and this is the heart of the program. It is operated entirely with Paraguayan funds and under the auspices of the Paraguayan Government, but with the active participation of STICA in its direction. Each farmer, in return for a small loan by the credit organization, accepts certain conditions. He agrees to plant the seed that is furnished him and grow the crops he is advised to grow, to employ certain methods of cultivation, to use certain pasture grasses, etc. He carries out his part of the agreement under the supervision and with the assistance of Paraguayan supervisors, trained by STICA, who are in frequent contact with him. The result is that, at the end of a year, he has improved his economic position to such an extent that he pays back the loan with ease and is ready to improve his manner of living.

The enhanced prosperity of the farmer creates a social problem that the credit organization meets by an extension program in domestic science among the farmers' wives, carried out by Paraguayan girls whom STICA has trained and who visit the wives and families. These girls show the wives and families how to take advantage of their relative prosperity by improving the houses in which they live, establishing sanitary conditions, building stoves, cooking more efficiently, growing vegetables for their own consumption, developing handicrafts, etc.

This extension and credit program is not the only means by which the benefits realized in the foundation projects are communicated to the farmers. A demonstration farm colony has been established in which plots of land have been rented (and will eventually be sold) to some 36 selected farmers who run their farms and make their domestic arrangements in accordance with the improved methods. These farmers, like the thousands of others participating in the loan program, have become relatively prosperous as a result, and this is reflected in better conditions of living brought about under expert guidance.

Because this program has visibly benefited the farmers who have cooperated in it, other Para-

guayan farmers are now eager to adopt the improved means and methods. Thus a beneficent chain-reaction has been set off that promises to affect the entire agricultural community of Paraguay and materially strengthen the Paraguayan economy.

A word should be said about the special circumstances bearing on the production of beef in Paraguay. It may well be that more meat is consumed per capita in Paraguay than anywhere else in the world. The cattle industry constitutes its largest source of revenue. The production of beef-cattle, however, is the business of large ranch owners rather than of small farmers. These ranchers or *estancieros* have depended, in the past, on the native scrub cattle and the native pasture. In increasing numbers, now, they are visiting the Government's demonstration ranch, operated by SICA, to learn its methods, to ask advice, and to purchase improved stock for their own ranches. The sale of cattle raised here, in fact, pays for the entire operation of the ranch, the improvements made on it, and the demonstrations.

All the work described here is being done under the auspices of the Paraguayan Ministry of Economy, and increasingly with Paraguayan funds, albeit under the direction of United States experts. The Government of the United States is thus cooperating effectively with the Government and people of Paraguay, not simply in making studies and writing reports, but in the actual shirt-sleeve operations by which the American republics are working toward common objectives of the good-neighbor policy.

IV

Paraguay, with a land area of 150,500 square miles, has an estimated population of slightly over one million. Haiti, with a land area of only 10,700 square miles, has an estimated population of almost three million. While the Haitian population has been increasing, the land on which it lives has been deteriorating. Each year sees a reduction in the tillable area, now estimated to be only 40 percent to 50 percent of the whole. These facts might well be borne in mind when one reads about high food prices and social discontent in Haiti. The human ecology of Haiti has changed for the worse since Columbus established the first European settlement in the New World on the Caribbean island that it shares with the Dominican Republic.

When the Institute of Inter-American Affairs

inaugurated the cooperative agricultural program in Haiti in 1944, it had to deal with what was already an emergency. Trees that held the soil on mountain slopes had been destroyed, the topsoil had washed away, and what was left in large part was desert marked by gulleys. The familiar alternation of drought and flood had ensued. Irrigation works constructed in colonial times had fallen into disrepair and once fertile valleys had been ruined by salt. The problem was not simply one of improving agricultural methods with a view to eventually increasing the wealth and welfare of the country. It was one of getting food for hungry mouths.

The average Haitian farmer could not have been expected to understand the relatively abstruse principle of land use and soil conservation. His methods were primitive and ingrained in his thinking by generations of tradition. Hunger had not increased any disposition he might have had to take the long view rather than preoccupy himself exclusively with the immediate problem of getting something to eat for his increasing family. During 1944 and 1945 the Institute's agricultural mission was also preoccupied with this immediate problem. Emergency-aid organizations were set up; seeds and the cuttings from fruit trees and vegetables were distributed; information on planting, cultivation, and insect control was given out; emergency irrigation and drainage projects were undertaken.

It was not until 1946 that it became possible to think in terms of plans for the longer future. The decision then taken was to concentrate on projects of education and demonstration, since it was necessary to improve the pattern of Haitian agriculture as it existed, initially, in the mind of the Haitian farmer. Rather than a few large demonstration areas having been established, many small demonstration plots were developed in various parts of the country to illustrate soil-conservation practices, crop development, irrigation, and the use of machinery. Assistance was given in re-establishing a 1,200-acre farm for livestock demonstration work and as a training center for students of animal husbandry. Emergency rehabilitation was undertaken on La Gonave Island, a formerly rich agricultural region, once serving as one of the chief suppliers of corn and millet to the mainland, now reduced to dire poverty by soil exhaustion, drought, and pests. At the same time, the work of training

Haitian agriculturists in Haiti and Puerto Rico was expanded.

The most ambitious project of rehabilitation that the Haitian Government has under way, with the cooperation of the Institute, is in the 150,000-acre Artibonite Valley, potentially the richest agricultural area in the country but already half ruined for agriculture by salting and in danger of being wholly ruined. A Haitian Government commission is now making plans for over-all development of the Valley's resources, including projects for irrigation, drainage, flood-control, and hydroelectric power. Meanwhile, certain pilot-projects being carried out under the agricultural program involve drainage and diversion of flood waters to bring about the deposit of silt on land made useless by salting. Already wasteland has been successfully reclaimed for agriculture by these projects.

As is the case with most other Central American countries, the chief threat to Costa Rica's future is the rapid erosion of her mountain slopes as a result of deforestation, with the ensuing complex of desert, drought, flood, hunger, economic deterioration, and political instability. The general progress of soil-exhaustion is less advanced here than in Haiti, but its pace is alarming. The problem is to stop it in time. Consequently, the agricultural program in Costa Rica has put its chief emphasis on conservation through contour-plowing, bench-terracing, use of manures, crop-rotation, and similar devices. It has established an extension service which is gradually expanding throughout the country, and in the course of time the farmers have been coming in increasing numbers to seek advice and assistance from the extension agents and to buy agricultural tools provided at cost. This has been so effective that airplane travelers have noted the transformation taking place in Costa Rica as the landscape is increasingly featured by slopes plowed on the contour, by curving hillside ditches, and by terraces.

By far the largest agricultural program in which the Institute participates is one that has assumed the proportions of a great national development in Peru, that of the SCIPA (Servicio Cooperativo Inter-Americano de Producción de Alimentos). The Peruvian Government, for one thing, is able to pay by far the major share of the costs, while the economic circumstances in Peru are such that important aspects of the program there are self-sustaining. Its foundation is an extension service

that covers the country, its coastal valleys, its Andean highlands, and its Amazonian forest regions. Associated with this service is a network of cooperative machinery pools that make modern machinery accessible to small farmers who could not otherwise afford the use of mechanized equipment essential to low-cost production. Traveling about Peru, one sees everywhere tractors and other heavy machines, operated by SCIPA employees, plowing, cultivating, and harvesting the fields of farmers who pay for the service. This cooperative use of machinery is rapidly becoming an essential feature of agricultural production in Peru.

In addition, the field offices of SCIPA distribute quantities of improved vegetable, field, and forage-crop seeds at cost. They are making insecticides and spraying equipment available in connection with a broad program of technical assistance. Livestock quarantine stations have been established at the principal ports of entry for beef and mutton-on-the-hoof. Registered cattle have been imported for sale to producers and extensive work has been done on the elimination of animal diseases. Other fields of SCIPA's activity include nutrition, fisheries, the development of home gardens, storage, land improvement, and engineering.

V

It has not been the purpose of this article to present detailed lists of projects and statistics, this having already been done elsewhere. The reader who wishes to study these matters can obtain reports on them from the Institute, chiefly the Food Supply Division's excellent "Summary Report" of December 1947. The purpose here has been, rather, to suggest the nature of these programs, their objectives, and the ways in which they go about attaining those objectives. It seems worthwhile to conclude, however, by indicating the magnitude of the financial contribution that our Government is called on to make in order that its technical cooperation may be effective.

For the fiscal year 1947, the Institute contributed \$206,105 to the agricultural program in Paraguay, including the amount necessary to maintain a field mission of six to eight persons; it contributed \$98,503 to the program in Haiti, where it maintained a staff of four to six persons; it contributed \$115,656 to the program in Costa Rica, where it maintained five employees; and it contributed \$176,165 to the program in Peru, where it maintained 10 to 12 employees.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Acceptance of Four-Week Truce Resolution by Jewish and Arab Leaders

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN¹

U.S. Representative at the Seat of the United Nations

Mr. President: My government feels encouraged by the unconditional acceptance of the terms of this resolution of May 29.² We recognize that the present situation involves the obligations, whatever they are, that arise out of the resolution of the General Assembly of May 17 (document A/554), plus the resolution of the Security Council of May 29 represented by document S/801. We realize that nothing we can say in our speeches can change in any manner the obligations contained in those resolutions.

The spirit of the resolutions, however, is exceedingly important, and, as I have said on several occasions, I am very anxious to take the pressure off the political question somewhat if it can be done. If our mediator and our Truce Commission can lay some stress upon that part of the resolution of the General Assembly which empowers the United Nations mediator in Palestine to invite as seems to him advisable, with the view to the promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of Palestine, the assistance and cooperation of appropriate specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as the World Health Organization and the International Red Cross and other governmental and nongovernmental organizations of a humanitarian and nonpolitical character, to start in motion the resources which the United Nations can deliver to the people of the Middle East, something will arise out of it, I am sure, that will aid further to bring together all people who reside in the Middle East, because they have a common interest. Many times the relationship of Jews and Arabs to each other on a racial basis has been referred to here and the need they have for each other to collaborate and to live together in peace has been emphasized on both sides. I expect that perhaps this movement cannot be inaugurated in four weeks, but it certainly can be envisaged—it can be contemplated in the negotiations which are about to take place.

I would like to have the mediator feel that the Security Council is greatly interested in this element. Of course the parties know that. They have sat right here with us at this table, and they know of our interest. Also, being in the United States they know of the activity in the United States as a member nation to promote these activi-

ties of the United Nations through its various specialized agencies.

Now, as to the proposal of our distinguished President with respect to the communication S/814 from the mediator, I accept the ruling and, of course, will back it so far as it is necessary, and I want to say in passing that my Government is ready to do everything that it can under the two resolutions that command the situation; to do its full share in the effort of maintaining the cease-fire effectually and at finding an ultimate solution for the problem by pacific means. But, as to this communication, may I suggest that without in any way disturbing the ruling of the President of the Security Council, which is in full accord with the request of the mediator. There are two points which I do not think will do harm to bring out in connection with the mediator's request. He speaks of controls here and of setting a date. He says:

“For practical reasons hope Security Council, in event acceptance by both parties, would not set effective date so early that the controls would not be operative, thus inducing immediate charges of violation both sides.”

Now, Mr. President, we think that that should be interpreted liberally and reasonably so that it will not become an impractical construction of the situation. If he has to wait before his deadline until after controls covering all aspects of these two resolutions are set up and in operation, it will be a long time probably. Under the General Assembly resolution he has to arrange the operation of common services necessary to the well-being of the population of Palestine; secondly, assure the protection of the Holy Places, buildings, and sites in Palestine. Those two affairs, if he regards them as in the meaning of controls, might take all of the time that is involved in these four weeks. And we cannot have the fighting going on. It seems to me reasonable to suggest as a limit three days as enough in which to determine the exact time of the hour and minute for the cessation of hostilities.

¹ Made before the Security Council on June 2, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

² S/801, May 29, 1948 (BULLETIN of June 6, 1948, p. 729).

Now, I am not offering this as a modification of the ruling. I merely suggest it as a point of view which might be communicated to him from the President of the Security Council. Certainly, if no one objects to it, it would be suitable to convey that idea to him that it will expedite the cease-fire and get that into effect right away, for I think all parties now are well satisfied that there is nothing to be gained in continuing the hostilities. Whatever temporary advances might be made would not mean anything. After lives have been

lost nothing would be gained on the ultimate question of the solution of the problem of Palestine. In fact, a little something would have been lost instead because there would have generated bitterness which always interferes with a negotiation such as we have before us.

I conclude, Mr. President, by saying I wish to encourage the mediator and the Truce Commission and the parties concerned that the United Nations will continue to help all it can toward a solution that will be just and will be acceptable.

CABLEGRAM FROM THE UNITED NATIONS' MEDIATOR IN PALESTINE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL³

June 2, 1948

In event Security Council resolution 29 May be accepted by both parties, assumption is that a date would have to be set for truce coming into effect. I talked to Tel Aviv and Amman and my preliminary study problem of controls convinced me that a limited time must be allowed between the date acceptance of resolution and date its application. From standpoint application of controls this might be some days.

For practical reasons hope Security Council, in event acceptance by both parties, would not set effective date so early that the controls would not be operative, thus inducing immediate charges of violation both sides. My suggestion for procedure is that the mediator be authorized fix effective date in consultation with two parties and Truce Commission. I assume the four week period computed from this effective date.

[COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE]

JEWISH AND ARAB STATES REPLY TO ORDER FOR A FOUR-WEEK TRUCE

Text of letter from the Representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a telegram from the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Israel⁴

June 1, 1948

SIR: On Saturday, May 29, I transmitted to the Provisional Government of Israel the text of the resolution adopted by the Security Council with reference to a cease-fire in Palestine for a period of four weeks.⁵ I now have the honor to convey the following reply from Mr. M. Shertok, Foreign Minister in the Provisional Government of Israel:

"The Provisional Government of Israel has given full consideration to the resolution of the Security Council adopted on May 29, 1948 calling upon all governments and authorities to order the cessation of all acts of armed force for a period of four weeks.

"The Provisional Government of Israel has decided to respond to this call and to instruct the High Command of the Defense Army of Israel to issue a cease-fire order to Israeli forces on all fronts

to be observed as from Wednesday, June 2, 3:00 AM Israeli time (corresponding to 7:00 PM New York Daylight time) if the other side acts likewise. The Provisional Government of Israel will also comply with all the injunctions and obligations imposed by the resolution, provided that a similar undertaking is entered into by the other governments and authorities concerned.

"The readiness of the Provisional Government of Israel to cooperate in the execution of the cease-fire as laid down in the Security Council's resolution is based on the following assumptions which, in the opinion of the Provisional Government, are clearly implied in the terms of the resolution:

"1. That the ban on the import of arms into the territory of the Arab states enumerated in the resolution should apply also to the deliveries of arms from stocks owned or controlled by foreign powers within those territories.

"2. That during the cease-fire, the armed forces of neither side will seek to advance beyond the areas controlled by them at the announcement of the cease-fire and that each side will be entitled to maintain the positions in its military occupation at that time.

"3. That freedom of access to Jerusalem will be

³ U.N. doc. S/814, June 2, 1948.

⁴ U.N. doc. S/804, June 1, 1948.

⁵ BULLETIN of June 6, 1948, p. 729.

ensured for the supply of food and other essentials, as well as for normal civilian entry and exit.

"4. That any attempt by the parties concerned to stop or impede the normal transport of goods assigned to Israel and other states concerned will be regarded as an act of armed force.

"5. That while the Provisional Government of Israel is ready to comply with the injunction that persons of military age admitted during the cease-fire period should not be mobilized or submitted to military training, its freedom to admit immigrants, regardless of age, will not be impaired."

Although all these consequences seem to flow naturally from the text and spirit of the cease-fire resolution which the Provisional Government of Israel accepts without reservation, it seems important for the avoidance of misunderstanding that they should be placed on the record at this stage.

In addition to this letter, I have been instructed to seek an early occasion, at the discretion of the Security Council, for explaining the views of the Provisional Government of Israel in an oral submission. May I request that the contents of this letter be made available to members of the Security Council.

I have the honor [etc.]

AUBREY S. EBAN
Acting Representative
Provisional Government of Israel

Text of telegram to the Secretary-General from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt dated June 1, 1948⁶

June 1, 1948

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of 29 May 1948 in which you kindly give me the text of the resolution adopted on that day by the Security Council with a view to ceasing hostilities in Palestine for a period of four weeks. The Governments of the states members of the Arab League, to which you communicated the said resolution, have considered it and have taken the following decision which they have instructed me to transmit to you. I hereby transmit the following communication to you from the Arab League:⁷

The governments of the Arab states stated in their replies to the first invitation to the same effect that the Security Council addressed to them on 22 May last that they greatly wished peace to be re-established in Palestine and both the Arab and Jewish people of that country to live side by side in perfect harmony and mutual understanding. The Arab states also gave the reasons why they would not accept that invitation and drew attention to the guarantees without which the suspension of the hostilities taking place in Palestine

would only constitute a temporary respite giving rise to disorder on a greater scale and more serious acts of terrorism. It is pleasant to note that the Security Council has taken these considerations into account. The suspension of hostilities is merely a means of finding the just solution of the Palestine problem which would be so welcome. The Arab states also note with satisfaction that the Security Council's resolution instructs the United Nations mediator to make contact with all parties, as soon as the cease-fire is in force, with a view to carrying out his functions as determined by the General Assembly in its resolution of 14 May last. One of the most important of these functions is that of reaching a peaceful and just solution of the problem.

The governments of the Arab states are confident that the United Nations mediator and the members of the Truce Commission appointed by the Security Council on 23 April 1948 will realise that any solution which does not ensure political unity for Palestine nor respect the will of the majority of the population of that country will not have the least chance of success. There is not the least doubt that it will have exactly the opposite effect from that for which the suspension of hostilities was resolved: it will open the gates of Palestine, at the present time controlled by the Zionists, to receive hordes of Jewish immigrants of military age who are waiting at the ports of Europe and America for the first chance to go to Palestine in large numbers. Most of these immigrants have received a thorough combatant training, and their entry into Palestine will have the effect of reinforcing the bands of Zionist terrorists, which constitute a serious threat to the Arabs of Palestine and to the security of the middle eastern Arab countries. It is inconceivable that the Security Council could have intended to place the Zionists in a position to profit by the period of cessation of hostilities in order to receive a reinforcement of men who, although they come to Palestine as immigrants, are in reality nothing but trained fighters and thus come within the definition in the second paragraph of the Security Council resolution prohibiting the introduction of combatant personnel into Palestine during the period of the armistice.

Finally, the governments of the Arab states consider it necessary that a body should be set up under all the necessary safeguards, charged with the most careful supervision of the provisions and conditions of the Security Council resolution on the cessation of hostilities and capable of performing this delicate function. The governments of

⁶ U.N. doc. S/810, June 1, 1948.

⁷ For communications to the Secretary-General from the Governments of Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Lebanon, see, respectively, the following U.N. docs.: S/815, June 2, 1948, S/811, S/807, and S/805, June 1, 1948.

the Arab states consider that in this regard the Security Council resolution does not give them full assurance that the other party will respect the provisions and conditions of the armistice. Therefore, as members of a regional organisation responsible for maintaining security in their zone, they are bound to collaborate whole-heartedly with the United Nations mediator and the members of the Truce Commission for Palestine in order to supervise the carrying out of the aforesaid provisions and conditions.

In the light of the above explanations the Arab states which are anxious to see peace re-established in Palestine and the way prepared for a just and fair solution of the Palestine problem, accept the

Security Council's invitation to cease fire for a period of four weeks from the date to be determined for this purpose. In accepting this invitation, in spite of the obstacles with which all the attempts hitherto made to solve the Palestine problem justly and fairly have been confronted owing to the systematically obstructive attitude taken up by the Zionists, the Arab states are proving their sincere wish to collaborate with the United Nations in achieving such a solution at a moment when their armies which have entered Palestine have the situation in hand.

I have the honour [etc.]

AHMED MOHAMMED KHASHABA Pasha,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt

Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

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Official Records:

Second Year:

— No. 68, 172d and 173d Meeting, August 1, 1947. 62 pp. printed. 60¢.

Third Year:

— No. 56, 281st Meeting, April 12, 1948. 34 pp. printed. 35¢.

— No. 60, 285th Meeting, April 19, 1948. 52 pp. printed. 50¢.

Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question:

Report to the Security Council on Political Developments in Madura. S/786. May 26, 1948. 20 pp. mimeo.

Second Interim Report of the Committee to the Security Council. S/787. May 26, 1948. 37 pp. mimeo.

Report of the Administration of the British/United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste for the First Quarter of 1948 (letter of transmittal included). S/781. May 25, 1948. 48 pp. mimeo.

Economic and Social Council

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Resolutions Adopted by the Economic and Social Council during its sixth session from February 2 to March 11, 1948. 48 pp. printed. 50¢.

Report of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization. E/786. Apr. 28, 1948. 19 pp. mimeo.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs: Report to the Economic and Social Council on the Draft Protocol To Bring Under Control Certain Drugs Not Covered by the 1931 Convention. E/798. May 26, 1948. 24 pp. mimeo.

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

Report on the Activities of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. E/804. May 25, 1948. 13 pp. mimeo.

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Arrangements of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations: Guide for Consultants. E/INF/23. Apr. 30, 1948. 46 pp. mimeo.

Commission on Human Rights: Third Session International Law Association. E/CN4/89. May 12, 1948. 63 pp. mimeo.

Sales Prices for U.N. Documents

The following sales prices were approved on April 22, 1948, for mimeographed United Nations documents which are to be sold to institutions, libraries, and the public by the U.N. Department of Public Information. The sales will replace the system of free distribution to depository libraries except so far as such libraries have reciprocal arrangements with the United Nations for exchange of publications.

The prices are as follows. All figures are for documents in one language:

A Documents.....	\$30.00
A Committee Documents.....	65.00
Both A Documents and A Committee Documents.....	75.00
E Documents.....	30.00
E Committee Documents.....	90.00
Both E Documents and E Committee Documents.....	100.00
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United States in the United Nations¹

Palestine

Gratification with the success of the U.N. mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, in arranging a four-week cease-fire, effective June 11, and the Soviet Union's dissatisfaction that the mediator had asked only France, Belgium, and the United States to provide military observers marked the meetings which the Security Council devoted to Palestine on June 7 and 10.

Expressing the appreciation of the United States for Bernadotte's achievement and for the "statesmanlike attitude" of the governments concerned, Philip C. Jessup, Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council, remarked that once again the U.N. had "succeeded in substituting peaceful negotiation for the cruel and wasteful arbitrament of the battlefield." He added that the cease-fire agreement contained many of the elements of a truce and gave reason to hope that it could be extended into an enduring settlement.

The Council's resolution of May 29, which was the mediator's terms of reference in his negotiations for a cease-fire, provides that the mediator and the Security Council's Truce Commission (France, Belgium, U.S.) "shall be provided with a sufficient number of military observers." Count Bernadotte asked the French, Belgian, and United States Governments, through their diplomatic missions in Cairo, to provide military observers to help oversee cease-fire observance. Mr. Jessup told the Council June 7 that the United States, "in conformity with this paragraph and as a member of the Truce Commission," had agreed to supply observers. Mr. Parodi and Mr. Van Langenhove made similar statements on behalf of France and Belgium.

At both meetings Andrei Gromyko questioned Count Bernadotte's choice of observers. The May 29 resolution, he said, left open the selection of states to provide observers, and it was necessary for the Council itself to decide who should send them. To create a truce commission consisting of certain states because they happened to have consulates in Jerusalem and then to decide that only these states should provide observers would be logic "not particularly distinguished by modesty". Mr. Gromyko declared that the U.S.S.R. was ready to send military observers to Palestine along with those of other states.

Mr. Jessup stated that to the United States the question of observers seemed simple. The resolution of May 29 indicates clearly that arrangements for observation of the truce "might well be left to the Mediator, working in concert with the Truce Commission." The Security Council could

of course change the wording of the resolution if it chose to do so, and the United States would naturally be bound by any such change. But the arrangement already established, Mr. Jessup said, seems to the United States to be "a simple and practical one which the Council has already authorized."

Mr. Gromyko replied that Mr. Jessup's statement showed that the United States had a "negative attitude" toward the participation of Soviet Union observers. He reserved the right to submit a formal resolution on observer arrangements at the Council's next meeting on Palestine.

Techniques of Pacific Settlement

The Interim Committee of the General Assembly is making "substantial progress" in developing general principles of international cooperation and improved methods for pacific settlement of disputes, Philip C. Jessup, Deputy U.S. Representative, said in a press statement released June 7.²

This aspect of the work assigned to the Interim Committee by the General Assembly's resolution of November 13, 1947, is in the hands of a 15-nation subcommittee, which plans to complete its work in July. The United States is a member.

The subcommittee is studying pacific settlement procedures, which are mentioned in article 33 of the Charter as including negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement, in the light of existing treaties and of League of Nations and inter-American experience. Mr. Jessup noted that the subcommittee is emphasizing the obligation of U.N. members to try settling their disputes by these methods before bringing them to the Security Council or the General Assembly.

The subcommittee also has under consideration proposals for improving the machinery of international conciliation. "For example," Mr. Jessup said, "China and the U.S. have suggested the creation of a panel . . . of competent persons who might be selected by states or by U.N. organs for service on commissions of enquiry and conciliation. . . . There have been several instances in which competent personnel has been urgently needed for N.U. commissions, as in the cases of Indonesia, Kashmir and the Balkans."

India-Pakistan Disputes

The Security Council met June 8 to discuss a letter from Prime Minister Nehru of India which protested the Council's June 3 decision to enlarge the scope of its Kashmir Commission.

¹ June 4-June 10, 1948.

² U.S. Mission to U.N. press release 469.

Mr. Nehru's letter also reaffirmed India's objections to the plan approved by the Council on April 21 for a plebiscite in Kashmir and Jammu and said there "can be no question of the Commission proceeding to implement the resolution on Kashmir until objections by the Government of India have been met."

The Indian contention is that Pakistan's charges of Indian aggression against the state of Junagadh, genocide, and violation of certain interdominion agreements do not constitute threats to peace and are outside the Security Council's jurisdiction.

The Council informally agreed that its President, Mr. El Khouri of Syria, should reply to Mr. Nehru that, first, the Council had come to no conclusion about the three Pakistan complaints but had merely asked its Commission for information on them, and, secondly, the Commission itself would discuss with Indian and Pakistan authorities, upon its arrival, the question of implementing the Kashmir plan.

Mr. El Khouri said he would draft such a letter and submit it to a later meeting of the Council, but Philip C. Jessup of the United States said he was sure the Council would prefer to have the letter sent off promptly without review.

Human Rights

The Human Rights Commission will find it necessary to revise its timetable for the preparation of a "Bill of Human Rights" in the light of experience gained at its current session, the U.S. Delegation believes.

When the Commission convened its third session on May 24, it was hoped that by June 18 it could complete the drafts of a Declaration of Human Rights, a Covenant of Human Rights, and suggestions for implementation of the Covenant.

The Commission has found that the drafting of the declaration alone is a bigger job than was anticipated. It is likely that only the declaration will be completed at this session.

Subsequent procedure had not been determined as of June 10. The declaration alone could be sent to the Economic and Social Council for review at its Geneva session, opening July 19, or the Com-

mission could withhold it until it completes the other two drafts at a later meeting.

Korean Commission

The U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea returned to Seoul on June 7 from Shanghai, where it has been writing its report, to make itself available for consultations with the representatives elected on May 10 by the people of southern Korea, the U.S. zone. This action by the Commission further implements the General Assembly resolution of November 14, 1947, sponsored by the United States and provided that elections be held "to choose representatives with whom the Commission may consult regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people."

Balkan Commission

The U.N. Special Commission on the Balkans, on which the United States is represented by Admiral Alan G. Kirk, Ambassador to Belgium, moved its headquarters from Geneva to Solonika to write its report for the third session of the General Assembly. The Chairman stated that the Commission's task would not be completed with the adoption of the report in Geneva but its activities would continue until the Assembly meets this fall.

Far East Economic Meeting

The U.S. Representative on the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Henry F. Grady, Ambassador to India (recently appointed Ambassador to Greece), told the Commission that American capital is available for investment in the Far Eastern area, but that "conditions must be favorable for sound loans just as they must be for direct investments in enterprises." He also called for efforts to raise the standard of living of the Asiatic countries to the maximum. The Commission, which opened its third session in Ootacamund, India, on June 1, had virtually completed its recommendations by June 10 on trade development, industrial development, flood control, food and agriculture, and the technical training of personnel. The Commission was expected to complete its session on June 12.

International Interests in the Supply and Production of Rice

by Leonard B. Ellis

The International Rice Meeting, called by the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), was held at Baguio, Republic of the Philippines, March 1-13, 1948. This Meeting was called in response to a recommendation made at the Third Session of the FAO Annual Conference, which was held at Geneva August 25-September 11, 1947. The Geneva conference recommended that a rice meeting be convened to take up at the governmental level the problem of implementing the recommendations made by the Rice Study Group which had met at Trivandrum, India, May-June 1947.

Agenda

In addition to the usual provisions for organization and procedure, the agenda provided for (1) a statement by the FAO on the current rice situation and future prospects; (2) statements by individual country delegates; (3) statements by the chairmen of the Baguio Nutrition Meeting and the Baguio Fisheries Meeting which immediately preceded the Rice Meeting; and (4) a statement by the Secretary General on the recommendations of the Rice Study Group. Principal items of business for consideration by the Meeting were listed as a world-wide rice conservation program; measures to increase the area, yield, and efficiency of rice production; improvement in rice marketing and distribution; international organization for rice; and a three-year program for an expanding rice economy.

Participation

The Meeting was attended by voting delegations from the following 18 FAO member countries: Australia, Burma, China, Ecuador, Egypt, France, India, Italy, Liberia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Paraguay, the Republic of the Philippines, Siam, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Venezuela. Portugal was represented by an observer. In addition seven international organizations were represented by observers: the United Nations, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Red Cross, the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers, the United States Allied Military Government in Korea, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization.

Organization and Procedure

The Meeting opened with plenary sessions on the first two days. Following the opening cere-

monies Joaquin M. Elizalde, Philippine Ambassador to the United States and chairman of the Philippine Delegation, was unanimously elected chairman of the Meeting.

Rules of procedure and an agenda were adopted. The following four committees were established to consider principal items of business listed in the agenda: I—Expansion of Rice Production; II—Rice Marketing and Distribution; III—International Organization; and IV—Three-Year Rice Program. The working committees and their subcommittees met daily until they had completed reports on the subjects assigned to them.

Decisions and Recommendations of the Meeting

In view of the existing world shortage of rice and the belief that shortages will continue for several years because of the war devastation of extensive producing areas and the rapid increase in population in the major rice-consuming areas, the Meeting concentrated its attention on measures to conserve supplies and increase production in the immediate future. While many of the measures recommended were of long-term duration, it was believed they would be of great assistance also in meeting the immediate problem.

A brief summary of some of the more important actions of the Meeting follows:

1. One of the principal limiting factors in achieving increased production is the extreme shortage of workstock in Asia, and since rinderpest infestation is a serious obstacle to the rehabilitation of herds, the Meeting recommended that prompt action be taken by the FAO, in consultation with the International Office of Epizootics, to form a Far East Veterinary Committee to eradicate rinderpest in Southeast Asia through a coordinated program.

2. In order to speed up the rehabilitation of abandoned rice lands, the Meeting recommended that the producing countries "conduct investigations to ascertain the practical usefulness" of mechanized equipment and that the Council of FAO endeavor to obtain such equipment for countries where its use would be practical.

3. The Meeting further recommended that countries submit data to the Council of FAO on their production requisites and requested that the Council consider the establishment of advisory services to aid governments in obtaining their production requirements.

4. In order to provide necessary irrigation for bringing additional lands into production, the

Meeting recommended that the FAO "do its utmost to help governments secure the financial assistance, machinery and equipment" needed for the construction of irrigation and drainage works where detailed projects could be demonstrated to be economically sound.

5. It was the opinion of the Meeting that substantial losses occur at all stages from production through final consumption and that much could be done to alleviate the existing shortage by reducing such losses. The Meeting recommended that "all rice producing countries undertake during 1948 a vigorous campaign to conserve rice supplies" and that every country establish "a National Rice Conservation Committee to serve as a planning body" for carrying out such a campaign. It was also recommended that the FAO serve as a coordinating body to assist individual governments in setting up and carrying out the conservation campaign.

6. One of the principal proposals made by the Rice Study Group concerned the establishment of an international organization to deal with rice. This proposal was of major interest to the delegations attending the Meeting, particularly those delegations from Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the Meeting agreed unanimously to recommend to the Council of FAO that an International Rice Council be established. In general, the proposed International Rice Council would seek to facilitate cooperative action in matters relating to the production, conservation, distribution, and consumption of rice but would not deal with matters relating to international trade. Under the proposed constitution, membership in the Rice Council would be open to all FAO member governments and the Council would be organized upon approval by the Council of FAO and after acceptance of at least ten countries representing in the aggregate not less than half of the world production of rice in the crop year 1947-48. The seat of the Council would be at the site of the Southeast Asia regional office and would work in close cooperation with the regional office, making annual reports on its activities to the Council of FAO.

7. The Meeting was of the unanimous opinion "that the solution of the pressing production problems requires the mobilization and full utilization of the scientifically trained personnel and research facilities of the rice producing countries" and therefore recommended that FAO sponsor a Far East Rice Investigation Committee with subcommittees on "(a) utilization and control of water, (b) machinery and equipment, and (c) soil, agronomy and plant improvement". It was also urged that these recommendations be considered by the proposed International Rice Council when established.

8. The Meeting recognized the importance of international price agreements but agreed that a considerable amount of preliminary investigation

would be necessary before it would be appropriate to discuss such agreements. The Meeting accordingly recommended "that the suggestions of the Trivandrum Rice Study Group in the sections on International Price Agreements in Chapter 7 be referred by the Council of FAO in consultation with the interim Coordinating Committee on International Commodity Arrangements to such international agencies as have competence to deal with them."

9. With reference to transportation the Meeting recommended "that FAO and ECAFE [Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East] continue their studies of transportation difficulties and give all possible assistance to member governments in facilitating the acquisition as quickly as possible of transportation equipment needed for the conservation and movement of rice".

The foregoing recommendations all required consideration by the Council of FAO and were referred to that body.

Other recommendations and proposals of the Meeting include measures for expanding rice production through a three-year program which would be implemented through individual country programs, construction of nitrogen-producing plants in Southeast Asia to provide chemical fertilizers, experimental work to determine the most efficient use of fertilizer, and work on plant breeding and pure-seed selection. Additional recommendations of the Meeting related to standardization of rice terminology, development of standard weights and measures, improvement of storage facilities, extension of cooperative societies, consideration of the feasibility of establishing public markets in countries, the adoption of more uniform measures in reporting international statistics, reduction of smuggling, consideration of the use of substitutes and supplements for rice in shortage areas, and a feeding program to provide cheap and nutritious meals to school children and other vulnerable groups.

Conclusion

The Meeting was definitely successful and accomplished in a spirit of amity most of the purposes for which it was called. It is believed that the establishment of the Veterinary Committee and the International Rice Council are feasible undertakings which will be of considerable benefit in assisting the producing countries of the Far East to increase their production and conserve supplies. It is recognized that many of the recommendations of the Meeting can be carried out successfully only if the individual countries exercise a great deal of initiative without waiting for international action. However, such individual action can be made more effective through coordination by FAO and with the assistance of other appropriate international organizations.

104th Session of the Governing Body of the ILO¹

The 104th Session of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization (ILO) was held at Geneva, March 15–20, 1948, under the chairmanship of Luis Alvarado of Peru. The following countries were represented by government, employers', or workers' delegates: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The international organizations represented were: the United Nations, the International Refugee Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization. Among the topics coming before the Governing Body at this session and the actions taken were the following:

Report on the Industrial Committees of the ILO

The Governing Body considered the report submitted by the committee which had been established to review past activities and the future program of the Industrial Committees set up by the ILO to deal with particular aspects of the application of international labor legislation in a number of specific industries.² This report underlined the fact that the Industrial Committees had aroused great interest among governments, employers, and workers and that the development of their activities on an increasingly practical and conservative basis was unanimously desired. It drew the Governing Body's attention to the shortcomings and omissions which had been revealed during the opening phase of the Industrial Committees' work, such as the fact that the items on their agenda were generally too numerous and insufficiently precise. The report recommended that the sessions of each Industrial Committee should in principle be held at intervals of two years. The committee's report was adopted by the Governing Body with some slight amendments.

Record of the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference

The record of the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference, held at New Delhi, October–November 1947, was considered by the Governing Body. The Conference had adopted 23 resolutions designed to secure intensification of the work of the ILO in Asian countries. The Director General of the ILO described the practical steps already taken to give effect to the resolutions of the New Delhi confer-

ence. In pursuance of the Conference's resolutions, the Governing Body decided to call a Technical Conference on the Organization of Labor Inspection, and an agenda for this meeting was approved. In response to an invitation from the Government of Ceylon, it was decided that the Conference should meet in that country, if possible before the end of the current year.

Report on the Regional Meeting for the Near and Middle East

The Director General reported that, in accordance with the authorization given to him by the Governing Body at its previous session, he had communicated to governments the resolutions adopted at the Regional Meeting for the Near and Middle East, held at Istanbul in the autumn of 1947. He stated that he had taken the action called for by the resolutions to the extent to which he could do so without prejudicing any decisions which the Governing Body might take later.

Joint Maritime Commission's Report

The Governing Body considered the report of the Joint Maritime Commission which had met at Geneva, December 2–5, 1947. After presentation of the report, the Governing Body authorized the Director General of the ILO to convene a tripartite subcommittee in the autumn of 1948. This subcommittee will examine the information supplied by governments concerning the reasons which have prevented them from ratifying the conventions approved at the Seattle Maritime Conference in June 1946 and concerning the extent to which some of the provisions of the conventions have been applied in their respective countries. The Governing Body also authorized the ILO to continue the study of certain aspects of seamen's welfare.

Amendments to the Constitution of the ILO

A document was submitted by the Director General concerning ratification of the amendments to the constitution of the ILO adopted by the Twenty-ninth Session of the International Labor

¹ Prepared by the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

² The 94th Session of the Governing Body of the ILO (January 1945) established seven major industrial committees: Inland Transport; Coal Mining; Petroleum Production and Refining; Metal Trades; Iron and Steel Production; Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works; and Textiles. The Industrial Committee on Chemicals was set up at the 101st Session of the Governing Body, May 1947.

Conference at Montreal in 1946. These amendments must be ratified by two thirds of the states members of the organization, including five of the eight states of chief industrial importance, before they can come into force. As the number of members at present is 55, the required two-thirds majority is 37. At the time of the Governing Body's session, ratifications from 34 countries, including seven members of chief industrial importance, had been formally communicated to the ILO. Furthermore, ratifications had been authorized by the competent national authority in five other countries.³

ILO Budget for 1949

The Finance Committee presented budget estimates for 1949 amounting to a total of \$5,109,270. This budget was adopted unanimously. According to the established procedure, the 1949 budget as approved by the Governing Body must be laid before the coming session of the International Labor Conference for final adoption. This Conference is scheduled to open at San Francisco on June 17, 1948.

Problem of Manpower

Another problem to be discussed was one which is now receiving attention in a number of countries, namely, the best means of using available manpower to enhance economic development and increase production. The Governing Body examined the tasks which the Manpower Subcommittee of the Economic Commission for Europe had asked the ILO to undertake. Meeting after the International Manpower Conference at Rome, January 26-February 9, 1948, the Manpower Subcommittee recommended that the ILO: (1) establish an international service for exchange of information and experience regarding vocational guidance and training; (2) collect and disseminate data on manpower available and required, making every effort to render interchangeable the occupational nomenclatures of the different countries and to improve methods of compiling manpower statistics; (3) draft minimum standards for migration in Europe; and (4) take all other necessary action to accelerate manpower movements between European countries.

The Director General of the ILO pointed out that the proposed work is in fact within the normal sphere of activity of the ILO. He stressed its immediate and urgent character and expressed the view that the organization should not be too formalistic about it. The Governing Body unanimously decided to accede to the requests made by the Manpower Subcommittee of the Economic

Commission for Europe and, in order that the intended action might be rapidly organized, to establish a small committee of three persons—including a representative of each group (government, employer, and worker)—and three substitutes.

Migration

The report of the Permanent Migration Committee, which met at Geneva, February 23-March 2, 1948, was examined. This report referred to the urgent character of migration problems and expressed the desire that the ILO should pursue the study started in 1934 on cooperation between the factors in production. It recommended the development through the ILO of international facilities in the field of migration. These facilities would include improved statistical and other information, on a periodic basis, regarding migration movements; an international employment-information service to assist individual countries in the resettlement of manpower; and a corps of experts available for conducting migration surveys and for giving assistance to individual states members which ask for it. The Committee also recommended that immigration countries establish, with the aid of the ILO, a classification of the principal occupations in industry and agriculture which they are able to throw open to immigrants, clearly indicating in each case the nature of the work required.

The Governing Body adopted the conclusions contained in the report of the Permanent Migration Committee, including a final decision to place the revision of the 1939 convention and recommendations on migration for employment upon the agenda of the International Labor Conference in 1949. Furthermore, the office was authorized to circulate to governments the proposed texts of the revised conventions and recommendations. Provision was made for a further session of the Permanent Migration Committee early in 1949.

Freedom of Association

The Governing Body considered the effect to be given to a resolution adopted by the International Labor Conference in 1947 concerning international machinery for safeguarding freedom of association. The question of freedom of association had been taken up at the request of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The Director General stated that this was one of the most important questions before the ILO and that it might be anticipated that the International Labor Conference of 1948 would adopt a convention on this subject carrying with it the operation of the normal machinery of the ILO for seeing that the convention, if ratified, was carried out. He pointed out that it might be necessary to establish, in consultation with the United Nations, supplementary machinery for securing the effective pro-

³ The official deposit of the thirty-seventh ratification occurred on Apr. 20, 1948. The constitution of the International Labor Organization instrument of amendment, 1946, is, therefore, now in effect.

tection of freedom of association throughout the world. The Governing Body was requested to examine the question from this point of view and report to the International Labor Conference at its 1948 session. A draft report for this purpose was submitted by the Office. This document was turned over to the Standing Orders Committee for examination.

Other Subjects

The Governing Body examined the reports of the Standing Orders Committee concerning various legal and technical matters connected with ILO procedure. The allocation among states members of financial contributions to the ILO was discussed. A report on relations between the ILO and other international organizations was presented, showing that close contacts have been maintained with the United Nations and the specialized agencies in all fields of common interest. There was discussion on the general question of how to secure the best possible coordination between different international institutions.

It was decided to convene the Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians early in October 1949, and an agenda for this session was approved. Montevideo was accepted as the place of meeting of the Fourth Regional Conference of American States Members of the ILO in December. It was also decided that an international conference of experts on pneumoconiosis should be held during 1949 in Australia.

The 105th Session of the Governing Body is scheduled to open at San Francisco on June 9, immediately before the Thirty-first Session of the International Labor Conference.

U.S. DELEGATION TO THIRTY-FIRST SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The President has approved the appointment of four United States Delegates and an alternate delegate to the Thirty-first Session of the International Labor Conference at San Francisco, scheduled to be held June 17–July 10, 1948.

The delegates, whose names were submitted to the President by the Secretary of State upon recommendation of the Secretary of Labor, will represent the Government, employers, and workers of the United States, as follows:

I. *Representing the Government of the United States*

DELEGATES

David A. Morse, Under Secretary of Labor (Head of Delegation)
Elbert D. Thomas, U.S. Senate

SUBSTITUTE DELEGATE AND ADVISER

Thacher Winslow, Assistant to the Under Secretary, Department of Labor

June 13, 1948

II. *Representing the Employers of the United States*

DELEGATE

J. David Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco

III. *Representing the Workers of the United States*

DELEGATE

Frank P. Fenton, International Representative, AF of L, Washington

The delegation also will include a staff comprising the following:

Advisers

G. Russell Bauer, Field Representative, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, Department of Labor, Chicago

Clara M. Beyer, Associate Director, Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor

Anna F. Blackburn, Principal Attorney, Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor

Millard Cass, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor

L. Wendell Hayes, Specialist in International Organization Affairs, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

Harry A. Jager, Chief, Occupational Information and Guidance Service, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency

Rachel F. Nyswander, Labor Economist, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

Charles Sattler, Commissioner, West Virginia State Department of Labor, Charleston, W. Va.

Collis Stocking, Assistant Director for Program Policy, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor

Oscar Weigert, Chief of Section, Foreign Labor Conditions Staff, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

Aryness Jov Wiekens, Assistant Commissioner for Program Operations, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

Bernard Wiesman, Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs, Department of State

Special Assistant to Head of Delegation

Edith G. Boyer, Administrative Assistant to the Under Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor

Representing the Employers of the United States

ADVISERS:

William B. Barton, in charge of Labor Relations, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington

Miss L. E. Ebeling, Director of Personnel, Sherwin Williams Paint Company, Cleveland

Carroll French, Director of Research, Department of Industrial Relations, National Association of Manufacturers, New York City

M. M. Olander, Director of Industrial Relations, Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo

Maitland S. Pennington, Office of the Vice President, Pacific Transport Lines, Inc., San Francisco

H. M. Ramel, Vice President, Ramsey Corporation, St. Louis

Thomas R. Reid, Vice President, Human Relations, McCormick and Company, Inc., Baltimore

Charles E. Shaw, Manager, Industrial Relations, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, New York City

James Tanham, Vice President, The Texas Company, New York City

Representing the Workers of the United States

ADVISERS:

Dave Beck, Representative, International Brotherhood

of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers, Seattle
 Nelson Cruikshank, Director of Social Security Activities, American Federation of Labor, Washington
 C. W. Doyle, Secretary, Seattle Central Labor Union, Seattle
 H. W. Fraser, President, Order of Railway Conductors of America, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
 C. J. Haggerty, Secretary, California State Federation of Labor, San Francisco
 Bert M. Jewell, Representative, Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington
 George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor, Washington
 Rose Schneiderman, President, Women's Trade Union League, New York City
 Serafino Romualdi, Secretary, International Relations, Inter-American Confederation of Workers, Washington
 John F. Shelley, President, San Francisco Central Labor Council, San Francisco
 E. M. Weston, President, Washington State Federation of Labor, Seattle

Secretary of the United States Delegation

Millard L. Kenestrick, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

The agenda for the Thirty-first Session includes the following items: (1) the Director General's report; (2) financial and budgetary questions; (3) reports on the application of conventions; (4) consideration of the adoption of one convention and one recommendation providing for national employment services and consideration of the adoption of a convention revising the convention on fee-charging employment agencies adopted by the Conference in 1933; (5) preliminary consideration of the question of vocational guidance with a view to framing international standards at the 1949 session; (6) wages, including questions of wage policy, fair-wage clauses in public contracts, and the protection of wages; (7) consideration of a convention to safeguard freedom of association of workers and employers and to protect their right to organize; (8) the question of industrial relations, including the application of the principles of the right to organize and bargain collectively, collective agreements, conciliation and arbitration, and cooperation between the public authorities and employers' and workers' organizations; (9) consideration of a convention partially revising the night-work (women) convention, 1919, and the night-work (women) convention (revised), 1934; (10) consideration of a convention partially revising the night work of young persons (industry) convention, 1919; (11) substitution of the provisions of the night-work (women) convention (revised), 1934, and of the night work of young persons (industry) convention, 1919, contained in the schedule to the labor-standards (non-metropolitan territories) convention, 1947, for the corresponding provisions of the conventions proposed under items (9) and (10) above; and (12) approval of an annex to the convention on the privileges and immunities of the specialized agen-

cies, as it relates to the ILO, which were adopted at the Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The International Labor Conference, which meets at least once a year, is the legislative body of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The first meeting of the Conference was held in 1919, and the most recent session was held in June and July 1947 at Geneva. The function of the Conference is to formulate conventions and recommendations which are then submitted to the competent authorities of each member nation for ratification or implementation. It is expected that representatives of most of the 55 member nations will participate in the forthcoming Conference session.

U.S. DELEGATION TO SIXTH SESSION OF INTERIM COMMISSION OF WHO

[Released to the press June 4]

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the Sixth Session of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization (WHO), scheduled to be held at Geneva, June 18-23, 1948.

The Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, Senior Surgeon, U.S. Public Health Service; Assistant Chief, Health Branch, Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs, Department of State; and Alternate U.S. Representative on the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization

Advisers

Dr. Morton Kramer, Chief, Research Branch, Office of International Health Relations, U.S. Public Health Service
 John Tomlinson, Assistant Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State

The purpose of the meeting is to review and approve for transmission to the World Health Assembly, scheduled to open at Geneva on June 24, the reports of the Expert Committees of the Commission and other matters which have developed since the adjournment of the Fifth Session of the Interim Commission in February. The Commission will also approve its over-all report to the World Health Assembly and will make final plans for the Assembly.

The Interim Commission of the WHO was set up at the International Health Conference at New York City in July 1946 to consider urgent health problems arising during the period prior to the establishment of the World Health Organization and to formulate plans for setting up the permanent Organization. The World Health Organization came into existence on April 7, 1948, when the required twenty-sixth United Nations member notified the Secretary-General of ratification of the constitution.

Meeting of the Second Assembly of ICAO

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S. DELEGATION¹

[Released to the press June 2]

Mr. President: The United States of America sees at least four main opportunities for this second assembly to promote the sound growth of international civil aviation.

First, there is the opportunity which exists for the development of wider and deeper mutual understandings and friendships. The International Civil Aviation Organization now has a membership of 48 contracting states. This assembly, therefore, constitutes a large gathering—a large forum—of the nations of the world.

In the work of the assembly, my Government hopes that each delegation present will contribute equally to the discussion and solution of the problems presented. Only by such widespread and democratic participation can we come to appreciate each other's individual problems. And only by such appreciation—and by a tempering wherever possible of the firmness of our respective positions—can we define sound common objectives and ultimately reach agreements which all of us can support with conviction and enthusiasm.

Second, the assembly provides the opportunity for the full membership of ICAO to review and to comment constructively on the work of the Council, its committees, and the secretariat over the past year. This is especially important to non-Council member states. Benefit to all member states is the objective of the organization as reflected in the provisions of the convention. And at this meeting all member states have not only the opportunity but the obligation to comment upon all the work of ICAO in its first year of operation.

In the opinion of the United States, much of the important work of the organization has progressed somewhat slowly through the Council over the past year. For example, it must be a source of regret to all of us that today, despite the excellent work done by the technical divisions, and despite the urgent recommendation of the first assembly, not one ICAO standard or recommended practice is as yet in force under article 90 of the convention.

My Government believes that the assembly should place increasing emphasis upon the efficiency and effectiveness of the existing organization and its present activities. Expansion by the assembly and the Council either of the organization or the scope of its activities at this time would expose us to the serious risk of simply broadening the area of possible inefficiency and ineffectiveness. This does not mean that we must shun new problems of importance. It means simply that a

happy balance must be struck between the urgency of undertaking new projects and the necessity of pressing forward vigorously with those of greater or equal importance upon which we have already embarked. In striking this balance, we must remember that there is no virtue in providing a program of ideal scope without reasonable assurance of positive accomplishment.

Third, the United States delegation believes that in its deliberations, the assembly should be keenly conscious of the fact that its function is one of policy-making. Its opportunity to make policy will be gravely impaired if it allows itself to be distracted by details of administration. Technological and economic developments will continue to change the detailed pattern of the international civil aviation picture. We would be ill-advised here to attempt to formulate minute and inflexible instructions to the Council on all the phases of ICAO's work in the year ahead. The assembly should establish sound and broad policies. The Council, in its executive actions, should implement those policies in detail for the benefit of all member states.

Fourth, it is the important privilege of this second assembly to arrive at final agreement on a convention on international recognition of rights in aircraft. The United States believes that the adoption and ratification by member states of this convention is urgently required to serve the public interest by providing means whereby operators of aircraft can obtain equipment so essential to a full realization of the potentialities of international air commerce. The need for such a treaty has long been pressing. Surely the many years of study by CITEJA plus the thorough review and redrafting performed by the ICAO Legal Committee at its Brussels meeting last October should insure that the legal commission will report for adoption a workable and mutually satisfactory document which can be approved in Geneva by all states represented.

The President of the United States of America has provided me with full powers to act for him in signing such a convention. We earnestly hope that this convention can be completed at this assembly and submitted for ratification.

These four main lines of action which I have discussed provide us with opportunities for real achievement at this assembly. If we seek other

¹ Russell B. Adams. Made at the opening meeting at Geneva on June 1, 1948.

opportunities, we should remember that nations sometimes display wisdom not only in what they do but also in what they refrain from doing. We shall make a wise decision if we do not undertake now a revision of the organization's basic charter. That should wait at least until 1950. Not the trappings of form and procedure but good faith and intelligence, applied in a spirit of cooperation, constitute the ingredients of all achievement. Several years of operating experience are required to provide us with the wisdom for taking the important step of revision of the fundamentals of our mutual undertakings in the convention.

One last word. As we put aside from day to day the work of the assembly, I hope that we may all become better known to each other. Let us not spend all our energy at the formal conference table. Our delegation hopes to have the time to form personal friendships as well as official acquaintanceships. Thus all of us can acquire friendly understandings of differing viewpoints which will redound to the mutual advantage of all countries and of the organization throughout the year ahead. More than that, and however unconsciously, we shall be building a better world, knitted closer together by the bonds of personal friendship and understanding.

U.S. DELEGATE TO PROTECTION OF CHILDHOOD MEETING

[Released to the press June 3]

The Department of State announced on June 3 the designation of Elizabeth Munro Clarke, Child Welfare Consultant, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, as United States Alternate Technical Delegate to the regular annual meeting of the Council of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood. The meeting is scheduled to convene on June 5, 1948, at Montevideo, Uruguay.

The agenda for this meeting of the Council includes: (1) consideration of the annual report of the Director of the Institute; (2) review of the resolutions and recommendations of the Ninth Pan American Child Congress, held at Caracas, Venezuela, January 1948; (3) consideration of the future development of the Institute in the light of the resolutions of the Ninth International Conference of American States, held at Bogotá, Colombia, March-April 1948; and (4) consultation concerning article 9 of the statutes of the Institute, which deals with representation of member states.

The Council, composed of representatives of the 19 member states (Haiti and Nicaragua are not members of the Council), directs the activities of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood. The Institute was established with headquarters at Montevideo in accord-

ance with a resolution of the Fourth Pan American Child Congress (1924). The Institute serves as the official inter-American agency for the promotion of child welfare in the American republics, and it is a center of social action, information, advice, and study of all questions relating to child welfare.

United States participation in the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood was authorized by Congress in 1928. Since that time Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, has been this country's technical delegate. Owing to prior commitments, Miss Lenroot is unable to attend this meeting and Miss Clarke is going in her stead.

U.S. DELEGATION TO CONFERENCE OF NORTH ATLANTIC STATES CONCERNING ICELAND AIR-NAVIGATION SERVICES

[Released to the press June 3]

The Department of State announced on June 3 the composition of the United States Delegation to the Conference of North Atlantic States Concerned in Joint Support of Iceland Air Navigation Services, which has been called by action of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). This meeting is scheduled to convene at Geneva on June 21, 1948, and its sessions will be held simultaneously with those of the second annual assembly of ICAO, which opened at Geneva on June 1. The composition of the Delegation is as follows:

Chairman of Delegation

Paul A. Smith, Rear Adm., U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, U.S. Representative on Council of ICAO

Advisers

Leo G. Cyr, Assistant Chief, Aviation Division, Department of State

Paul T. David, U.S. Representative on the Air Transport Committee of ICAO

Glen Gilbert, Chief of Technical Mission, Civil Aeronautics Administration

Edward S. Prentice, Assistant Chief, Aviation Division, Department of State

Brackley Shaw, General Counsel, Department of the Air Force

Stuart G. Tipton, General Counsel, Air Transport Association of America

The Icelandic conference is expected to draw up a final act which will make recommendations to interested governments and to the ICAO Council with a view to insuring on a multilateral-support basis the continued operation of air-navigation services and facilities located in Iceland. These services are essential to safe and efficient transatlantic air operations. Both the President's Air Policy Commission and the Congressional Aviation Policy Board have strongly recommended that the United States play an important role in insuring the continued operation of air-navigation

services on routes used in international air commerce through the joint support program of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

The work of the forthcoming conference will represent a major forward step in this phase of ICAO operations designed to promote safety and efficiency in international air commerce. If the conference's recommendations are carried out, air-traffic control, weather, and other services located in Iceland's territory will be jointly supported by those governments whose airlines fly the North Atlantic.

U.S. DELEGATION TO JOURNÉES MÉDICALES DE BRUXELLES

[Released to the press June 3]

The Department of State announced on June 3 that Col. Otis O. Benson, Jr., M.C., Office of the Air Surgeon, United States Air Force, has been designated chairman of the United States Delegation to the Twenty-second Session of the Journées Médicales de Bruxelles (Medical Congress of Brussels) scheduled to be held at Brussels, June 12-16, 1948. Col. Roger G. Prentiss, Jr., M.C., United States Army, Office of the Theatre Surgeon, European Command, will serve as Adviser.

Sessions of the Journées Médicales were held annually before the war with the objective of keeping the practicing physician in touch with current research. The first meeting after the war, the Twentieth Session, was held in June 1946, and the Twenty-first Session was held in June 1947.

The forthcoming session will provide an opportunity for representatives of the medical profession from various countries to meet and exchange information concerning recent developments in the science of medicine. Colonel Benson will present a paper entitled: "United States Air Force Research and Development in the Medical Sciences of Clinical Importance".

U.S. DELEGATION TO FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF B.C.G. VACCINE

[Released to the press June 3]

The Department of State announced on June 3 the composition of the United States Delegation to the First International Congress of B.C.G. Vaccine (tuberculosis preventive), scheduled to be held at Paris, June 18-23, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Carroll E. Palmer, Senior Surgeon, Chief, Field Studies Office, Tubercular Division, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

Delegates

Otis O. Benson, Jr., Col., M.C., U.S.A.F., Office of the Air Surgeon, Headquarters, U.S. Air Force

Carl Z. Berry, Lt. Col., M.C., U.S.A., Assistant Military Attaché for Medicine, American Embassy, London
John W. Regan, Lt. Col., M.C., U.S.A., Chief, Environmental Sanitation Branch, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army

The Congress is being organized by the Institut Pasteur under the patronage of the President of the Republic of France and members of the French Government. Its purpose is to commemorate the application of B.C.G. vaccine to mankind and to estimate the scope of its use in different countries. The meeting will also celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Institut Pasteur at Lille, France. The Institut was founded by Dr. Albert Calmette and is the scene of his main research in cooperation with Dr. Camille Guérin on B.C.G. vaccine.

'Aid From America'—Continued from page 757

he went he encountered bows, salutes, hand-clapping, or cheers; photographers walked backward snapping shutters as he approached; no one was permitted to precede him into a building or room. The hotels of Ragusa were not suitable, he was told, to shelter him, and he was therefore lodged, wined, and dined by the prefect in a modern and magnificent governor's palace whose ballroom walls were inscribed with quotations from Mussolini's speeches and decorated with a 30-foot portrait of Il Duce and another of the late King, both covered with paper.

The weeks before the national elections on April 18 and 19 were marked by economic paralysis, tenseness, some violence, and fear for the future. But when the voting took place, throughout the peninsula and the islands an unexpected calm prevailed. Naples was if anything quieter than on a normal Sunday; the atmosphere was somewhat festive and casually cheerful. There was much less evidence of police and *carabinieri* activities than during the previous 10 days. Balloon sellers did their usual business; fishermen peacefully mended their nets; sleeping figures topped the sea wall; sailboats and racing shells dotted the bay; the crowds turned out for their regular Sunday-evening *corso*; and the restaurants served nothing stronger than mineral water.

Immediately after the elections a great feeling of relief and much greater confidence in the future were evident. One of the great issues of the campaign had been settled: "Aid From America" was necessary, it was understood and appreciated, and it was welcome.

Agreement of London Conference on Germany

Statement by the Department of State

[Released to the press June 2]

The Department of State is gratified that agreement has been reached on all points of substance at the London conference on Germany. In addition to his many other tasks, Ambassador Douglas represented the United States as chief delegate during the long and arduous sessions which lasted almost six weeks, and he did a masterful job in contributing to the successful conclusion reached. The conference results will be submitted as agreed recommendations to the respective governments for their approval. The delegations are putting the finishing touches to their report to their governments, and it is understood that a more complete announcement will be made shortly. Until this information is officially available, the Department is unable to add anything further to the brief communiqué issued at London except to express the hope that the governments themselves will be able to agree at an early date to the program drawn up at London, which seems to offer the prospect

of constructive achievement in solving the problems facing us in Germany.

Communiqué Issued by U.S., U.K., France Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg

[Released to the press June 2]

June 2, 1948

The informal discussions on Germany between Representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, France and the three Benelux countries, which began in London on February 23 and which, after a recess beginning on March 6, were resumed on the 20th of April, have resulted in agreements on the items discussed. Agreed recommendations over the whole field are being submitted for approval to the Governments concerned, as envisaged in the communiqué issued on March 6. A report of these recommendations will shortly be made public.

U.S.S.R. Urged To Give Views on Return of Free Territory of Trieste to Italy

Note From Secretary Marshall to the Soviet Ambassador¹

[Released to the press June 1]

June 1, 1948

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to refer to his note of April 16, 1948 regarding the proposal that the Free Territory of Trieste be returned to Italian sovereignty.² In that note the Soviet Government was informed that the Government of the United States would welcome any suggestions which the Soviet Government might desire to propose concerning the procedure for

drafting the necessary protocol to the Treaty of Peace with Italy to effect the return of the Free Territory to Italian sovereignty.

As the Government of the United States is convinced that the protection of the rights and interests of the people of the Free Territory requires the very early resolution of the problem, it is hoped that the Soviet Government will communicate its views at an early date concerning the procedure to be followed for the joint consideration of the matter by the powers concerned.

¹ Alexander S. Panyushkin is the Soviet Ambassador to the United States.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 25, 1948, p. 549. See also BULLETIN of Apr. 4, 1948, p. 453, and Apr. 18, 1948, p. 522.

Turkey Adheres to Purposes of Economic Cooperation Act

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY

[Released to the press by the Department of State
and the ECA May 25]

Under Secretary Lovett to Ambassador Baydur

May 18, 1948

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 which became law on April 3, 1948.

I should like to call your attention to the general provisions of section 115 of the Act regarding the conclusion of an agreement between each of the participating countries and the United States.

In accordance with your Government's stated desire to cooperate with the United States and with the other participating countries in accomplishing the objectives of a joint recovery program, I should appreciate being notified that your Government adheres to the purposes and policies which the Act as a whole is designed to carry out. The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b), and the policies referred to in subsection 102(b) are those designated as such in subsection 102(a). I should also like to know whether your Government intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with section 115 of the Act, and whether your Government is now acting consistently with the applicable provisions of subsection 115(b), and intends to continue acting consistently with those provisions. Among them is one regarding continuous efforts of the participating countries to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose.

I hope that in the near future representatives of our two countries may begin negotiations for an early conclusion of the agreement contemplated in the Act.

Accept [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

ROBERT A. LOVETT

Under Secretary of State

Ambassador Baydur to the Secretary of State

May 18, 1948

SIR: I have received your letter of this date concerning the general provisions of Section 115 of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 regarding the conclusion of an agreement between the United States and Turkey.

As you know, my Government desires to cooperate with the United States, and with the other countries participating in a joint recovery program to effectuate the purposes of this program. I am, accordingly, authorized to inform you that my Government adheres to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102(b) and in subsection 102(a) respectively, and which the Act as a whole is designed to carry out.

My Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115(b) of the Act, and intends to conclude an agreement with your Government pursuant to that subsection. It is my Government's understanding that the details of the applicability to Turkey of paragraphs (1) through (10) of subsection 115(b) will be covered in the discussions of the terms of this agreement. My country is already acting consistently with the provisions of subsection 115(b) that are applicable to it, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose. I join in the hope that negotiations for the conclusion of the agreement between our two countries may be started soon.

Please accept [etc.] HUSEYIN RAGIP BAYDUR

Transportation Survey To Be Conducted in Greece

[Released to the press June 5]

A comprehensive transportation survey is scheduled to start in Greece the middle of June. The survey is designed to determine the need and priority for rehabilitation and development of the Greek rail and highway systems, coastal shipping, and civil aviation. The survey, which was requested by the Greek Government, will be carried out jointly by the American Mission for Aid to Greece and the Economic Cooperation Administration. American and Greek transport experts will conduct the survey.

Results of the survey are expected to provide a guide to determining the best types of transport

to assure efficient distribution of commodities and at the same time provide a transport system which the Greeks will be able to support and maintain. Emphasis will be placed on the cost of transportation, particularly as its development and rehabilitation are related to contributions from United States aid sources. Consideration will also be given rail and highway transport necessary to enable Greece to maintain international connections with other European countries. Agricultural areas still undeveloped or now served by inadequate transportation will be studied with a

view to assuring quicker distribution of farm commodities.

One of the more significant aspects of the survey will be the study of civil aviation as it relates to other forms of inland transport. An attempt will be made to determine the feasibility of expanding air travel for transport of both passengers and freight. Many of the Greek islands, notably Crete and Rhodes, are considerable distances from the mainland, and, while they are presently connected by both sea and air transport, expanded air-freight shipments might prove feasible.

U.S. Views Lebanese Detention of American Citizens as in Disregard of Principles of International Law

[Released to the press May 30]

Upon instruction of the Department of State, the United States Minister to Lebanon, Lowell C. Pinkerton, on May 29, delivered a formal note of protest to the Lebanese Foreign Office.¹ The note informed the Lebanese Government that this Government considers the grounds for the detention of the Americans taken from the SS *Marine Carp* unsatisfactory. The note stated that so far as the United States Government has been advised, Lebanese authorities do not purport to have acted under the authority of any law or legal process of Lebanon; the Lebanese Government has made

no showing that these men have been charged with any offense against Lebanese law, or that the Government's action has been in conformance with basic processes of law recognized throughout the world relating to arrest, charge of commission of a crime, hearing, and trial. Accordingly, the United States Government cannot but view the action of the Lebanese Government as in disregard of the established principles of international law relating to the rights and duties of a state with respect to aliens. Therefore, the note stated, "The United States Government protests the continued detention of these American citizens and requests their immediate release."

Supplemental Appropriation for Surplus Property Requested for Extending Credit to Iran

[Released to the press May 28]

A subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Styles Bridges, on May 28 opened hearings on a request by the President, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, for a supplemental appropriation for the care, handling, and disposal of surplus property abroad. The requested appropriation was for \$19,155,000, of which \$15,675,000 is designed to cover the cost of repairing, packaging, and shipping surplus military equipment to be sold to Iran.

As stated by representatives of the Department of State and the Department of the Army before the Senate Subcommittee on May 28, the appropriation is requested in order to enable the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner to extend credit to the Iranian Government up to the amount specified for expenses which would be incurred in connection with the sale to Iran of certain items of surplus military equipment needed by the Iranian Army and *gendarmarie* to maintain internal secu-

rity in that country. Both the purchase price of the equipment and the cost of repairing, packaging, and shipping would be repaid by the Iranian Government over a period of 15 years with 2½ percent interest. These terms are in accord with normal credit policies of the Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner.

The Department's representative testified that the reason a special appropriation was requested in this case was the inability of the Iranian Government to pay in cash dollars the approximately 15 million dollars which would be required. It was stated to the Senate Subcommittee that although under existing legislation the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner could extend credit for the sale of surplus military property, there were no appropriated funds from which he could advance the cost of repairing, packaging, and shipping such property. It was emphasized that none of the articles which it was proposed to sell to Iran were of a character which would be used for offensive action against a foreign power. Only light weapons, such as fighter planes, small tanks,

¹ Not printed.

infantry mortars, and machine guns, together with noncombat items, were included in the list.

It was further explained that, in response to a request by the Iranian Government, negotiations were begun in October 1946, and an agreement was signed and made public on June 20, 1947, whereby the United States offered to extend credit for the purchase by the Iranian Government of surplus military property. This agreement was subject to ratification by the Iranian Parliament. On February 17, 1948, the Iranian Parliament approved the purchase of surplus United States military equipment up to the amount of 10 million dollars, but, because of the shortage of dollar exchange at the disposal of the Iranian Government, the Parliament requested that the Iranian Government obtain credit to cover the cost of repairing, packaging, and shipping the equipment as well as for the cost of the equipment itself. The Department of State, recognizing the difficulty which the Iranian Government would have in finding the dollar exchange and the importance to Iran of having adequate equipment for its internal security forces, considers that this request is justified and has, accordingly, initiated the request to Congress for a special appropriation to cover the immediate costs involved.

The proposed sale of surplus military property

to Iran does not differ in any way from numerous other sales of surplus material to other countries, except that in this particular case the Iranian Government finds itself unable to pay in cash dollars the costs involved in delivery of the equipment in question. The negotiations have been carried out in routine fashion, and each important step has been made public both in the United States and Iran. In this connection, reference is made to the Department's press releases 304 of April 10, 1947, and 509 of June 20, 1947.¹ The objective of the Iranian Government in seeking these supplies, as announced in those press releases, has been to re-equip the Iranian Army and *gendarmarie* in order to maintain internal security in Iran. The equipment of both forces is at present below standard because they have been unable to obtain adequate replacements since the outbreak of World War II. In the light of the declaration of Tehran of December 1, 1943, in which the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union declared their desire for the maintenance of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Iran, and in view of the interest of the United States in the maintenance of security in the Middle East, the Department of State considers it in the interest of the United States as well as of Iran to meet the request of the Iranian Government.

United States Desires Termination of Mixed Nationality Commission in Poland

[Released to the press May 25]

The United States Government through its Embassy at Warsaw has informed the Government of the Republic of Poland that it desires to terminate the activities of the Mixed Nationality Commission established to determine the validity of claims to American citizenship by persons residing in Poland and that henceforth such matters will be taken up through diplomatic channels. It is estimated that there are as many as 20,000 claimants to American citizenship in Poland at present.

Negotiations between the United States and Poland concerning the establishment of the mixed Nationality Commission began in Warsaw in December 1946 and culminated, after the exchange of several notes, in the establishment of the Commission in June 1947. It was agreed that the Commission would be empowered to assemble the relevant facts in individual cases and upon the basis of the facts to make appropriate recommendations to the United States and Polish Governments, leaving to each sovereign state the definite determination of citizenship. It was considered that one of the principal aims of the Commission would be to facilitate visits by representatives of the American Embassy at Warsaw to claimants to

American citizenship who had been arrested by Polish authorities.

The United States Government regrets that none of these objectives has been accomplished. No citizenship cases have been determined and American consular representatives have not been allowed to visit persons under arrest who claim United States citizenship. The already difficult work of the Commission was further complicated when the Polish Foreign Office on April 12 notified the American Embassy of a recently evolved official interpretation of the Polish nationality law wherein the Polish Government takes the position that all persons born abroad of Polish parents are Polish citizens exclusively, regardless of date of birth. Previously the Polish Government had held that only those children born abroad of Polish parents subsequent to the promulgation of the Polish nationality law of January 31, 1920, would be considered to possess Polish citizenship exclusively.

The United States reserves the exclusive right to determine the validity of claims of any persons to United States citizenship and does not admit the right of any other government to decide this question. It will therefore continue to press vig-

¹ BULLETIN of July 6, 1948, p. 47.

ously through diplomatic channels for its rights in this regard as well as for the right to interview and protect the interests of claimants to American citizenship who are under arrest in Poland.

American citizens of Polish parentage who are contemplating trips to Poland are advised to consider carefully the new Polish interpretation of Polish nationality law and the possible difficulties which might be encountered in returning to the United States.

U.S. Ships To Proceed to Weather Stations in Canadian Arctic Waters

[Released to the press June 4]

Three United States ships—a Navy icebreaker, a Coast Guard icebreaker, and a Navy cargo ship—will proceed to Canadian Arctic waters this summer to resupply the existing weather stations which, as previously announced,¹ have been jointly established there by the Canadian and United States Governments, and to reconnoiter sites for further weather stations to be jointly installed next year. Canadian representatives will participate in the expedition.

The ships will be commanded by Capt. George J. Dufek, United States Navy, embarked in the U.S.S. *Edisto*, icebreaker. Other vessels participating in the cruise will be the U.S.C.G. *Eastwind*, icebreaker, and the U.S.S. *Wyandot*, cargo vessel.

The primary purpose of the expedition is the resupply of the four weather stations that have been established at Slidre Fjord, Eureka Sound; Resolute Bay, Cornwallis Island; southeastern Prince Patrick Island; and the Isachsen Peninsula, Ellef Ringnes Island. Its secondary purpose is such icebreaker reconnaissance as is practicable in nearby areas in which the Canadian and United States authorities plan to establish two further weather stations in 1949.

Helicopters carried aboard the vessels will make short-range flights to assist in navigation through the ice pack.

The *Edisto* will be commanded by Commander E. C. Folger, United States Navy; the *Wyandot* by Capt. J. D. Dickey, United States Navy; and the *Eastwind* by Capt. J. A. Flynn, U.S. Coast Guard.

Fulbright Grant Awarded Yale Professor

The Department of State announced on June 3 that Dr. John Langdon Brooks, instructor in zoology, Osborne Zoological Laboratory, Yale University, has been selected by the Board of Foreign Scholarships for an award under the Fulbright act to serve as a visiting professor of fresh-water biology at the University of Rangoon in Burma.

¹ BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 82.

Letters of Credence

Great Britain

The newly appointed British Ambassador, Sir Oliver Shewell Franks, presented his credentials to the President on June 3, 1948. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 446 of June 3, 1948.

Brazil

The newly appointed Ambassador of Brazil, Mauricio Nabuco, presented his credentials to the President on June 1, 1948. For the text of the Ambassador's remarks and for the President's reply, see Department of State press release 436 of June 1, 1948.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Diplomatic Offices

The American Legation at Kabul, Afghanistan, was elevated to Embassy status on June 5, 1948.

Confirmation

On June 1, 1948, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Henry F. Grady to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Greece.

THE CONGRESS

First Quarterly Report on the United States Foreign Aid Program: Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the first quarterly report of expenditures and activities under the United States Foreign Aid Program. H. Doc. 636, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 32 pp.

The Economic Report of the President: Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the economic report to the Congress, as required under the Employment Act of 1946. H. Doc. 498, 80th Cong., 2d sess. iii, 136 pp.

Twenty-fifth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations: Lend-Lease Fiscal Operations, March 11, 1941, Through June 30, 1947. Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the twenty-fifth report of operations under the Lend-Lease Act. H. Doc. 568, 80th Cong., 2d sess. vii, 36 pp.

Report on the Operations of the Department of State: Message from the President of the United States transmitting a report by the Secretary of State on the operations of the Department of State. H. Doc. 562, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 15 pp.

Foreign Policy and National Security: Address of the President of the United States delivered before a Joint Session of the Senate and the House of Representatives, recommending action regarding foreign policy and national security. H. Doc. 569, 80th Cong., 2d sess. 5 pp.

Atomic Energy Act of 1946—Veto Message: Letter from the Secretary of the Senate transmitting Message from the President of the United States, returning without approval the bill (S. 1004) entitled "An Act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 so as to grant specific authority to the Senate members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to require investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the character, associations, and loyalty of persons nominated for appointment, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to offices established by such act." H. Doc. 157, 80th Cong. 2d sess. 3 pp.

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Department of State

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Diplomatic List, May 1948. Pub. 3143. 189 pp. 30¢ a copy; \$3.25 a year domestic, \$4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

National Commission News, June 1, 1948. Pub. 3144. 10 pp. 10¢ a copy; \$1 a year domestic, \$1.35 a year foreign.

Prepared monthly for the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Reciprocal Trade. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1701. Pub. 3032. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement and Accompanying Letters Between the United States of America and the Belgo-Luxemburg Economic Union; rendering inoperative the agreement of February 27, 1935, and supplementing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of October 30, 1947—Signed at Geneva October 30, 1947; entered into force October 30, 1947; effective January 1, 1948.

Reciprocal Trade. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1704. Pub. 3037. 7 pp. 5¢.

Agreement and Accompanying Letters Between the United States of America and France; rendering inoperative the agreement of May 6, 1936, and supplementing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

of October 30, 1947—Signed at Geneva October 30, 1947; entered into force October 30, 1947, effective January 1, 1948.

12th Report to Congress on Operations of UNRRA; Under the Act of March 28, 1944, as of June 30, 1947. Pub. 3111. lli, 56 pp. 20¢.

The President's report, including the supply program, health and welfare services, displaced-persons operation, administration, amount of U.S. contribution, and over-all operation of program.

Selected Publications and Materials Relating to American Foreign Policy, April 1948. Pub. 3130. iv, 23 pp. Free.

Lists Department publications on the Department and the Foreign Service, U.S. foreign policy as a whole, United Nations, peace, economic reconstruction, reciprocal trade, U.S. policy in occupied areas, refugees and displaced persons, Europe, Near and Far East, and American republics.

United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, Geneva, Switzerland; March 23–April 21, 1948. International Organization and Conference Series III, 5. Pub. 3150. 45 pp. 15¢.

Report of U.S. Delegates, with related documents, including final act, General Assembly resolutions on measures to be taken against propaganda and the inciters of a new war, and list of U.S. Delegates.

Strengthening the United Nations. International Organization and Conference Series III, 6. Pub. 3159. 10 pp. 10¢.

Reprinted from BULLETIN of May 16, 1948. Statement made by Secretary Marshall before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 5, 1948, outlining the views of the State Department on the structure of the United Nations and the relationship of the Government to the United Nations.

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FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON THE DANUBE

by Fred L. Hadsel

I. Early Development

The principle of freedom of navigation of rivers which either flow through more than one state or form the boundaries between states is, like the "ancient rule of the Straits", firmly embedded in the history and public law of Europe. The basic formulation of this principle in the nineteenth century took place at the Congress of Vienna, where by the treaty of June 9, 1815, it was agreed that navigation of rivers which cross or form boundaries of different states "shall be entirely free, and shall not, in respect to Commerce, be prohibited to any one." Police regulations, moreover, should be "framed alike for all, and as favourable as possible to the Commerce of all nations."¹

At the conclusion of the Crimean War² the treaty of Paris in 1856³ applied that principle specifically to the Danube. Since all of the major European powers signed this agreement, it became part of the public law of Europe. In subsequent treaties or agreements relating to the Danube, notably the Public Act of 1865, the treaty of London of 1871, the treaty of Berlin of 1878, the Public Act of 1881, and the treaty of London of 1883, the principle of freedom of navigation was never challenged. To the contrary, these agreements were either entirely or in part directed to strengthening this doctrine.³

Although all of the interested European states accepted the principle of freedom of navigation on the Danube, not all of them were willing to implement it in the interests of world trade. Prior to the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the Ottoman Empire had controlled the mouth of the Danube and either through neglect of the channels or by deliberate policy had obstructed commerce on the river. After 1829 Russia, as mistress of the mouth of the Danube, was able to control traffic in

the lower part of the river. At the same time, Austria and Great Britain became more and more concerned with navigation conditions on the Danube, since their commercial interests in the Balkans were expanding. The Austrian Government had given a monopoly of traffic within its domain to a semiofficial navigation company and by diplomatic efforts sought to obtain navigation rights for this firm both on the upper Danube and at the mouth of the river. The British trade to the Black Sea ports of the Danube increased approximately six-fold during the years between the treaty of Adrianople and the Crimean War. Both Great Britain and Austria were therefore concerned when Russia, on the one hand, imposed quarantine measures and tolls which helped Russian trade from the competing Black Sea port of Odessa and, on the other hand, neglected the channel of the Danube so that sand bars and other obstacles made navigation extremely hazardous. On the eve of the Crimean War the European nations were thus faced with the fact that although Russia did not deny legal right of entry, the Government in St. Petersburg made shipping difficult on the Danube.⁴

The treaty of Paris at the end of the Crimean War made provision both to remove the physical obstacles to traffic on the Danube and to eliminate discrimination in favor of the ships of any one nation. Article XVII provided for the establishment of a commission of riparian states, composed of Austria, Bavaria, Turkey, Württemberg, and the Danubian principalities to regulate traffic and

¹ Edward Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty* (London, 1875-1891), vol. I, p. 270.

² Arts. XV to XIX of the treaty of Paris, Mar. 30, 1856, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 1257.

³ *Documents and State Papers*, July 1948.

⁴ Joseph P. Chamberlain, *The Danube* (Department of State House Inquiry Handbooks, 1918, no. 5), pp. 17-24.

remove obstacles to commerce throughout the course of the river. Austria, however, sought to use this commission as an instrument for establishing its ascendancy on the Danube and as a means for nullifying the provision for freedom of navigation for all countries. The other parties to the treaty of Paris, particularly Great Britain, protested this policy, and the proposed commission never came into existence.⁵

The treaty of Paris also provided for the creation of a second commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey would participate, for the purpose of clearing the mouth of the Danube of sand bars and other impediments to navigation. In contrast to the riparian commission, this body, which became known as the European Commission, began functioning immediately and with a large measure of success. By 1861, for example, it had cleared and improved the mouth of the middle channel of the Danubian delta, the Sulina arm. It found, however, that navigation was also impeded by the lack of police and port administration. As a result, the European Commission assumed, with the approval of the member governments, police and regulatory powers. These powers were confirmed by the Public Act of 1865.

The European Commission continued as a temporary body until the treaty of London in 1883, at which time its life was extended for 21 years, with provision for further extension unless one of the contracting parties should object. In the meantime, the powers of the Commission were strengthened by the treaty of Berlin in 1878 and the Public Act of 1881. The Commission was given greater regulatory powers and a flag of its own, and its jurisdiction was extended upstream to the city of Galati. The principle was generally recognized, moreover, that fiscal charges should not exceed a reasonable contribution to the maintenance and improvement of the river.

The London treaty of 1883, in addition to giving the European Commission a semipermanent status, also further defined its powers. The northern branch of the Danubian delta, the Chilia arm, was taken from under the Commission's direct jurisdiction, and Russia and Rumania were authorized to exercise control over that part of the

river. At the same time, the Commission's authority was extended up the Danube to the city of Braila. Great Britain urged the full participation of Rumania and Serbia in the Commission, but in the face of opposition on the part of Germany these two smaller states were given consultative status only. Rumania therefore refused to be bound by the treaty. Serbia, on the other hand, accepted the limitation on its participation. The treaty also sought to apply the regulations in existence on the lower Danube to that part of the river between Braila and the cataracts known as the Iron Gates. However, Rumania's nonrecognition of the treaty prevented this effort from being carried out, and for practical purposes, international regulation of the Danube was limited to that part of the river below Braila until after World War I.

II. World War I and After

World War I marked a temporary eclipse of the powers of the European Commission for the Danube. Although the Commission continued to meet for at least part of the war, the Central Powers took steps to abolish its authority by the agreement of May 7, 1918, with Rumania. The European Commission was abolished, and in its place a Danube Estuary Commission composed only of riparian powers and dominated by Germany and Austria-Hungary was substituted.⁶ The unilateral repudiation of the treaties of Paris of 1856 and London of 1883 was not recognized by the Entente, which lodged a protest against this action.

The concurrent defeat of the Central Powers and disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire presented an opportunity to inaugurate a more effective system of regulation of navigation on the Danube. Hitherto the efforts to facilitate commerce above Braila, which divides the fluvial and maritime Danube, had been unsuccessful, primarily because of Austro-Hungarian opposition. In addition, the barriers to trade which might arise because of the creation of three new riparian states out of the old Empire could best be overcome by an international authority with supervision over the course of the fluvial Danube. Furthermore, the Soviet Union had withdrawn from the war and was no longer a riparian power because of the an-

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁶ Art. 24. For text see Georges Kaeckenbeeck, *International Rivers* (London, 1920), pp. 63-64.

nexation of Bessarabia by Rumania. As a result, the Soviet Union took part neither in the peace settlement nor in the subsequent agreements relating to the Danube.

The treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Trianon, and Neuilly-sur-Seine laid down basically identical terms for the internationalization and administration of the Danube.⁷ These treaties stated the general principles which should guide navigation on the Danube, which principles were as follows:

(1) Along with its adjoining system of waterways and canals, the Danube was declared international from Ulm to the Black Sea.

(2) The nationals, property, and flags of all nations were to be treated "on a footing of perfect equality" and no distinction should be made between them and riparian states.

(3) Tolls should be levied on traffic only for the purpose of maintaining or improving the navigable condition of the river.

(4) In default of any special organization to carry out improvements along the river, riparian states were to be charged with making such improvements. If they failed to make such improvements or if they undertook projects which obstructed navigation, their action might be appealed to a tribunal instituted for this purpose by the League of Nations.

The peace treaties of 1919-20 also provided for the implementation of these principles. The European Commission for the maritime Danube was to resume the powers it possessed before the war, with a provisional measure for only Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania as members. From the point where the competence of the European Commission ended, a new body, the International Commission, was authorized, which would administer the Danubian system. The proposed Commission would assume all powers on the fluvial Danube, such as the authority to carry out works at the Iron Gates, which had previously been held by Austria or Hungary.

The peace treaties also specified that a new convention should be drafted for the Danube, and a conference for this purpose was therefore convened in Paris in the summer of 1921. The resulting convention instituting the definitive statute of the Danube, which was signed July 23, 1921, by representatives of Belgium, France, the United King-

dom, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary, became the basis of the international regulation of the Danube during the interwar years.⁸

The statute reaffirmed the principle of freedom of navigation on the Danube and defined the river system to be under international authority.⁹ The statute also stated that the European Commission, composed provisionally of France, Great Britain, Italy, and Rumania, should retain the powers it possessed before the war. The authority of the European Commission should extend over the maritime Danube, and its powers could be terminated only by an international agreement concluded by all of the states represented on the Commission.

The statute of 1921 created a new regime for the fluvial Danube, the International Commission, thus bringing to fruition a development of over 75 years in the direction of regulating Danubian commerce for the benefit of all nations. The International Commission, composed, in accordance with the peace treaties, of two German representatives, one representative of each of the other riparian states, and the members of the European Commission, was entrusted with supervision of the Danube from Ulm to Braila. It was responsible for seeing (1) that no obstacles were interposed to unrestricted navigation on the river, (2) that navigation dues were levied in a nondiscriminatory fashion and only for the improvement of commerce, and (3) that tolls and taxes of riparian states were levied without distinction of flag and in such a manner as to cause no hindrance to navigation. The International Commission was also charged with drawing up a program of works to be carried out in the interests of navigability of the river system. This program, executed and paid for by the riparian states, would be super-

⁷ Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919, arts. 327, 331-353; treaty of Saint-Germain, Sept. 10, 1919, arts. 290-308; treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine, Nov. 27, 1919, arts. 218-235; and treaty of Trianon, June 4, 1920, arts. 274-291.

⁸ Great Britain, Foreign Office, Treaty Series, 1922, no. 16.

⁹ The system was defined as including the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea; the Morava and Thaya where they formed the frontier between Austria and Czechoslovakia; the Drave from Barcs; the Tisza from the mouth of the Szamos; the Maros from Arad; and all lateral canals or waterways which might be constructed.

vised by the International Commission. Cabotage, the transport of goods and passengers between two or more ports in the same state, was unrestricted.

The International Commission was authorized to establish such administrative, technical, sanitary, and financial services as it considered necessary. Its headquarters for the first five years at least was to be located at Bratislava. The Commission was also empowered to establish in conjunction with Rumania and Yugoslavia a special administration for the Iron Gates and cataracts on the Danube between Turnu-Severin and Moldova.¹⁰

For the first time a system of international administration participated in by both riparian and nonriparian states was in effect on the entire navigable course of the Danube. The results of this broad participation were apparent during the interwar years, when the efforts of the two Commissions comprising this system to maintain freedom of navigation met with a large measure of success. Along the upper course, blasting and dredging operations deepened and straightened the channel to accommodate large vessels. In the middle Danube, canals shortened the river where it meanders across the plainland of northern Yugoslavia. At the Iron Gates, blasting and construction projects facilitated traffic. In the delta, the Sulina arm was further dredged, additional breakwaters built, and other aids to navigation constructed. In the peak year of 1936 over ten million tons were reported to have been moved upon the river by the Danube fleets, and on the eve of

¹⁰ This special administration was set up in 1932, by an agreement relating to the setting up of special services at the Iron Gates, with annexes and full protocol signed at Semmering June 28, 1932. See League of Nations Treaty Series, vol. 140, pp. 191-227.

¹¹ Permanent Court of International Justice. Series B. Advisory Opinion No. 14. *Jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube between Gutatz and Braila* (Leyden, 1927), pp. 68-71.

¹² Great Britain, Foreign Office, Treaty Series, 1939, no. 38.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 37.

¹⁴ Provisional arrangement regarding the Danube regime between Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Slovakia, and Yugoslavia, signed at Vienna, Sept. 12, 1940. This agreement also provided for a special committee composed of Germany, Rumania, and Yugoslavia to take over the administration of the Iron Gates established by the agreement at Semmering of June 28, 1932.

the war these fleets included over 100 passenger vessels, almost 400 tugs, approximately 2,650 barges, and over 320 tankers.

The international regime for the Danube, however, did not go unchallenged. In spite of the terms of the peace treaties and the convention of 1921, the jurisdiction of the European Commission between the two Rumanian ports of Galati and Braila was open to question, and the Rumanian Government sought to limit the Commission's powers between these two points. When the question was submitted to the League of Nations, the Technical Commission for Communication and Transit of the League stated in 1925 that the European Commission exercised full jurisdiction in this sector. The Permanent Court of International Justice in 1927 gave an advisory opinion to the same effect.¹¹ Although the Rumanian Government accepted the opinion of the Court, it continued to press for a revision of the powers of the European Commission. As a result, an agreement was signed at Sinaia on August 18, 1938, by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania, which stripped the European Commission of its power to regulate navigation and sanitation, to administer the port of Sulina, to execute improvements on the river, to try infractions of regulations, and to enjoy free postal and telegraph service. The Sinaia agreement left the European Commission for the most part an advisory body, while the real authority was transferred to Rumania.¹² The delimitation of the European Commission's powers was followed in March 1939 by the admission of Germany to membership.¹³

III. World War II

The admission of Germany to the European Commission was symptomatic of the expansion of German activity in southeastern Europe. After war broke out and Nazi military forces had seized most of continental Europe, Germany turned to the problem of consolidating its position in the Danubian area. The result was a conference in Vienna from September 5 to 12, 1940, at the end of which Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Slovakia, and Yugoslavia signed an agreement to terminate the International Commission and establish in its place a Council of the Fluvial Danube.¹⁴

The Soviet Union, having reacquired Bessarabia

in the summer of 1940, was apparently apprehensive lest Germany obtain too firm a grip on the Danube. The Soviet Government informed the German Government on September 10, 1940, that it could not remain indifferent to the regime for the Danube and must participate in decisions concerning the river.¹⁵

The results of the Soviet request to participate in administration of the Danube were made public on October 26, 1940, when it was announced that Germany and the Soviet Union had decided to liquidate both the International and European commissions and to replace them with a single Danube Commission composed of Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and the Balkan riparian states.¹⁶ As a result of this decision, experts of the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, and Rumania met in Bucharest beginning October 28 to discuss a temporary administration for the maritime Danube. While the Bucharest conference was in session, the United Kingdom protested Soviet participation in the meetings and, as a member of the European Commission, reserved its rights under the existing agreements. The Soviet Union published its reply on November 4, 1940, stating that the new Danube Commission represented a restoration of justice, which the treaties of 1919-20 had violated by excluding the Soviet Union from membership in both the European and International commissions. The Moscow statement further declared that the Danube Commission must naturally "be composed of states lying along the Danube, or closely linked with the Danube and using the Danube as a canal for trade intercourse (for example Italy)."¹⁷

The conference in Bucharest did not produce agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany, apparently because of divergent views as to the extent of Soviet participation in administration of the upper Danube and the extent of German participation in control of the maritime part of the river. The conference recessed at the end of December and reconvened in Vienna two months later. The session in Vienna brought formal agreement only on Soviet participation in the administration of the fluvial Danube, and a protocol to this effect was signed on February 20, 1941. The question of the relative position of Germany and the Soviet Union in the control of the maritime Danube was still pending when hostilities broke out between the two nations in June 1941.

IV. Navigation on the Danube Since World War II

As World War II drew to a close, the Soviet Union assumed a dominant role in Danubian affairs. Not only did Soviet troops occupy the area from the Black Sea to the Soviet zone of Austria, but the armistice agreements signed with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary gave the Soviet High Command control of shipping facilities on large sections of the river.¹⁸ Soviet control of the bulk of the Danubian fleets and port facilities was perpetuated through the formation of joint shipping companies with Rumania in July 1945, Hungary in March 1946, and Yugoslavia in March 1947. These companies, in which the Soviet Union obtained a decisive voice, were granted special privileges, such as freedom from taxes and preferential treatment in obtaining foreign exchange, and were also potentially empowered to monopolize loading, repair, and fuel facilities on the river. At the end of the war the Soviet Union also organized a special company within its zone of Austria, which though primarily military was also engaged in commercial shipping on the Danube.

During 1945-46 the United States made several attempts to open up navigation on at least part of the Danube. One of the first efforts was a proposal submitted to the Berlin (Potsdam) conference of July-August 1945, in which the Danube, as well as other waterways of Europe, would be opened in order to hasten European recovery. This proposal was not accepted at this conference nor at the first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers from September 11 to October 2, 1945. The United States next sought action by the Allied Control Council for Austria and pressed in January 1946 for open navigation on the Danube throughout Austria. The question was again raised in May and in August, but the Soviet Union refused to permit navigation be-

¹⁵ Moscow News, Sept. 19, 1940.

¹⁶ U.S.S.R. communiqué of Oct. 26, 1940.

¹⁷ Moscow News, Nov. 4, 1940, p. 24.

¹⁸ Armistice with Rumania, Sept. 12, 1944, in BULLETIN of Sept. 17, 1944, pp. 289-292; Armistice with Bulgaria, Oct. 28, 1944, *ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1944, pp. 492-494; and Armistice with Hungary, Jan. 20, 1945, *ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1945, pp. 83-86. For problems of postwar shipping, see also Doris S. Whitnack and David Handler, "Danubian Transportation Problems in Relation to Development of the Basin", *ibid.*, June 30, 1946, pp. 1108-1110.

tween its zone and the rest of Austria.¹⁹ The United States also sought to obtain freedom of navigation of the Danube by action through the United Nations, and on October 3, 1946, the Economic and Social Council passed a resolution introduced by the United States in favor of convening a conference in Vienna to consider ways of opening navigation on the Danube. When, however, the Secretary-General of the United Nations ascertained that many of the nations concerned with the Danube, including the Soviet Union, would refuse to attend, the conference was not held.²⁰

In the meantime, the United States had made a sustained effort throughout 1946 to obtain recognition of freedom of navigation on the Danube in the treaties of peace with the former Axis satellites, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary. The United States Delegation went to the Paris session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which opened April 25, 1946, with the hope of inserting provisions in the satellite treaties insuring (1) freedom of commerce, (2) reasonable sanitation and police regulations, (3) removal of obstacles in the main channel of the river, (4) nondiscriminatory tolls, and (5) equal status for the ex-enemy countries in any temporary or permanent regime. The Soviet Union, however, opposed any mention of freedom of navigation in the treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania on the grounds that it would impair the sovereignty of these countries and that Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia should be consulted. The head of the American Delegation, Secretary of State Byrnes, countered with a compromise proposal: that only a declaration of freedom of navigation should be inserted in the treaties. The United Kingdom, while supporting the position of the United States, declared that it also favored convocation of a conference to regulate commerce on the Danube. The United Kingdom, having a direct commercial interest in Danubian shipping and having been a member

of the European and International commissions, would naturally have the right to participate in such a conference. In spite of further discussion, the Foreign Ministers did not reach agreement during this session of the Council on either the inclusion of an article on freedom of navigation in the treaties or the calling of a conference to establish a new regime for the Danube.

Since the Four Powers could not agree on the Danube, it was one of the unresolved questions discussed at the peace conference at Paris, from July 30 to October 12, 1946. The position of the United States was summed up by Senator Vandenberg before the Economic Commission for the Balkans and Finland on September 30, 1946.²¹ Pointing out that the United States claimed no direct commercial interest in the Danube problem, he emphasized the strong interest of this country in international peace and in lowering barriers to trade. The importance of the Danube in the flow of commodities in Europe was so great, he declared, that restoration of freedom of navigation on the Danube was essential to the peace and prosperity of the area. The United States therefore supported the proposal introduced by the United Kingdom which set forth the general principles of freedom of navigation, nondiscriminatory regulations, and reasonable tolls, and provided for a conference to be called within six months to establish a regime for the Danube based on these principles. Throughout the Paris conference the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia opposed inclusion of an article concerning the Danube in the treaties. Echoing each other's arguments, representatives of the two nations declared that such a question was outside the competence of the treaty, that the proposed article would burden the riparian states, and that commerce on the Danube should be regulated only by riparian states. Mr. Molotov went even further in his speech of October 10, when he asserted that an international regime of the Danube was an act of imperialism and that equality of opportunity would lead to domination of the Balkan countries by private capitalists.²²

Although the French Delegation had introduced a compromise proposal, which pared the article down to a statement of freedom of navigation and an announcement of a conference to

¹⁹ Allied Council, Minutes, 14th Meeting, Jan. 22, 1946, and Allied Commission for Austria, Executive Committee, Minutes of the 52d Meeting, Aug. 16, 1946.

²⁰ U.N. doc. E/254, Jan. 28, 1947.

²¹ BULLETIN of Oct. 13, 1946, p. 656.

²² *Paris Peace Conference, 1946: Selected Documents* (Department of State publication 2868), p. 818.

establish a new regime, the Soviet bloc voted against it. Two thirds of the delegations, however, favored the French proposal, and it was therefore submitted to the Council of Foreign Ministers as an official recommendation of the conference.

The Council of Foreign Ministers, meeting in New York from November 4 to December 12, 1946, finally reached agreement on the question of the Danube. After prolonged consideration and rejection of several alternative proposals, the Soviet Union accepted the recommendation of the Paris conference so far as the principle of freedom of navigation on the Danube was concerned. In the course of the negotiations the wording of the proposed article was changed, and it was agreed that freedom of navigation should not apply to traffic between ports of the same state. In its final form the article thus read:

“Navigation on the Danube shall be free and open for the nationals, vessels of commerce, and goods of all States, on a footing of equality in regard to port and navigation charges and conditions for merchant shipping. The foregoing shall not apply to traffic between ports of the same State.”²³

The second part of the recommendation of the Paris conference, that pertaining to the calling of a conference to establish a new regime, was discussed by the Foreign Ministers at the same time they debated the inclusion of the principle of freedom of navigation in the Balkan treaties. Finally, as a compromise between the strong desire of the United Kingdom and the extreme reluctance of the Soviet Union to include such a provision in the treaty, it was decided to incorporate the decision to convene such a conference in a resolution of the Council of Foreign Ministers. In this resolution, which was issued December 12, 1946, the Ministers agreed to call a conference within six months of the coming into force of the peace treaties to work out a new convention regarding navigation on the Danube. This conference would be composed of the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the following riparian

states: the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian S.S.R., Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Any changes in the resulting convention should take place at a conference composed of these nations. Austria should take part in the above-mentioned conference after the question of the treaty with Austria had been settled.²⁴

V. Background of the Conference on the Danube

Prior to the expiration of the six-month period after the Balkan peace treaties came into force, the United States, in a note of February 27, 1948, to the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and France, reaffirmed its desire for a conference but suggested the time for calling the conference be extended until the end of 1948 in order to allow the Austrian Government to participate on a basis of equality. This was on the assumption that representatives of the Four Powers, whose talks were just getting under way at that time in London, would make genuine progress towards settling the Austrian treaty. France and the United Kingdom, in notes respectively of March 12 and 13, stated their approval of the American suggestion. The Soviet Union, however, rejected, in its reply of March 15 the suggestion that the time for calling the conference be extended and proposed that the conference be convened in Belgrade not later than April or May.

The United States agreed on April 12 to the holding of the conference at Belgrade as soon as practicable. The United States also stated that in view of the general desire to begin discussions on the Danube, it assumed that the Soviet Union was prepared to discuss practical arrangements to give effect to freedom of navigation on the Danube in the Soviet zone of occupation or where the river was used as a Soviet line of communication. In the same reply, the United States restated its view that “because of Austria’s recognized position as an important riparian,” the Austrian Government should participate in the conference. The message also referred to the principle of freedom of navigation incorporated in the treaties of peace with Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, and suggested an exchange of views among the Four Powers concerning preliminary arrangements for the conference. In its reply of May 8, the Soviet Union, however, rejected the proposal for an informal exchange of views, remained adamant on exclud-

(Continued on page 797)

²³ Art. 36 of the treaty with Rumania, art. 34 of the treaty with Bulgaria, and art. 38 of the treaty with Hungary.

²⁴ BULLETIN of June 6, 1948, p. 736.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Cease-Fire and Truce Proposals Submitted to Jewish and Arab States

NOTE FROM U.N. MEDIATOR IN PALESTINE TO THE ARAB STATES AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL¹

June 7, 1948

1. I have the honour to inform you that, in pursuance of the action of the Security Council at its 311th meeting, 2 June, authorizing the Mediator to fix the effective date for the truce in Palestine, and following extensive consultations on this matter with representatives of the two parties, and with the support of the Truce Commission, I herewith give formal notice of the effective date and hour for the commencement of the cease-fire and truce in Palestine as envisaged in the resolution of the Security Council of 29 May.

2. The effective date and hour of the cease-fire and truce, including the application of supervision envisaged in the resolution of 29 May, shall be Friday, 11 June 1948, at six o'clock in the a. m. GMT. As of this date and hour, there is to be cessation of all acts of armed force in Palestine for a period of four weeks and all commanders in the field should be notified accordingly.

3. In view of the urgency of the time factor and the necessity of giving final confirmation of this decision in ample time to each party concerned, I must ask that notification to me of your acceptance or rejection of this date and hour shall be in my hands not later than Wednesday noon GMT, 9 June. If this decision is accepted by all parties, final confirmation will be dispatched to you by me not later than 6 p. m. GMT, Wednesday, 9 June, in order to reach you on the same day. Should the decision be rejected, or accepted only conditionally, by any of the parties, no further consultations on the matter will be undertaken by me, but I will promptly report the circumstances fully to the Security Council for such action as that body may deem appropriate. It is, of course, my earnest hope that the decision will be accepted unconditionally.

4. In the event of acceptance of this decision, the date and hour for public announcement of the beginning of this truce will be communicated to you in my message of final confirmation 9 June, in order that publication shall be made simultaneously by all concerned.

5. This decision has been taken in the light of the following considerations:

(1) The clear intent of the truce as envisaged in the Security Council resolution of 29 May is to bring about the cessation of hostilities without prejudice to the rights, claims and position of either Jews or Arabs, and to ensure that no military advantage shall accrue to either side as a result of the application of the truce;

(2) The President of the Security Council has informed me that all parties concerned have accepted the resolution of 29 May unconditionally, and that the Mediator should fix the date for the cease-fire in consultation with the two parties and the Truce Commission in as short a period as possible;

(3) I am aware, of course, that each side, in accepting the resolution, notified the Security Council of certain "assumptions and explanations" in connection with some of the provisions of the resolution, and that as a result, there were conflicting views of the intent of particular clauses, especially those relating to "fighting personnel and men of military age";

(4) In the course of the amicable consultation with representatives of the parties concerned on 3, 4, 5 and 6 June, I exerted every effort to reconcile these divergent interpretations and as a result of these consultations and explanations and interpretations made to me by each party, I am firmly convinced that any remaining differences are altogether insufficient to warrant any further delay in the beginning of the truce.

6. As I have carefully explained to each side, it is my earnest intention to apply the truce and controls required in such a manner as to ensure that no military advantage will accrue to either side during the period of the truce or as a result of its application. To this end, I have made certain interpretations of the resolution and certain decisions as to its application which have been thoroughly explained to representatives of both sides and which in summary follow:

(1) No fighting personnel, which shall include persons identified as belonging to organized military units as well as all persons bearing arms, shall be introduced into any of the Arab States or into any part of Palestine.

¹ Cablegram of June 7, 1948, U.N. doc. S/S29, June 8, 1948. Count Folke Bernadotte is U.N. mediator in Palestine.

(2) As regards men of military age, the Mediator shall exercise his discretion during the period of the truce in determining whether men of military age are represented among immigrants in such numbers as to give one side a military advantage if their entry is permitted, and in such event shall refuse them entry. Should men of military age be introduced in numbers necessarily limited by the application of the foregoing principle, they are to be kept in camps during the period of the truce under the surveillance of observers of the Mediator, and shall not be mobilized in the armed forces or given military or para-military training during such period.

(3) The Mediator shall exercise, to the fullest extent practicable, a check on all immigration at the ports of embarkation and debarkation, and shall place United Nations observers on ships bearing immigrants, and, to this end, shall be notified well in advance as to the port of embarkation of any ship bearing immigrants.

(4) During the first week following the truce, in consideration of the time required for setting up the controls essential to effective application of the resolution, the Mediator shall exercise his discretion as regards the entry of any immigrants irrespective of age or sex.

(5) Movement of troops or war materials from one interested country to another, or closer to the borders of Palestine or to the fighting fronts in Palestine are prohibited during the period of the truce.

(6) All fighting fronts and lines shall remain stabilized during the period of the truce, and there

shall be no increase in the fighting strength deployed along the fronts and lines, nor in the war materials on hand. Routine replacement of personnel may be undertaken.

(7) War materials shall not be imported into the country or territory of any interested party.

(8) Relief to populations of both sides in municipal areas which have suffered severely from the conflict, as in Jerusalem and Jaffa, shall be administered by an International Red Cross Committee in such a manner as to ensure that reserves of stocks of essential supplies shall not be substantially greater or less at the end of the truce than they were at its beginning.

(9) All warlike acts, whether on land, sea or air, shall be prohibited during the truce.

7. I recognize fully that both the effectiveness of the truce and its fairness depend in large measure on the manner in which it is supervised and applied. A detailed plan for its application is in preparation and will be put into operation when the truce begins. No doubt numerous questions will arise in connection with the details of supervising the truce. Consultations on such matters of detail may be undertaken when the truce is in effect.

8. I am deeply appreciative of the spirit of cooperation manifested by both sides in the difficult negotiations over the truce. I trust that this same spirit will continue in order that the truce may be achieved and the larger work of mediation may proceed constructively in an atmosphere of peace in Palestine.

BERNADOTTE

ACCEPTANCE OF TRUCE BY ARAB STATES ²

9 June 1948

I have received your note dated 7th June containing the final proposals for giving effect to the resolution of the Security Council of 29 May 1948 concerning the cease-fire in Palestine for a period of four weeks.

I have the honor to inform you on behalf of the Governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Syria that we agreed to the said proposal to prove thereby our sincere desire for cooperation with the United Nations to achieve a peaceful and equitable solution for the problem of Palestine.

The Governments I am representing agree to the proposal that the four weeks referred to above

shall begin as from Friday 11 June 1948 at 6:00 o'clock in the morning, GMT.

I would like to point out that the Arab States have complete confidence in your determination to effect a just application of the Security Council resolution.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Monsieur le Comte, the assurance of my very high consideration.

The President of the Council of Ministers.

[Egyptian Prime Minister]

M. F. NOKRASHY

² Message to U.N. mediator. U.N. doc. S/S33, June 10, 1948. Similar replies were received from the Governments of Iraq, Transjordan, and Yemen.

ACCEPTANCE OF TRUCE BY JEWISH STATE ³

1. The Provisional Government of Israel has given careful consideration to the communication addressed by you to the undersigned on June 8, 1948, indicating the date and hour on which the proposed cease-fire and truce arrangement is to come into effect, and setting out interpretations of the resolution and decisions as to its application adopted by you.

2. The Provisional Government of Israel desires to inform you that it has decided to accept the cease-fire and truce proposal and is prepared, if the other side accepts likewise, to issue an order for a cease-fire and the cessation of acts of armed force for the period of four weeks commencing on Friday, June 11, 1948, at six o'clock in the morning, G.M.T., corresponding to ten o'clock in the morning Israeli time.

3. While the Provisional Government of Israel attaches no conditions to this decision, it finds it necessary to make certain observations which are set forth in the following paragraphs. In this connection we beg to point out that forty-eight hours elapsed between your last meeting with the undersigned in Haifa and the receipt of your communication under reply here. We cannot but assume that during this time the representatives of the Arab League, or of the governments composing it, had opportunities for further consultation with you by direct contact and by oral elucidation of various points at issue, opportunities denied us by the fact that you were in Cairo.

4. The Provisional Government of Israel maintains the position set forth in my message to you of June 7 as regards restrictions you intend to impose on the entry into Israel of Jewish immigrants of military age during the truce period. It regrets its inability to agree that the policy you propose to adopt in this regard accords with the resolution of the Security Council of May 29, inasmuch as that Resolution embodies no other limitation on the immigration of men of military age than that they should not be mobilized or trained for military service during the truce, which limitation the Provisional Government of Israel had accepted from the outset.

As a result of the interview between the undersigned and yourself at Haifa on June 3, and your oral message transmitted through Mr. Reedman on June 4,⁴ the Provisional Government of Israel

felt justified in assuming that you agreed that no numerical limitations would be imposed on the entry of immigrants of this category and that you accepted as adequate the arrangements agreed upon in that interview and further specified in the subsequent message, regarding the surveillance of such immigrants after their arrival in Israel during the truce period. Most of the details in these arrangements had in fact been proposed by you and accepted by the undersigned. The Provisional Government of Israel regards your present interpretation as a departure from the text of the Resolution and from the agreement of June 3 and 4, and begs to express the hope that you will so exercise your discretion as to eliminate this discrepancy as far as possible.

5. Regarding paragraph 6(4) of your communication, I must point out that the Resolution of the Security Council did not envisage measures preventing or delaying the entry of Jewish immigrants into Israel, irrespective of their age or sex. While the Provisional Government of Israel is ready to cooperate fully with the Mediator in order to facilitate his task of supervision and control, it will regard as unjustified any attempt to interfere with the normal flow of Jewish immigration into Israel.

6. With reference to paragraph 6(8), the Provisional Government of Israel assumes that the provision regarding the form of relief will not affect the parts of Jerusalem in Jewish hands to the extent that the safety of passage to and from them, and the supply of food to them, may have been secured by the operation of Jewish forces at the time of the commencement of the cease-fire and truce.

7. With reference to paragraph 6(9), the Provisional Government of Israel assumes that an attempt by any Arab Government to impose a commercial blockade on Israel by confiscating or holding up cargoes of normal supplies consigned to it will be regarded as a warlike act and as prohibited.

8. The Provisional Government of Israel notes with satisfaction your statement transmitted yesterday through Mr. Reedman that you accept as valid its contention, conveyed to you in my message of June 7, that it would be unwarranted to institute strict control on the movement of Jewish immigrants in the initial phase of the truce while leaving unchecked possible movements of troops and war material from one Arab country into another or into Palestine. The Provisional Gov-

³ Transmitted by Acting Representative of the Provisional Government of Israel, Aubrey S. Eban, in letter to Secretary-General dated June 10, 1948. U.N. doc. S/834, June 10, 1948.

⁴ John Reedman is a member of the U.N. Secretariat and has been acting as liaison officer in Tel Aviv.

ernment of Israel welcomes your assurance that you will adjust your policy accordingly.

9. If the truce is rejected by the other party and the whole matter is referred back to the Security Council, the Provisional Government of Israel reserves the right to revert to its original position regarding interpretation of the provisions of the Resolution of May 29, without it being

committed to any concessions implied in the present acceptance of the cease-fire and truce proposal.

10. The Provisional Government of Israel confidently hopes that if the cease-fire and truce materializes, you may find it possible to make such arrangements as will ensure complete equality of contact with you and access to you for both parties concerned.

MESSAGE FROM U.N. MEDIATOR ANNOUNCING ACCEPTANCE OF TRUCE⁵

I have the honour to transmit the following message from the United Nations mediator to the interested governments concerning the acceptance of the truce:

"1. I have the honor to inform you that in response to my note of June 7 setting forth my proposals as United Nations Mediator for truce in Palestine, I have today, 9 June, received unconditional acceptance of my proposals from all interested parties. The cease-fire and truce, therefore, will be effective Friday, 11 June 1948, at 6:00 o'clock in the morning, GMT.

"2. Public announcement of the acceptance of the truce by the parties concerned will be made by me in Cairo tonight, 9 June, at 8:00 o'clock, GMT. Simultaneous announcement may be made by your Government at the corresponding hour, but in any case should not be made before 8:00 o'clock (GMT).

"3. I take this opportunity to express to your Government my deepest gratitude for the splendid co-operation which has been given to me in this difficult task and my warm appreciation of the high motives which have led your Government to accept the proposals for the truce.

"I am, of course, highly gratified that my efforts toward the truce have now borne fruit. I will do my utmost to supervise the terms of the truce fairly and efficiently and will immediately turn my attention to the broader aspects of my task as mediator, namely the promotion of a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine.

COUNT BERNADOTTE"

TRYGVE LIE

Secretary-General.

Freedom of Navigation on the Danube—Continued from page 793

ing Austria from the conference, and pressed for convocation of the conference by the end of that month.

The United States, in turn, pointed out in a note of May 25, 1948, that convocation of a conference by the end of the month was clearly impracticable, and, in order to give adequate time for the participating nation to prepare for the discussions, proposed July 30 as the convening date. The United States asked the Soviet Union to reconsider its position on the participation of Austria. The United States also requested that Yugoslavia, as host nation, be asked to grant conference facilities similar to those which this country would accord if the meetings were held in the United States, that is, freedom of communication, including air-courier service and freedom from censorship on conference reporting for press and radio representatives of the participating nations. The Soviet Union, in a note of June 12, accepted the date proposed by the United States and agreed to the participation of Austria on a consultative basis.

Final arrangements for the conference are therefore in the process of being completed.

The attitude of the United States toward the proposed conference on the Danube is indicated by the statement of Secretary Marshall on May 26, 1948:

"This vital European waterway normally affords the nations of eastern and western Europe their principal means of carrying on commerce. Its free and open navigation, with the resultant benefits of more abundant trade, is of very real urgency to the peoples of all Europe in their daily lives. It is our conviction that a beneficial new convention for the regime of navigation on the Danube should be worked out as soon as possible. Until we reach agreement on a new convention, this important sphere remains an unsettled area in international relations. It should be, instead, an area of constructive cooperation."⁶

⁵ U.N. doc. S/830, June 9, 1948, as corrected.

⁶ BULLETIN of June 6, 1948, p. 736.

U.S. Position and Views on Atomic Energy

STATEMENT BY PHILIP C. JESSUP¹

Deputy U.S. Representative In the Security Council

The position and views of the United States on the international control of atomic energy have been clearly stated on many occasions and are well known to the Security Council.

Atomic weapons were first developed during the war against the Axis powers. How terrible would have been the consequences had this weapon been developed in Germany and used against our great Allies in the war. Fortunately it was developed in the United States, with the participation of the United Kingdom and Canada and the collaboration of scientists from many nations.

Immediately after the use of this weapon, the United States proposed international control in order to ensure that this new discovery might be used for peaceful purposes only, for the welfare of all nations, instead of as an instrument of destruction. Toward this end the United States has made and will continue to make every possible effort. Subject to the putting into effect of a system of control, the necessary basis of which has been set forth in the first and second reports of the Atomic Energy Commission, the United States is proposing to dispose of its atomic bombs, to give up all its activities in the production of dangerous quantities of atomic materials, and to turn over its knowledge of these processes to an International Agency.

Two and one half years ago the General Assembly by unanimous vote created the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations and laid down its terms of reference. At the first meeting of the Commission the United States made certain proposals for the control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only and the elimination of atomic weapons from national armaments. As the negotiations progressed, other delegations made important contributions, so that shortly the search for effective control became a truly cooperative effort on the part of 14 of the 17 nations who are or have been members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

During a period of two years and in over 200 meetings, this cooperative effort has resulted in

the preparation of a plan which would meet the terms of reference laid down by the General Assembly by controlling atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use for peaceful purposes only, by eliminating atomic weapons from national armaments, and by providing safeguards necessary to the security of all nations. This plan provides for an international control agency which would own all source material and nuclear fuel, own, operate, and manage all dangerous facilities, license all non-dangerous activities in this field and conduct inspections to prevent diversions of material or clandestine operations.

Further, the plan of the majority provides that a system of quotas, assigning to each signatory state its specific proportion of atomic fuels and power plants, should be written into the treaty itself so that the international agency would have no arbitrary powers in this respect, but would simply carry out the provisions of the treaty. Furthermore, in the interests of security, it is agreed that production of nuclear fuel be kept to the minimum required for actual beneficial purposes.

The Commission has examined other solutions and rejected them because in the opinion of the Commission they did not meet the known facts of the problem created by the discovery of atomic energy and thus failed to provide the safeguards required by the terms of reference set out by the General Assembly. Over a period of two years the Commission has found no alternative to the plan now proposed by the majority.

Specifically the Commission examined the Soviet Union amendments to the first report during the spring of 1947. Thereafter the Soviet proposals of June 11, 1947, were considered in numerous meetings in the summer of 1947. Finally, three months during the winter of 1948 were devoted to a further intensive study of all Soviet proposals in the light of questions asked by the Delegate of the United Kingdom and by delegates of other nations and the replies of the Soviet Delegate. As a result of these exhaustive discussions, the majority of the Commission was forced to recognize the inadequacy of the Soviet proposals and rejected them in the following terms:

“. . . the Soviet Union proposals ignore the ex-

¹ Made before the Security Council on June 11, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

isting technical knowledge of the problem of atomic energy control, do not provide an adequate basis for the effective international control of atomic energy and the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and, therefore, do not conform to the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission."

In addition, the majority has found that the Soviet Union's insistence on the prohibition and destruction of atomic weapons prior to the establishment of any control system is unrealistic because it does not protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions and therefore does not meet the terms of reference of the Commission as laid down by the General Assembly in January 1946.

The Soviet Union, Poland, and the Ukrainian S.S.R. have rejected the majority proposals, not because they are ineffective, but because they constitute an infringement of national sovereignty and are therefore regarded as politically unacceptable. If this argument were accepted, no control would be possible. In the language of the third report:

"The majority of the Commission is fully aware of the impact of its plan on traditional prerogatives of national sovereignty. But in the face of the realities of the problem it sees no alternative to the voluntary sharing by nations of their sovereignty in this field to the extent required by its proposals."

Sincere efforts, prolonged study, and many debates have not enabled the majority to secure Soviet agreement to "even those elements of effective control considered essential from the technical points of view, let alone their acceptance of the nature and extent of participation in the world community required of all nations in this field by

the First and Second Reports of the Atomic Energy Commission."

In view of the nature of the impasse in the Atomic Energy Commission, it is now proposed to transfer these negotiations to a higher level. It is the hope of my Government that the debate in the Security Council and in the General Assembly will enable the nations of the world to assess this situation in the light of the experience of the Atomic Energy Commission, the findings it has made, the lessons it has drawn from the difficulties it has met, and the conclusions it has reached.

All governments are faced with one or the other of two alternatives: either a continuation of the race in atomic armaments, or agreement on a system of international control in which all nations would have confidence because they believed it to be effective. There is no middle ground between these two alternatives.

No government can fail to recognize the nature and extent of the sacrifice which would be required of them by the acceptance of an effective system of control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons. Such a sacrifice seems at the moment very large. But in the longer view it weighs little against the advantages of security and the benefits which will accrue to all nations by the pooling of knowledge in this field, and its co-operative development for the common well-being.

My Delegation is of the opinion that the Security Council, in keeping with its responsibility, should state clearly its position. My Delegation hopes that in the consideration of these matters in the Security Council and in the General Assembly the Soviet Union, together with all other nations, may come to recognize the soundness of the plans so painstakingly developed by the Atomic Energy Commission.

In this hope the Delegation of the United States presents the following resolution:

U.S. RESOLUTION ²

The Security Council,
Having received and examined the First, the Second, and the Third Reports of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission,

Accepts these Reports and,
Approves the General Findings (Part II C) and Recommendations (Part III) of the First Report, and the Specific Proposals of Part II of the Second Report as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy in accordance with the terms of reference of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and,

Approves the "Report and Recommendations of the Atomic Energy Commission" (Part I) of the Third Report of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, and

Directs the Secretary-General to transmit to the General Assembly and to the member nations of the United Nations, the First, Second, and Third Reports of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, together with the record of the Security Council's approval thereof.

² U.N. doc. S/836, June 11, 1948.

Suggestions to Korean Assembly on Formation of New Government

LETTER FROM GENERAL HODGE TO KOREAN ASSEMBLYMEN¹

May 27, 1948

I congratulate you upon your election as representative of the Korean people to participate in forming a government and in uniting the Korean nation. You carry great responsibilities of which I am sure you are well aware and which I am confident you will handle with great honor to yourself and the fine people you represent.

The most important feature of the election is that it puts the fate and future of Korea into Korean hands. The manner and method in which the elected representatives in South Korea make their approach to handling the affairs of their nation will have tremendous and lasting effect on the future of the Korean people.

The policy of the United States has always been that Korea shall be a united, independent nation under democratic government free of foreign domination. That same policy is reflected internationally in the forty-three to nothing vote of the United Nations General Assembly when it voted to observe elections in Korea as a step toward establishing a Korean national government and to advise Korean elected representatives in the formation of that government. This policy also reflects the wishes of the thirty million Korean people, and we all regret exceedingly that the free election could not be held in Korea north of the thirty-eight degree parallel at the same time as in South Korea. The United States and United Nations hope that this can be done and that representatives from North Korea can join those of South Korea in the establishment of a truly national Korean Government, joining North and South Korea together in one nation.

It is my hope, the hope of the United States Government, and the hope of the members of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea as expressed to me on numerous occasions, that the newly elected representatives will do everything in their power to form a truly democratic government and to unite Korea.

I am sure that members of the Assembly, both as individuals and as members of party groups, have ideas as to how these objectives can be accomplished. In that connection, I have three suggestions for your possible early consideration when you meet to begin your deliberations toward the formation of a government. They are as follows:

First, in order to pave the way for unification of North and South Korea, an early resolution might be adopted stating that one hundred seats (or a number as calculated on a proportional population basis) are always open in the Assembly for your brothers in North Korea when their representatives have been duly chosen.

Second, the Assembly might, early in its deliberations, appoint an able liaison committee to contact the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea inasmuch as this Commission was specifically appointed for the purpose of facilitating and expediting the establishment of an independent Korean government. The government which you will form will certainly wish to have the approval of the United Nations of the world and such a committee would be most helpful to both the U.N. and the Korean Assembly in carrying out the remaining provisions of the U.N. resolution of November 14, 1947.

Third, that the Assembly avoid precipitant action in the adoption of any constitution providing a form of government that may not be suitable to Korean needs and psychology. The Constitution provides the basic foundation of the state and its provisions should be the subject of most careful and serious considerations.

I wish you and all other elected representatives of the Korean people every success. I assure you that as the senior United States representative in Korea I will continue to do everything I can to assist the Korean people in maintaining their lifelong desire—namely, an independent Korean nation, united under its own sovereign government.

TEMPORARY COMMISSION RESOLUTION²

The Commission, having observed the elections held on 10 May and having returned to Seoul on 7 June to resume its sessions, resolves that notice be sent to the elected representatives stating that the Commission is now ready for such consultation as they may request concerning the further implementation of the Commission's terms of reference as defined in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on 14 November 1947.

¹ Printed from telegraphic text. Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge is Commanding General, U.S. Forces in South Korea.

² Adopted on June 10, 1948.

United States in the United Nations

Trusteeship

Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, U.S. Representative in the Trusteeship Council, retired from the Council's presidency when it convened at Lake Success June 16 for its third session. To succeed him the Council elected Liu Chieh of China. Sir Alan Burns of the United Kingdom was chosen Vice President.

Among agenda items for the session is review of annual reports by France, Belgium, the United Kingdom and Australia regarding their administration of various trust territories in Africa and the southwestern Pacific.

An item of direct concern to the United States is discussion of the relations of the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council with respect to trusteeships for strategic areas. The only strategic trusteeship now in force is that of the United States over the Pacific islands formerly mandated to Japan. Article 83 of the U.N. Charter provides that all U.N. functions relating to strategic-area trusteeships shall be exercised by the Security Council, which "shall . . . avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council" to perform U.N. functions related to welfare of the trust territory's inhabitants.

Human Rights

The Human Rights Commission on June 17 was putting the finishing touches on its draft of an international Declaration of Human Rights. The third session of the Commission was scheduled to end on June 18.

Drafting the Declaration proved to be a much bigger job than was anticipated when the Commission convened at Lake Success on May 24. As a result, the projected Covenant on Human Rights did not come up for discussion, and the question of implementation of rights stated in the Covenant was touched upon only briefly.

As the session neared its close, the Commission had not decided whether to submit the Declaration to the Economic and Social Council and thence to the General Assembly for approval. Some delegates favored delay until agreement was reached on the Covenant and the implementation provisions. The U.S. Representative, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, was prepared to propose that the Declaration be transmitted to Ecosoc and the General Assembly, leaving to the Assembly the final decision as to whether approval should await completion of the Covenant.

The Declaration draft appeared to have won unexpectedly wide support within the 18-nation Commission. It is a "tighter" document—shorter, simpler, and easier to understand—than any earlier draft. It consists of a preamble and some 30 articles.

Beginning in article 1 with the declaration that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights," it proceeds with several articles generally resembling the guaranties contained in the U.S. Constitution. Among them are the right to life and liberty, freedom from arbitrary arrest and involuntary servitude, the right to own property, and freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

The Commission adopted without change the draft article on freedom of speech and of the press prepared by its subcommission in that field and subsequently approved by the U.N. Conference on Freedom of Information at Geneva.

Other articles deal with economic, social, and cultural rights. They include the right to work and to protection from unemployment; the right to an "adequate" standard of living, including food, clothing, housing, medical care, and provision against sickness, disability, and old age; the right to an education, to rest and leisure; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community.

Future of the "Little Assembly"

United States support for continuance in some form of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly was announced by Joseph E. Johnson, Deputy U.S. Representative, at a Lake Success meeting on June 17.

The General Assembly resolution of November 13, 1947, which established the Interim Committee (popularly known as the "Little Assembly"), limited its life to the period between the close of the 1947 Assembly and the opening of the 1948 Assembly but asked the Committee to report back on the advisability of establishing a permanent interim organ. Subcommittee 4, to which Mr. Johnson's statement¹ was made, is drafting recommendations on this point.

After reviewing the accomplishments of the Interim Committee since it began functioning in January 1948, Mr. Johnson said the United States favored its continuance for at least another year. "My Government feels", he said, "that the experience of this Committee demonstrates that its continuance will strengthen the United Nations and will contribute to its sound and orderly development."

Mr. Johnson said the boycott of the Interim Committee by the Soviet Union and "the five other states which follow its lead" had been a handicap but had not prevented progress. "I leave it to the members of the Interim Committee," he added, "whether the record does not show that Mr. Vyshinsky has been proven mistaken in his estimate that the Interim Committee would be but a crude

¹ U.S. Mission to the United Nations, press release 476.

device to bypass the Security Council and would, as a principal organ, usurp its functions. Indeed, I suggest that an examination of the record of the Interim Committee may well convince the Soviet Union that it will wish to participate in its work if the General Assembly decides to continue it."

Atomic Energy

On June 11 and June 16 the Security Council debated the Atomic Energy Commission's Third Report. Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Deputy Representative, opened the debate with a review of the Commission's work, of the majority plan for control, and of the inadequacy of the Soviet Union's position.² He introduced a draft resolution under which the Security Council would approve the majority plan of control as "the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy" and would refer to the General Assembly the situation resulting from the impasse in the Commission.

At the June 11 session the Representatives of Canada and the United Kingdom joined the United States in arguing for suspension of the Commission's work pending negotiations at a "higher level" to break the impasse in the Commission. On June 16, Belgium, China, and France also endorsed the Commission's findings.

In an hour-long speech on June 16, Andrei Gromyko restated the U.S.S.R.'s opposition to the majority plan and said that the draft resolution for Security Council approval of the Commission's reports "must be rejected".

Palestine

A bid by the Soviet Union for representation on the corps of military observers assigned to the U.N. mediator in Palestine failed to win Security Council approval at a June 15 meeting. The Ukraine voted with the U.S.S.R., but the other nine members abstained.

The Soviet Union's draft resolution would have had the Security Council itself decide to provide military observers for the mediator, the observers to be appointed by Council members "wishing to participate in the designation of such observers, excluding Syria".

On June 10 the Council's majority had agreed that Count Bernadotte should make the arrange-

ments for observers and that he had acted logically in asking Belgium, France, and the United States, as members of the Palestine Truce Commission, to provide them.

At the same meeting the Council agreed to act on Count Bernadotte's request that all U.N. members be asked to report on what they were doing to help implement the Palestine truce and that the attention of all states from which "substantial immigration to Palestine or Arab states might emanate" be called to the truce agreement's provision which bars the introduction of fighting personnel.

Indonesia

The Security Council devoted two long meetings on June 17 to the Indonesian situation. The agenda called for discussion of four reports from the Council's Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question, but the reports were overshadowed by press reports from Batavia that the Netherlands representatives had discontinued "for the time being" their negotiations with the Indonesian Republic on the ground that the unauthorized publication of confidential papers of the Good Offices Committee compelled them to await new instructions from The Hague.

The Council authorized its President to cable the Committee for a full report on the circumstances of the suspension.

ILO Director General

David A. Morse, Under Secretary of Labor, was elected Director General of the International Labor Organization on June 12 by the ILO Governing Body. Mr. Morse has served three times as U.S. Delegate to the ILO. He is the second U.S. citizen to hold this post, John G. Winant having been the first.

U.S. Joins Health Organization

On June 14 President Truman signed the joint congressional resolution and instrument of acceptance providing for U.S. membership and participation in the World Health Organization. This completes U.S. action on membership in the eleven specialized agencies which have been brought into agreement with the United Nations.

² For text of Mr. Jessup's statement, see p. 798.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

U.S. DELEGATION TO POULTRY CONGRESS

[Released to the press June 9]

The Department of State has announced the United States Delegation to the Eighth World's Poultry Congress, scheduled to be held at Copenhagen, August 20-27, 1948, under the patronage of His Majesty, King Frederik IX. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

W. Dewey Termohlen, Director, Poultry Branch, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

Vice Chairman

Nathan Koenig, Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture

Advisers

Harlan L. Schrader, Extension Poultryman, Extension Service, Department of Agriculture
Paul Zumbro, Senior Poultry Coordinator, Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture

Industry Advisers

Herbert H. Alp, Director of Poultry, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago
Walter C. Berger, President, American Feed Manufacturing Association, Chicago
E. M. Funk, Poultry Department, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
John A. Hannah, President, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.
R. M. Hauson, Poultryman, Corvallis, Ore.
James F. Harr, Manager, California Poultry Improvement Advisory Board, Sacramento
Thomas W. Heitz, Manager, Rockingham Poultry Marketing Cooperative, Inc., Broadway, Va.
Roscoe F. Hill, Roscoe F. Hill Hatchery, Lincoln, Nebr.
C. Edwin Holmes, Onawa, Iowa
Homer I. Huntington, General Manager, Poultry and Egg National Board, Chicago
Mary E. Pennington, Refrigeration Consultant, New York City
James E. Rice, Professor Emeritus, Cornell University; President, World's Poultry Science Association
Harry Rieck, Poultryman, Preston, Md.
Howard A. Stamper, Manager, F. M. Stamper Co., St. Louis
J. W. Watt, President, Watt Publishing Co., Mount Morris, Ill.

The Congress will be divided into scientific sessions and exhibits. The sessions will include lectures and discussions on the following topics: (1) poultry genetics and incubation; (2) nutrition, physiology, and rearing; (3) investigation of poultry diseases and their control; (4) education and organization, including reconstruction of the poultry industry after the war; and (5) economic problems, including marketing.

The Poultry Congresses are triennial meetings

of the World's Poultry Science Association, organized in 1912 and composed of leaders of the world's poultry industry. The First Congress was held in the Netherlands in 1921. The last Congress, the Seventh, held at Cleveland in July 1939 was one of the world's largest agricultural gatherings.

A national committee, headed by Mr. Termohlen, has been preparing for United States participation in the Congress. It is expected that approximately 35 countries will participate in this meeting.

U.S. DELEGATION TO EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ENTOMOLOGY

[Released to the press June 7]

The Department of State announced on June 7 the United States Delegation to the Eighth International Congress of Entomology, scheduled to be held at Stockholm, August 8-14, 1948. The Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Dr. Percy N. Annand, Chief, Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, Department of Agriculture

Delegates

Dr. George H. Bradley, Chief of the Entomology Division, Communicable Disease Center, U. S. Public Health Service, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. J. Chester Bradley, Professor of Entomology, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Dr. Ernest N. Cory, State Entomologist of Maryland, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Dr. Herbert L. Haller, Assistant to the Chief, Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, Department of Agriculture
Dr. William P. Hayes, Professor of Entomology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
William H. W. Komp, Sanitary Engineer Director, Division of Tropical Diseases, National Institute of Health, U. S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency
Dr. Zeno P. Metcalf, Professor of Zoology and Entomology, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C.
Col. Charles H. Morehouse, M.C., U.S.A., Chief, Department of Preventive Medicine, School of Aviation Medicine, Randolph Field, Tex.

The Congress, one in a triennial series which held its last meeting at Berlin in 1938, has as its main purpose the study and investigation of methods for preventing the spread of noxious insects. This meeting is of significance in view of the importance of insect control in the international food situation and because it will offer an opportunity to appraise recent extensive developments in the field of insect control both here and abroad.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT¹

President Sproul, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I deeply appreciate the privilege you have given me of taking part in these exercises at this great university.

I regret that I could not arrange my schedule to permit me to be here next week at the time for which you first invited me. Under these circumstances, I am pleased that an adjustment could be made on the part of the university so as to make it possible for me to be here today.

Three years ago this month, across the bay in San Francisco, I witnessed the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. That Charter represents man's hope for a world order based on law and for lasting peace based on justice.

Today, I have come back to the shores of San Francisco Bay to discuss with you recent world events and, in particular, to appraise the progress we are making toward world peace.

Many students here today and in colleges across the country are veterans. They fought for peace, peace with freedom and justice. They, above all, have reason to expect a plain statement of the progress we are making in that direction.

The American people know from experience that our daily lives are affected not only by what happens in this country but also by events abroad. Most American families bear the scars and memories of a war which began thousands of miles from this Nation. Every American wants to be sure that this country is doing everything in its power to build a lasting peace and a just peace. We believe that such a peace can be achieved by the nations of the world.

Anyone can talk of peace. But only the work that is done for peace really counts.

I propose to describe the specific steps the United States has taken to obtain peace in the world. I propose, also, to discuss what further measures we must take, and what measures others must take, if our hopes for peace are to be fulfilled.

I submit to you that the United States has consistently done its part in meeting the requirements for a peaceful world.

We fought through World War II with only one purpose: to destroy the tyrants who tried to impose their rule on the world and enslave its people. We sought no territories; we asked for only token reparations. At the end of the war we quickly dismantled the greatest military machine ever built by any nation. We withdrew and demobilized the American armies that had swept across Europe and the Pacific, leaving only minimum occupation forces in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. The nations which our Army had helped to liberate were left free to work out their postwar problems without interference from us.

This was not the course of a nation that sought to impose its will upon others. It was not the course of an aggressor.

Long before the fighting had ended our Government began planning for a world organization which could provide security for all nations. At Dumbarton Oaks, at Yalta, and at San Francisco the United States led the way in preparing for a strong and useful United Nations.

In the past three years we have taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations and the related agencies—such as the World Bank and the Food and Agriculture Organization—which are fundamental to world peace and prosperity.

No action by the United States has revealed more clearly our sincere desire for peace than our proposal in the United Nations for the international control of atomic energy. In a step without precedent we have voluntarily offered to share with others the secrets of atomic power. We ask only for conditions that will guarantee its use for the benefit of humanity—not for the destruction of humanity.

To assist world economic recovery we have contributed nearly 20 billion dollars in loans and grants to other nations. American dollars have been invested generously in the cause of peace because we know what peace is worth.

This is a record of action in behalf of peace without parallel in world history.

Many other nations have joined wholeheartedly with us in our work for peace. They share our desire for international control of atomic energy, for the early conclusion of peace treaties, for world economic recovery, and for the effective development of the United Nations.

¹ Delivered at the commencement exercises at the University of California, Berkeley, on June 12, 1948, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

Why, then, after such great exertions and huge expenditures, do we live today in a twilight period—between a war so dearly won and a peace that still eludes our grasp?

The answer is not hard to find.

It lies largely in the attitude of one nation—the Soviet Union.

Long before the war, the United States established normal diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union. In doing so, we demonstrated our belief that it was possible to get along with a nation whose economic and political system differs sharply from ours.

During the war, we worked with the Soviet Union wholeheartedly in defeating the common enemy.

In every way we could we tried to convince the Soviet Government that it was possible and necessary for Allied unity to continue in the great task of establishing the peace. We hoped that the Soviet Union, secure in her own strength and doubly secure in the respect of her allies, would accept full partnership in a peaceful world community.

The record, however, is clear for all to read. The Soviet Government has rejected the invitation to participate, freely and on equal terms, in a great cooperative program for the reconstruction of Europe. It has constantly maneuvered for delay and for propaganda effect in every international conference. It has used the veto excessively and unreasonably in the Security Council of the United Nations. It has boycotted the "Little Assembly" and several special United Nations commissions. It has used indirect aggression against a number of nations in eastern Europe and extreme pressure against others in the Middle East. It has intervened in the internal affairs of many other countries by means of Communist parties directed from Moscow.

The refusal of the Soviet Union to work with its wartime allies for world recovery and world peace is the most bitter disappointment of our time.

The great issues of world peace and world recovery are sometimes portrayed as disputes solely between the United States and the Soviet Union. This is not the case. The fact is that not a single one of the major unsettled questions of the post-war world is primarily a disagreement between this country and the Soviet Union.

We are not engaged in a struggle with the Soviet Union for any territory or for economic gain. We have no hostile or aggressive designs against the Soviet Union or any other country. We are not waging a "cold war".

The cleavage that exists is not between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

The great questions at stake today affect not

only the United States and the Soviet Union; they affect all nations.

Whether it be control of atomic energy, aggression against small nations, the German or the Austrian peace settlements, or any of the other questions, the majority of nations concerned have found a common basis for action. But in every case the majority agreement has been rejected, denounced, and openly attacked by the Soviet Union and her satellites whose policies it controls.

Let me repeat: The division has not been between the United States and the Soviet Union but between the Soviet Union and the free nations of the world.

The United States is strongly devoted to the principle of discussion and negotiation in settling international differences. We do not believe in settling international differences by force. There are certain types of disputes in international affairs which can and must be settled by negotiation and agreement.

But there are others which are not susceptible to negotiation.

There is nothing to negotiate when one nation disregards the principles of international conduct to which all members of the United Nations subscribed. There is nothing to negotiate when one nation habitually uses coercion and open aggression in international affairs.

What the world needs in order to regain a sense of security is an end to Soviet obstruction and aggression. I will give you two clear illustrations of what I have in mind.

The situation in Greece has caused great uneasiness throughout the world. It has been the subject of a series of investigations on the part of commissions of the United Nations. The facts have been established over and over again by these investigations. They are clear beyond dispute. Some 20,000 Greek guerrillas have been able to keep Greece in a state of unrest and to disrupt Greek recovery, primarily because of the aid and comfort they have been receiving from the neighboring countries of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

Last October the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania to stop their illegal aid and comfort to the Greek rebels. This resolution was agreed to by more than two thirds of the membership of the United Nations. But it has been boycotted by Russia.

The situation in Greece requires no special negotiation, or discussion, or conference.

On its own initiative the Soviet Government can cease its boycott of the United Nations recommendation. It can join with other nations in stopping illegal foreign support of the Greek guerrillas so that Greece may have an opportunity for peaceful reconstruction.

If the Soviet Union genuinely desires to make a contribution to peace and recovery in the world it can prove it in Greece.

The situation in Korea is also disturbing. There the Soviet Government has defied the clearly expressed will of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations by boycotting the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. This commission was created last fall by the General Assembly to help set up a Korean national government based on free and democratic elections.

The Soviet boycott has prevented the residents of the northern zone of Korea from electing representatives to establish a unified national government for Korea.

The situation in Korea requires no special negotiation, or discussion, or conference.

On its own initiative the Soviet Government can abandon its boycott of the United Nations Commission. It can permit the people of North Korea to work with their compatriots in the south in creating an independent and democratic nation.

If the Soviet Union genuinely desires to make a contribution to peace and recovery in the world, it can prove it in Korea.

In these questions, as in all others, there are practical ways for the Soviet Union to show its good faith by proper action.

The United States will always respond to an honest move by any nation to further the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

But no nation has the right to exact a price for good behavior.

What is needed is a will for peace. What is needed is the abandonment of the absurd idea that the capitalistic nations will collapse and that instability in international affairs will hasten their collapse, leaving the world free for communism.

It is possible for different economic systems to live side by side and in peace, one with the other, provided one of these systems is not determined to destroy the other by force.

I have said before and I repeat now: The door is always open for honest negotiations looking toward genuine settlements.

The door is not open, however, for deals between great powers to the detriment of other nations or at the expense of principle. We refuse to play fast and loose with man's hope for peace. That hope for peace is too sacred to be trifled with for propaganda purposes, or selfish advantage, by an individual or nation. We are interested in peace—not in propaganda.

We shall judge the policy of every nation by whether it advances or obstructs world progress toward peace, and we wish our own policy to be judged by the same standard.

I stated our American policy for peace at the end of the war. It has been restated many times, but I shall repeat essential elements of our policy again so that there can be no misunderstanding anywhere by anyone.

"We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage.

"We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small.

"We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nation."

The United States has been conscientious and consistent in its devotion to these principles.

We have sought to assist free nations in creating economic conditions under which free institutions can survive and flourish.

We have sought through the United Nations the development of a world order in which each nation feels secure under law and can make its contribution to world civilization in accordance with its own means and national tradition.

We have sought to help free nations protect themselves against aggression. We know that peace through weakness has proved to be a dangerous illusion. We are determined, therefore, to keep strong for the sake of peace.

This course is not an easy one. But it is the practical, realistic path to peace. It has required, and will continue to require, hard work and some sacrifice by the people of the United States. But from many quarters there is tangible evidence that it is succeeding.

This is the course we must follow. I do not propose that we shall be turned aside by those who want to see us fail.

Our policy will continue to be a policy of recovery, reconstruction, prosperity—and peace with freedom and justice. In its furtherance, we gladly join with all those of like purpose.

The only expansion we are interested in is the expansion of human freedom and the wider enjoyment of the good things of the earth in all countries.

The only prize we covet is the respect and goodwill of our fellow members of the family of nations.

The only realm in which we aspire to eminence exists in the minds of men, where authority is exercised through the qualities of sincerity, compassion, and right conduct.

Abiding devotion to these ideals and profound faith in their ultimate triumph sustain and guide the American people in the service of the most compelling cause of our time—the crusade for peace.

I believe the men and women of every part of the globe intensely desire peace and freedom. I believe good people everywhere will not permit their rulers, no matter how powerful they may have made themselves, to lead them to destruction. America has faith in people. It knows that rulers rise and fall, but people live on.

The American people, from the mighty rostrum of the United Nations, call out to all peoples of the world to join with them to preserve the peace.

London Conference Recommendations on Germany

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUÉ

[Released to the press June 7]

In accordance with an announcement issued on June 2 at the conclusion of informal discussions on Germany between representatives of United States, United Kingdom, France and three Benelux countries [Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg] a report containing agreed recommendations on all items discussed was submitted to their respective governments. These recommendations have been submitted as a whole since their main provisions are mutually dependent and form an indivisible program. Principal features of this report are the following:

I. ASSOCIATION OF BENELUX COUNTRIES IN POLICY REGARDING GERMANY

The recommendations include specific provisions for a close association between military governments and Benelux representatives in Germany on matters affecting Benelux interests. Moreover full opportunities will be given the Benelux representatives to be kept informed of developments in the western zones.

II. ROLE OF THE GERMAN ECONOMY IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY AND CONTROL OF THE RUHR

(A) As stated in the communiqué of March 6 it had been agreed that for the political and economic well-being of the countries of western Europe and of a democratic Germany, there must be a close association of their economic life. This close association, which will enable Germany to contribute to and participate in European recovery, has been ensured by the inclusion on April 16 of the combined zone and French zone in the organization for European economic cooperation as full members.

(B) It was agreed to recommend the establishment of an international authority for the control of the Ruhr in which United States, United Kingdom, France, Benelux countries and Germany would participate, and which does not involve the political separation of the Ruhr area from Germany. It does, however, contemplate control of distribution of coal, coke and steel of Ruhr in order that on the one hand industrial concentration in that area shall not become an instrument of aggression, and on the other will be able to make its contribution to all countries

participating in a European cooperative economic program, including, of course, Germany itself. A draft agreement containing the provisions for its establishment is attached as annex I. This agreement is to be concluded by the United States, United Kingdom and France as occupying powers. Moreover the Benelux countries are to be fully associated with the preparation of the more detailed agreement provided for in article 12, and are to be consulted as to the time when the authority begins to exercise its functions.

(C) Arising out of the discussions on the Ruhr it has been recommended that the principle of non-discrimination against foreign interests in Germany be reaffirmed, and that each government should promptly study the problem of safeguarding foreign interests in order that there may be subsequently established as soon as possible an intergovernmental group to review the question and make recommendations to their governments.

III. EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF GERMANY

(A) Further consideration has been given by all delegates to the problem of the evolution of the political and economic organization of Germany. They recognize, taking into account the present situation, that it is necessary to give the German people the opportunity to achieve on the basis of a free and democratic form of government the eventual re-establishment of German unity at present disrupted. In these circumstances they have reached the conclusion that it would be desirable that the German people in the different states should now be free to establish for themselves the political organization and institutions which will enable them to assume those governmental responsibilities which are compatible with the minimum requirements of occupation and control and which ultimately will enable them to assume full governmental responsibility. The delegates consider that the people in the states will wish to establish a constitution with provisions which will allow all the German states to subscribe as soon as circumstances permit.

Therefore the delegates have agreed to recommend to their governments that the military governors should hold a joint meeting with the Ministers-President of the western zone in Germany.

At that meeting the Ministers-President will be authorized to convene a Constituent Assembly in order to prepare a constitution for the approval of the participating states.

Delegates to this Constituent Assembly will be chosen in each of the states in accordance with procedure and regulations to be determined by the legislative bodies of the individual states.

The constitution should be such as to enable the Germans to play their part in bringing to an end the present division of Germany not by the reconstitution of a centralized Reich but by means of a federal form of government which adequately protects the rights of the respective states, and which at the same time provides for adequate central authority and which guarantees the rights and freedoms of the individual.

If the constitution as prepared by the Constituent Assembly does not conflict with these general principles the military governors will authorize its submission for ratification by the people in the respective states.

At the meeting with the military governors the Ministers-President will also be authorized to examine the boundaries of the several states in order to determine what modifications might be proposed to the military governors for the purpose of creating a definitive system which is satisfactory to the peoples concerned.

(B) Further discussions have taken place between the United States, United Kingdom and French delegations on measures for coordinating economic policies and practices in the combined zone and the French zone. Agreed recommendations have been reached on the joint conduct and control of the external trade of the whole area. It has been recognized that a complete economic merger of the two areas cannot effectively take place until further progress has been made in establishing the necessary German institutions common to the entire area.

IV. PROVISIONAL TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS

The delegations have agreed to submit for the consideration of their governments proposals for dealing with certain minor provisional territorial adjustments in connection with the western frontiers of Germany.

V. SECURITY

This problem was considered in three aspects: (A) General Provisions. (B) Measures during the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany. (C) Measures after the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany.

General Provisions

The United States, United Kingdom and

French Delegates reiterated the firm views of their governments that there could not be any general withdrawal of their forces from Germany until the peace of Europe is secured and without prior consultation. During this period there should be no general withdrawal of the forces of occupation of the United States, France or the United Kingdom without prior consultation. It was further recommended that the governments concerned should consult if any of them should consider that there was a danger of resurgence of German military power or of the adoption by Germany of a policy of aggression.

Measures during the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany

The prohibitions on the German armed forces and the German General Staff as contained in 4-power agreements were reaffirmed, as well as the exercise of controls by the military governors with respect to disarmament and demilitarization, level of industry and certain aspects of scientific research. To ensure the maintenance of disarmament and demilitarization in the interests of security, the three military governors should set up a military security board in the western zones of Germany to carry out the proper inspections and make the necessary recommendations to the military governors, who decide the action to be taken.

Measures after the period in which the occupying powers retain supreme authority in Germany

It was affirmed that Germany must not again be permitted to become an aggressive power and that prior to the general withdrawal of the forces of occupation agreement will be reached among the governments concerned with respect to necessary measures of demilitarization, disarmament and control of industry and with respect to occupation of key areas. Also there should be a system of inspection to ensure the maintenance of the agreed provisions of German disarmament and demilitarization.

The present recommendations, which in no way preclude and on the contrary should facilitate eventual 4-power agreement on the German problem, are designed to solve the urgent political and economic problems arising out of the present situation in Germany. Because of the previous failure to reach comprehensive 4-power decisions on Germany, the measures recommended mark a step forward in the policy which the powers represented at these talks are determined to follow with respect to the economic reconstruction of western Europe, including Germany, and with respect to the establishment of a basis for the participation of a democratic Germany in the community of free peoples.

RECOMMENDATION BY THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND LUXEMBOURG ON INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF THE RUHR

Whereas international security and general economic recovery require:

—that the resources of the Ruhr shall not in the future be used for the purpose of aggression but shall be used in the interests of peace;

—that access to the coal, coke and steel of the Ruhr, which was previously subject to the exclusive control of Germany, be in the future guaranteed without discrimination to the countries of Europe cooperating in the common economic good;

Whereas it is desirable for the political and economic well-being of these countries and a democratic Germany that there be close association of their economic life;

Whereas it is important that trade between the countries mentioned in the preceding paragraph should be facilitated by lowering trade barriers and by any other means,

The Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and France, after consultation with the Governments of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, have agreed as follows:

1. An international control shall be set up in the Ruhr and exercised by an International Authority for the Ruhr (hereinafter called the International Authority); the International Authority shall be organised forthwith and shall begin to exercise its functions at a time to be determined by the contracting Governments, and in any case before the establishment of a provisional German Government.

2. The International Authority shall be composed of representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany.

3. The International Authority shall take its decisions by majority vote. The United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany shall have three votes each, and the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg one vote each.

4. Until the contracting Governments decide otherwise, the representative of Germany shall be designated and the vote for Germany exercised by those Powers which share the responsibility for the economic administration of that part of Germany which includes the Ruhr (hereinafter called "the Occupying Powers concerned").

5. The functions of the International Authority shall, subject to existing or future international agreements among the contracting governments concerning the allocation of coal, coke and steel, be as follows:

(a) subject to the provisions of Article 6 below,

to make the division of coal, coke and steel from the Ruhr as between German consumption and export, in order to ensure adequate access to supplies of these products, taking into account the essential needs of Germany

(b) to ensure that the German authorities do not institute, carry out or permit artificial measures or discriminatory practices which would distort the movement of Ruhr coal, coke and steel in international trade, except for measures of protection approved by the International Authority

(c) to exercise, in the circumstances envisaged in Article 10(b) below, the powers described in Article 9(b) below.

(d) During the period in which the Occupying Powers concerned exercise supreme authority (which period is hereinafter called "The Control Period") to bring to the attention of the occupation authorities concerned measures which would ensure, and thereafter itself to ensure, safeguard and protection for coal, coke and steel enterprises in the Ruhr involving foreign interests, within the framework of existing or future agreements between the Allied Governments represented on the Authority.

6. (a) The findings of the International Authority under the provisions of Article 5(a) shall be consistent with the programmes of the C.E.E.C. for the recovery of the participating countries.

(b) During the Control Period, or until such earlier time as may be agreed upon by the contracting Governments, the findings of the International Authority under the provisions of Article 5(a) will be transmitted to the Military Governors for implementation. The Military Governors will proceed with the implementation of these findings (1) to the extent consistent with any agreements relative to the provision of financial assistance to Germany which are now or may come in effect between any two or more of the contracting Governments; and (2) in accordance with the terms of any existing international agreement among the contracting Governments, or extension thereof, with respect to the allocation of coal and coke.

7. The International Authority shall have the right:

(a) to receive regular reports on production, distribution and consumption of Ruhr coal, coke and steel;

(b) to demand additional reports on these subjects whenever necessary;

(c) to verify the information at its disposal by enquiries on the spot and by subpoena and examination of witnesses;

(d) to call for information about supplies of coal, coke and steel from sources other than the Ruhr.

8. During the Control Period the occupation authorities concerned will maintain adequate control over the management in the Ruhr coal and coke industry.

9. During the Control Period, or until such earlier time as may be agreed upon by the contracting Governments, the occupation authorities concerned will maintain

(a) such powers in respect of the coal, coke and steel industries of the Ruhr as will enable the International Authority to perform the functions and exercise the rights assigned to it in Articles 5 and 7 above, and as may be necessary to ensure that the decisions with respect to the export of these products from Germany are carried out;

(b) such further powers as may be necessary to enforce the disarmament of Germany, including power to control the supply of Ruhr coal, coke and steel to any industries which may be prohibited or limited in the interests of security by agreement among the contracting Governments or under the terms of any international agreement to which they shall become party.

10. (a) When the occupation authorities concerned relinquish the powers referred to in Article 9(a) the German authorities shall be responsible to the International Authority for enabling it to perform the functions and exercise the rights assigned to it in Articles 5 and 7 above and shall take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that the decisions of the International Authority are carried out.

(b) When the occupation authorities concerned relinquish the further powers referred to in Article 9(b) these powers shall be transferred to such international body as may be designated for these purposes by the Peace Settlement or by any international Agreement to which the Allied Governments represented on the Authority are parties, and the Authority shall cooperate with that international body in such ways as shall be prescribed by the Peace Settlement or by such international agreement. If no such international body is set up, these powers shall be transferred to the Authority but shall be exercised only by the Allied representatives on the Authority.

11. Should the German Government not carry out the decisions of the International Authority, the latter may, by a majority vote of the Allied representatives, find that the German Government is in default on its obligations and recommend, to the occupation authorities during the Control Period, and thereafter to the Allied Governments represented on the Authority, the application of the necessary enforcement measures, provided however that before such enforcement measures are applied the German Government shall be given a reasonable opportunity for a hearing. At the expiry of the Control Period, these enforcement measures shall be applied in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Peace Settlement or any international agreement to which the Allied Governments represented on the Authority are parties.

12. This Agreement constitutes a statement of principles which shall form the basis for a more detailed agreement setting up the International Authority.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL

[Released to the press June 9]

I wish to announce that the U.S. Government approves and accepts the recommendations of the London conference of the western powers respecting Germany.

The U.S. Government believes that the London recommendations, which at the outset will apply to the larger part of Germany, represent a major step toward a comprehensive solution of German problems. The recommendations are the product of intensive study and prolonged negotiation in the course of which mutually beneficial agreements were reached. These agreements, including that relating to the Ruhr, constitute a program which, while continuing adequate security safeguards and reinforcing controls over demilitarization, offers the Germans the opportunity of peaceful reconstruction and self-government in keeping with the principles of the Potsdam agreement.

The U.S. favors a united Germany but has con-

sistently stressed that political unity must proceed from economic unity and that both must be based on a recognition of individual liberties. Economic unity embraces the free movement of persons throughout all of Germany, the free movement of trade, a common export-import program, and the cessation by the Soviets of reparation removals from current production. The three western powers tried without success to obtain Soviet acceptance of these principles, which are fair and just and offer the only means for the establishment of German unity.

The governments represented at London consider that to the greatest extent possible Germany should be united economically and be permitted to contribute to, and share in, the welfare of those countries of Europe which are cooperating in the common economic good. It was likewise agreed that the Germans in the western area should now be free to proceed with the assumption of govern-

mental responsibilities which would enable them to give effective assistance toward these ends and toward the evolution of their own political future along peaceful lines. It is envisaged that a constitution for a federal government will be drawn up by the Germans themselves through delegates from the participating states. This constitution should insure the normal functioning of free political institutions, should guarantee basic civil liberties for the individual, and should provide for

the ultimate adherence of all the German states as soon as circumstances permit.

The United States believes that the London program will stand the test of experience and that if conditions can be developed for its application to Germany as a whole it would resolve the issues which have thus far divided Germany under the occupation powers and would thereby remove the principal obstacle to the development of a peaceful Europe.

EXPLANATION OF THE CONFERENCE

[Released to the press June 7]

The United States has for two years endeavored to bring to a decision the major issues arising from the defeat of Germany and to make progress toward a general European settlement. Soviet policy and action have thwarted all efforts, both in the Council of Foreign Ministers in two long sessions (March–April and November–December, 1947) and in the Allied Control Authority, to arrive at agreed solutions of the most pressing German problems. In consequence an intolerable situation arose. Germany became sharply divided into separate administrative areas with only slight coordination of policy or administration among them and was thus reduced to a state of economic chaos, distress, and despair. The western nations could no longer permit such conditions to continue as an obstacle to the orderly recovery of Germany and of Europe.

The discussions in the CFM had made clear that the three western powers had reached a large measure of agreement on most basic issues. Following the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in December 1947, it was therefore considered fitting that these powers should concert common policies for the area of Germany under their control, constituting about two thirds of occupied Germany and having a population of nearly 50 million people. At informal conversations in London (February–March and April–May, 1948), with which the Benelux countries were associated, agreements were reached by the participating delegations on fundamental problems inherent in the reconstruction of Germany. There was agreement that German unity should be reconstituted upon a basis which would insure German and European recovery within a proper framework of European security and the establishment of a democratic political organization for Germany. This program was necessarily to be limited in its application for the present to western Germany but was to constitute the basis of a policy of the western nations for all of Germany should German unity be re-established. The agreed measures have been presented in the form of recommendations to the respective governments.

The most important agreements relate to the role of the German economy in European recovery, allocation of Ruhr products, constitutional government, territorial questions, and security.

1. Germany and European Recovery

It has lately become apparent, even to those most fearful of the consequences of German economic revival, that German reconstruction is essential to the well-being of Europe. Not only would a chronically depressed Germany be unable to contribute sorely needed goods and materials to the participating countries of the ECR, but it would constitute a positive menace to the prosperity and security of these countries. It has now been fully agreed that the bizonal area, including the critical Ruhr industrial complex, and the French zone should participate in the recovery program and should be enabled to make a major contribution to its success. In these plans there is no intent that German recovery shall have priority over the needs of other participating countries but only the intent that Germany shall share in the common effort and the common welfare.

2. International Authority for the Allocation of Principal Ruhr Products

For years there has been controversy, often embittered, concerning the position of the vital industrial area of the Ruhr in the new Europe. It has come to be generally admitted that there can be neither (a) liquidation of the Ruhr industrial potential nor (b) restoration of Ruhr industries to exclusive German control. Two major objectives must be assured; first, that Ruhr resources may never be used for warlike purposes and second, that their exploitation must serve the general European welfare, not Germany exclusively, yet not excluding Germany.

To this end an agreement was reached whereby an International Authority should determine the allocation of the most vital Ruhr industrial resources as between domestic consumption and export. Germany is to be represented on the Authority, and the partnership of the countries immediately concerned should result in a closer

association of their economic life. The Ruhr is to remain German, and hence this solution should not give rise to dangerous irredentist sentiments. The Authority will have ample competence to insure that the Ruhr is not converted into a military arsenal. Allocation of needed materials will be on a fair and nondiscriminatory basis. Moreover on the basis of existing and possible future agreements regarding financial responsibility in Germany, the interests of the United States will be protected during such time as it may make the major financial contribution.

3. German Government

The three western powers have been for some time deeply concerned that there is no political organization in Germany capable of regulating economic matters and serving as a focus for the revival of democratic political life. It is moreover clear that the European Recovery Program for western Germany can only be administered successfully by a competent German government.

The western powers have continuously endeavored to obtain quadripartite agreement to setting up a German government which would avoid dangerous over-centralization, yet which would insure democratic rights and practices and would be empowered to participate in a program for German and European economic recovery. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has persistently obstructed such agreement by holding to terms inconsistent with these objectives. The western powers have now agreed to a series of procedures leading to the creation by the Germans of a democratic government on a federal basis and resting on the foundation of a popular constitution. This government is to be provisional in character but will represent the first major step since the war toward the realization of German unity. It will adequately protect the rights of the participating states and the freedoms of the individual while insuring adequate central authority to deal with the urgent problems of western Germany as a whole. In this process the Germans will have an opportunity to manifest their wish for self-government, and the constitution essentially will be one of German devising and acceptance.

The vital prerogatives of the occupying powers will be safeguarded by an occupation statute which will delimit the powers reserved to the occupation authorities while granting broad executive, legislative, and judicial powers to the German government. Such a statute, to be drafted by the military governors in consultation with German representatives, will clarify the legal basis for actions either by the occupation authorities or the German federal and state governments. The grant of broad powers and responsibility to the Germans should give a greater reality to German political

life and promote the development of democratic institutions.

Such a government is designed not to split Germany but to provide a basis and starting point for ultimate German unity. A German government created by democratic procedures and representing nearly three fourths of the German people should make a powerful appeal to the forces of German democracy in all areas.

4. Territorial Questions

There is no intention to make a final decision on German frontier questions at this time, a task properly pertaining to the peace settlement. But it is considered proper, in the interest of economic and political stability, to make a preliminary examination of boundary problems in the west with a view to making such minor provisional territorial adjustments as may be agreed upon by the interested parties. Final delimitation of all German frontiers is to be deferred until the definitive peace treaty.

5. Security

The western powers have been fully aware at all times of the need of guaranties against a revival of German military power, a need accentuated by previous failures to reach quadripartite agreement in this matter. The French Government in particular has been acutely aware of the possible dangers inherent in the reconstruction of a German state and the substantial revival of German economy.

With this end in view it was generally agreed that certain measures should be taken, pending a comprehensive solution of the problems in the peace settlement. The three occupying powers would agree to consult in the event of any threat or danger of German military resurgence. They would agree to maintain their armed forces in Germany until the peace of Europe is secure and not to withdraw them without prior consultation. The major existing agreements with respect to German disarmament and demilitarization are to be maintained in force, and a joint military security board is to be created with authority to carry out proper inspections in order to insure enforcement. Adequate long-term demilitarization measures are to be agreed upon prior to termination of the occupation. It is believed that the guaranties agreed upon will prove ample for all contingencies which can now be foreseen. And current developments seem to point to the evolution of a regional security system under U.N. auspices which will provide further and lasting insurance against the possibility of German military resurgence.

The program agreed upon represents a painstaking examination of existing needs and current

realities. An ideal solution covering the whole of Germany has been unattainable under the circumstances, but practical measures have been concerted which offer promise of concrete results in what is by far the larger part of Germany. These measures safeguard the interests of the participating countries and the common interests of all. It is believed that the application of this program should restore confidence and stability in western Germany while protecting the vital interests of Germany's neighbors. It will insure cooperation

among the western nations in the evolution of a policy which it can be hoped will lead to a peaceful and fruitful association of Germany with western Europe. At the same time it does not exclude the participation of the rest of Germany whenever the people of that area are free to join. At this critical stage, only constructive measures, not procrastination, can offer hope of an eventual German settlement and the consolidation of the peace of Europe on the basis of economic stability and political freedom.

Campaign by Chinese Students Against American Policy in Japan

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR STUART¹

It is with real regret that I find myself compelled to take cognizance publicly of a growingly dangerous situation which affects not only the interests of the United States but, I am firmly convinced the vital interests of China as well. I am, of course, referring to the campaign against American policy in Japan. I know you will understand that my sorrow at having to do this is all the greater because most of my life has been spent in Chinese academic circles and because the primary object of my life work has been to assist him in some small measure in increasing the welfare and the mature responsibility of Chinese students to themselves and their country.

It is therefore difficult for me to have to admit that the core of anti-American agitation on the question of Japan is coming from the Chinese student groups. I do not pretend to know who initiated this agitation or for what purpose. I have received varying reports as to its origin and intent. Perhaps all reports are partially valid. What I do know is that it is seriously damaging the traditional cordiality between the United States and China and that if it continues it can have most unfortunate results. It is all the more regrettable that this movement should start at a time when the United States is embarking upon a large-scale and serious program to assist China in its present tragic plight. At a time when the American people are being called upon to assist in the rehabilitation of war-torn areas throughout the world and, I should add, are only too glad to do so, they may well wonder when these efforts are greeted by unreasonable and irresponsible attacks on American policy.

I would be most reluctant to believe that university circles which initiate or follow the anti-American agitation really believe the arguments which they use against my country. We are charged with fostering the restoration of Japanese military and economic imperialism. These charges are demonstrably false. Immediately after the victorious conclusion of our war against Japan, the United States on behalf of the Allied

Powers who destroyed Japanese power, proceeded to disband the Japanese Army, Navy, Air Force, and General Staff. I defy anyone to produce a single shred of evidence that any part of Japanese military power is being restored or that there is any intention on the part of the United States other than to assure that it will never rise again. The basis of Japanese aggression was its overseas empire. It has now lost that empire and cannot regain it without military power. You may rest assured the American people and government will make sure it does not do so.

As for Japanese economic and industrial power, the United States again on behalf of the Allied Powers, proceeded to destroy or dismantle all Japanese war industries. We are now faced with a situation where we must restore enough of Japanese economic life to enable the Japanese people to become self-supporting. No one can expect the American taxpayer to continue indefinitely paying the Japanese bills. Japan must be allowed a chance for self-support or it will be a continuing liability not only to the United States but also to China. An indigent country can never become a peace-loving and democratically-minded people. If it be argued that industry can be converted to war-time purposes, I admit the truth of the allegation. In modern warfare, any production is susceptible of war uses. Food is a war product. Textiles are a war product. Any of the articles of consumption are necessary in modern warfare. It will be our responsibility to insure that these products are used for peaceful purposes. This task will be made immeasurably easier if we cooperate thereon. It will be immeasurably more difficult if we squabble among ourselves.

If it be charged that the revival of Japanese economy will be a threat to Chinese economy, then I deny it. Certainly the demands of the peoples

¹ Made by J. Leighton Stuart, American Ambassador to China, on June 4, 1948, and released to the press by the American Embassy at Nanking on the same date. Printed from telegraphic text.

of the world for goods and services are far greater than anything all the countries in the world in the predictable future can hope to satisfy. On the contrary, the indefinite continuation of an indigent Japan will continue to lower the standards of living of the world. The world will be deprived of what Japan can produce. It will continue to be a drain on our already depleted resources. As a hungry and restless people, it will continue to be a threat to peace. Such a situation is made to order for Communism. If we are sincere in our profession that Communism, in the general interest, must be stopped, then we must remove the causes which encourage Communism.

If those of you who agitate or who participate in the agitation against the United States on the question of Japan disagree with what I have said, then you must be prepared to face the consequences of your actions. If in your hearts you know that I am right and still continue your agitation for other and secret purposes, then I say to you that it is time you examined your consciences. If by dishonest means you are attempting to accomplish some clandestine purpose, you are not only damaging the United States, you are also damaging your own country. You are also damaging your own standing and reputation as students and intellectuals of China whose best and most honest efforts are so desperately needed today by your country. You are the ones who are in the best position in China to know the truth. If you betray it you also betray yourselves. If you are not true to yourselves then most assuredly you cannot be true to any one or any thing else.

I hardly need protest my affection for Chinese student groups. If my life has not proven that, then it has been a total failure. I trust then that you will take the harsh words I have felt compelled to speak in the spirit in which they are intended. My greatest wish is the peace and welfare of all peoples of the world. Unless China and the United States can approach each other with mutual trust and confidence, that peace and welfare are endangered. I have confidence that the students of China will not knowingly lend themselves to evil purposes or betray the trust which has been placed in them by their country.

At the same time I want to assure you that I am fully aware of how much the Chinese people suffered at the hands of the Japanese and how heroically China resisted aggression. I was a prisoner of the Japanese myself and I know what it meant. I also know that the American people are aware of the tremendous Chinese sacrifices and are deeply grateful for that selfless contribution to the defeat of our common enemy. But I would also say that despite the understandable bitterness of China to-

ward Japan the best guarantee against a recurrence of the tragedy is wisdom, calmness and unity of purpose. In the present distraught situation of the world, misunderstanding among ourselves is the luxury we can least afford.

Your interests in Japan and those of my country are identical. We do not want a Communist Japan, and our surest method of preventing such a calamity is to enable the Japanese people to earn their own living.

Cultural Leaders From the Americas Awarded Grants-in-Aid

Dr. Marcial Martínez Larre, Under Secretary of State for Health and Public Welfare of the Dominican Republic, is spending a month in the United States observing the methods and procedures of hospital organization and administration.

His visit, which coincides with a program of hospital expansion now under way in the Dominican Republic, has been arranged under the travel-grant program of the Department of State administered by the Division of International Exchange of Persons. He will spend about two weeks observing hospitals in Washington and the remainder of his time in other cities in the East.

Humberto Rampoldi, Chief of Construction and Maintenance of the Office of Highways, Ministry of Public Works, Uruguay, has arrived here for a three months' study of United States highway-construction methods. His visit is being made under a grant by the Department of State. The Public Roads Administration of the Federal Works Agency is assisting in the project. Mr. Rampoldi will make a special study of types of road-building equipment used in this country, and he plans to attend the exhibit of highway machinery to be held in Chicago from July 16 to July 24 under the auspices of the American Road Builders Association.

Carlos M. Blixen, inspector of language teaching, National Council of Secondary Education of Uruguay, has arrived in the United States to study language-teaching methods and training of language teachers in this country. Mr. Blixen will devote special attention to the teaching of English as a foreign language to Spanish-speaking students and to the training of native-born teachers of the United States for this purpose. He is also interested in the general functioning of the typical high school in this country.

Mr. Blixen's visit has been arranged under the travel-grant program of the Department of State administered by the Division of International Exchange of Persons. His program while here is being facilitated by a number of agencies, including the Office of Education, the Inter-American

Educational Foundation, and the American Council on Education.

Dr. Jorge Ancizar-Sordo, director of the National Chemical Laboratory of Colombia, who has been awarded a grant-in-aid by the Department of State for a visit to this country at the request of the Department of Commerce, has arrived in Washington for a series of conferences with officials of the Bureau of Standards.

Dr. Ancizar-Sordo, who was a delegate from Colombia to the Eighth Scientific Congress held in Washington in 1940, has been in close contact with the Bureau for a number of years. Many of the methods used in his country's laboratory are patterned after those employed at the Bureau of Standards. Dr. Ancizar-Sordo will devote some time to checking on the work of three junior chemists from his staff who have just completed a year's training in specialized fields at the Bureau and will plan programs for two other staff members who have recently arrived in Washington to replace the three now completing their work here.

This training project is a part of the in-service training program of the Department of State.

Preparations by El Salvador for 1950 Census

Victor Manuel Valdés, Under Secretary of the Ministry of Economy of El Salvador, has arrived in Washington for a series of conferences with Census Bureau officials concerning preparations for the 1950 Census of the Americas.

Mr. Valdés is one of six specialists from the other American republics delegated as official representatives of their governments to the International Statistical Conferences held in Washington in September 1947 who have since been awarded grants by the Department of State to enable them to return for further consultations with the Bureau.

Preparations for the 1950 census in El Salvador, the first in that country since 1930, got under way late in April with the meeting of the First National Statistical Conference.

Planning and organization phases of the census were discussed at this meeting, together with plans for the reorganization of the present statistical system of the republic. The Ministry of Economy is now organizing a Census Department and a Technical Committee is to be formed to act in an advisory capacity to the Director General of Statistics. A preliminary census to be held toward the end of this year in small sections of the country is now being planned in order to provide practical experience for those who will later participate in the 1950 census.

Mr. Valdés stated that this first conference has done much toward stimulating interest, which was previously slight, and that government officials and businessmen alike, now keenly aware of

the importance of the census, are cooperating to make it a success. Special interest is felt in the agricultural census, which is the first ever to be made in El Salvador.

Proclamation of the 1947 Sugar Protocol

[Released to the press June 8]

The President on June 1, 1948, proclaimed the protocol dated at London, August 29, 1947, prolonging for one year after August 31, 1947, the international agreement regarding the regulation of production and marketing of sugar signed at London May 6, 1937.

The protocol was signed on behalf of the Governments of the United States of America (with a reservation "subject to ratification"), the Union of South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Haiti, the Netherlands, Peru, the Republic of the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification of the protocol on April 28, 1948, and on May 14, 1948, the protocol was ratified by the President. The instrument of ratification by the United States was deposited in the archives of the British Government on May 25, 1948.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Regional Conference To Be Held in Bangkok

[Released to the press June 7]

A regional conference will be held in Bangkok from June 21 to June 26 under the chairmanship of Edwin F. Stanton, U.S. Ambassador to Siam. Attending will be officers assigned to the U.S. diplomatic and consular posts in southeast Asia as well as to missions in countries adjacent thereto. Three State Department officers will be present. This conference is similar to those held previously in other parts of the world, where problems common to a specific area are discussed by officers in the field who would not otherwise be able to meet and exchange views.

THE DEPARTMENT

Wilbert Chapman Appointed Special Assistant to the Under Secretary

The Department of State announced on June 8 the appointment of Dr. Wilbert M. Chapman as Special Assistant to the Under Secretary. Dr. Chapman will handle coordination of international fisheries matters for the Department.

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Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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THE INSTITUTE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Cooperative Programs in Health and Sanitation

by Louis J. Halle, Jr.

Some students of human ecology, going back to Malthus, have maintained that diseases perform a vital function in keeping populations down to the "carrying capacity" of the land on which they live. Malaria, according to this grim view, may in some places be an alternative to starvation. Improvement in peoples' health, however, may also contribute to an increase in the "carrying capacity" of the land by making it possible for them to work the land more effectively. I recall seeing a settlement of bush huts on the Mexican-Guatemalan boundary where malaria had reduced the population to below the "carrying capacity" of the land—to zero, in fact. The empty huts were falling into ruin. While this is an extreme case, in a remote region beyond the frontiers of civilization, most of us who have traveled extensively in tropical America have seen rural populations so debilitated by disease that their ability to work the land was impaired. Disease is an appreciable factor in the low agricultural productivity of many regions in the American tropics. It also stultifies progress in the other branches of human accomplishment.

The achievement of public health throughout the Hemisphere is more a matter of providing relatively simple means than of applying abstruse skills to complex and varied situations. Tablets that are sold in drugstores would have saved the settlement that was exterminated by malaria, if they had been at hand. Hookworm is easily prevented and easily cured, but only where the means are available. Chlorine can make a water supply safe, but you have to have the chlorine. You also have to have men and women who know how to apply the remedies. The United States is more fortunate than most American republics in the number of physicians, nurses, sanitary engineers, and other public-health experts available to look

after its population. The shortage of such trained persons is acute throughout most of Latin America, especially outside the great centers of population.

The essential simplicity of the problem accounts for the fact that the cooperation of this Government with other American governments, through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, yields more immediate benefits in the field of public health than in other fields. When the Peruvian and United States Governments, through the *servicio* administering the health and sanitation program in Peru, attacked the problem of malaria in the coastal town of Chimbote, the incidence of malaria there was 25 percent. Four years later it was 2 percent. Chimbote has the finest harbor on the Peruvian coast, with coal mines and iron ore not far away. The economic possibilities inherent in this situation were not realized before 1943 because the conditions of health were such as to weaken the native population and deter immigration. From 1942 to 1947, however, the population of Chimbote rose from 5,000 to 10,000, and it now has what appears to be an expanding future. This illustrates the kind of effectiveness that can be achieved by cooperation in health and sanitation.

Effectiveness in time, however, in the achievement of improvements that are permanent and progressive, depends upon a substantial increase in the locally available supply of trained professionals. Consequently, the Health and Sanitation Division of the Institute has given special emphasis to training in the fields of preventive medicine, sanitary engineering, nursing, and medical education. The need of this training is suggested by statistics showing that, even today and in a progressive country, a population of 47 million people will have a total of 800 nurses to look after it—that is, one nurse for every 58,750 persons. By the

end of 1947, some form of training in nursing or midwifery had been given, under the cooperative programs, to over 4,000 women from 14 of the other American republics, training that ranged from that of nurse aides to that of graduate nurses in public health. Over 1,100 persons, including nurses, had received grants for study in the United States, and the great majority of these have now returned to their countries to assume positions of responsibility in public health and to work with United States technicians in carrying on the health programs. At the same time, over 5,000 persons have had local training courses, and assistance has been given in the development of nursing schools in 13 countries. Activities in health education, originally organized by the cooperative health *servicios* and now operated by national departments of health, are being taken over and expanded by the local nationals who have been trained in the United States.

The Institute has, since 1942, cooperated in health programs in 18 of the other American republics. It operates, today, in 14 of these 18. In each country, the objectives are the control of major diseases and the alleviation of conditions that bring about low levels of health. The program in Brazil may be taken as an example of how these programs operate and what they accomplish.

II

The Amazon valley, transported to the United States, would reach about two thirds of the distance from our eastern seaboard to the Pacific coast. It represents the kind of hot, humid tropics in which organisms that compete with man or are hostile to him have an advantage. Weeds require no cultivation and parasites all but take possession of the human population. The attainment of a satisfactory life, by civilized standards, is a challenge to science. The possibilities for economic development in the valley, however, have strongly attracted those who think in ample terms. The Brazilian Government has been considering a plan to increase the valley's economic value and is, in fact, appropriating funds for a large program of development. The foundation of such a program must necessarily effect the creation of conditions that insure a minimum standard of public health. Men cannot engage in pioneer exploitation, even today, by remote control alone.

When, in 1942, the Governments of Brazil and of the United States undertook to cooperate in a program of public health and created the *Serviço Especial de Saude Publica (SESP)* for the purpose, immediate as well as long-range considerations dictated the Amazon valley as the first scene of operations. World War II was in its most desperate phase and raw materials obtainable in the valley were needed in the common struggle of the United Nations. The men who went in to get those raw materials had to be protected against disease.

A logical first step in the program would have been to establish a health center in each municipal seat, but the funds were insufficient. The more important towns were selected and 30 health centers established with a physician in charge of each. These centers were staffed by visiting nurse aides, laboratory technicians, sanitary inspectors, and administrative personnel. Not enough public-health nurses were available to have one for each, but a few were found and assigned to key posts. The main work of these centers has been control of communicable diseases, maternal and infant care, health education for the public, health examinations, public-health nursing, sanitation, sanitary inspection, vital statistics, and some medical care. Each center has a laboratory and a small pharmacy for the preparation of drugs and other necessities. No charge is made for services rendered.

In order to extend the area of their influence, these 30 centers are supplemented by 34 secondary health posts, manned by sanitary inspectors under the constant supervision of the doctors at the main posts. Some of the centers have launches for itinerant service.

SESP constructed hospitals in Belém, Breves, Fortaleza, Manáus, and Santarém and is responsible for their operation. As the scope of the health work increased, laboratories were established in Belém and Manáus to augment the clinical research work of the hospitals and health centers. Here the SESP technicians of both nationalities have been studying means for the control of malaria, yaws, filariasis, intestinal parasites, brucellosis, Chagas's disease, and trichinosis.

From the beginning, the program on the Amazon has been characterized by important projects for the reduction of malaria. At Belém, a large dike

was constructed and backed by canals and drainage ditches to protect the surrounding area from floods, thereby depriving the malaria mosquitoes of breeding territory. In the later stages of the program, DDT came into extensive use. The first scene of its use was Breves, a town in the state of Pará. At the end of one year, the percentage of inhabitants who had the malaria parasite in their blood had fallen from 43.22 to 1.5. At the end of two years, the figure was 0.3 percent. An attempt to establish an effective "control" area at Vila Virginia, a small town near Breves, by which to measure the effectiveness of the work at Breves, failed because the people of Vila Virginia moved to Breves to escape malaria.

The sanitary-engineering activities of SESP in the Amazon valley have also been extensive. In the city of Abaetetuba a water-supply system was constructed on the basis of financial contributions from the municipal and state governments. This financial cooperation served as a model for other similar projects, and by the end of 1947 construction of water supplies on a like basis had been undertaken in 12 towns. To combat intestinal diseases, seven-and-a-half thousand privies were built in the valley, and sewerage systems for the cities of Macapá and Boa Vista are now under construction.

Activities similar to those in the Amazon valley were undertaken by SESP in the Rio Doce valley at the beginning of 1943. The Rio Doce, after a course of some 340 miles through the states of Espírito Santo and Minas Geraes, empties into the Atlantic at Vitoria, a city of over 40,000 population on the lower part of the "bulge" of Brazil, up the coast from Rio de Janeiro. In addition to its rich forest resources, the Rio Doce has a wealth of minerals, the list of which sounds like an echo of the *Arabian Nights*: emeralds, diamonds, quartz, gold, silver, platinum, beryllium, mercury, molybdenum, manganese, zinc, zirconium, titanium, vanadium, and others. The immediate occasion for the entrance of the program into the Rio Doce valley was the relocation of the Vitoria-Minas railroad, which required the institution of malaria control and general sanitation in the construction camps and towns along the way. In addition, health centers were established in three towns, and by the end of 1947 the furnishing of

water-supply or sewerage systems had been undertaken in nine towns.

Extensive laboratory work is carried on at various localities in the valley of the Rio Doce and in a railroad car that facilitates studies and surveys throughout the area. The treatment, prophylaxis, and general control of malaria are also pursued actively. Wherever DDT has been used, a marked reduction in the number of persons coming to malaria-control posts for treatment has ensued.

These activities, specifically located in the Amazon and Rio Doce valleys, are supplemented by country-wide activities that include leprosy control, nursing, the training of professional and technical personnel, and general health education. A nursing school has been built in São Paulo. Nurses from Brazil and the United States are working in this and other schools for the improvement and extension of hospitals and public-health nursing services. One objective is to have four or five nursing schools so well developed that they constitute a permanent reservoir for the supply of nurses who can develop other schools and nursing services generally. Women selected for outstanding qualities of leadership are sent to the United States for thorough training. In courses of training conducted in Brazil and averaging six months, 102 visiting nurse aides and 83 hospital aides have been trained.

Up to the end of 1947, SESP had graduated 23 doctors in public health from its own staff and granted four fellowships to other doctors. Fellowships had been granted to 117 doctors in the United States, and 36 fellowships had been granted to engineers. Twenty-two women had been sent to take the basic three-year course of nursing in the United States; 14 to take one-year postgraduate courses in the United States; and 42 had been granted fellowships for the three-year course at nursing schools in Brazil.

As this training goes forward, a campaign is being conducted to teach the public the need for competent nursing and the benefits that can result. This is being done by the establishment of libraries, health clubs, and boards of health; by instruction for school teachers; by distribution of pamphlets, posters, and movies; and by radio broadcasts.

There are indications that public opinion in Brazil is responding favorably to the work of the health program. In Aimores, a town of 5,000, from 20 to 30 cases of typhoid fever occurred every year, many resulting in death. In 1943 SESP started work on a water-supply system that was completed in 1946. Not a single case of typhoid fever occurred in 1947, to the amazement of the people, who now speak with pride of the wonderful effects produced by their drinking water. Recently a letter was written to the mayor of a town asking if he had money available for spraying the houses of the town with DDT. He replied that there were no funds for this purpose. A few days later, SESP received an urgent telegram stating that the funds had been secured. What had happened was that the people of the town had learned of the mayor's reply, a meeting of the town council had been held, and the mayor had been persuaded to change his mind.

It appears safe to say that the cooperative health program in Brazil, in addition to improving conditions of health over a large part of the country, has contributed to laying a foundation for further and permanent improvements.

III

The features of the Brazilian health program that I have cited above are, for the most part, features of the other health programs as well. The purpose of describing the one program in some detail was thereby to describe all programs in rough outline. No two are quite the same, of course, since the particular problems and the range of problems they have to solve are often peculiar to each country. The importance of mining in Bolivia, for example, has led to special emphasis on industrial hygiene and safety in the cooperative health program there. The extent of tuberculosis in Chile prompted the construction under the Chilean program of a large tuberculosis hospital near Santiago. Specialized nutrition projects were developed to deal with the prevalence of goiter in Colombia. The acute need of hospitals in Ecuador led to the construction or remodeling of 25 hospitals. In Haiti, the program has worked particularly on the control of yaws and malaria. The program in Mexico has been characterized, in part, by cooperation with

the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and the United States Public Health Service in health work along our common boundary. The problem of leprosy has called for special attention in Paraguay, where the local *servicio* has cooperated in the construction and development of an important leper colony. In Uruguay, the program has undertaken large-scale immunization against diphtheria and smallpox epidemics. Hookworm and schistosomiasis have been special objects of attack in Venezuela. These are all features that give variety to the health programs, which parallel each other closely in their other features, although there are differences of emphasis as between health centers, hospitals, engineering projects, and so forth.

I have already cited the case of Chimbote, Peru, to show what concrete results these programs of public health can achieve. It may be worthwhile to cite other cases. In Uruguay, 300,000 children were immunized against diphtheria in 1945. The number of diphtheria cases per hundred thousand of population dropped from 216 in 1944 to 55 in 1946.

Maracay is the fifth largest city of Venezuela, with a population of about 35,000 persons. It is an agricultural and cattle center, as well as an industrial city with textile mills, pottery works, a soap factory, and paper mills. Experiment stations and other projects of the Venezuelan Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry are located in or near Maracay. Malaria has been a serious problem for the city, especially where clay extraction for pottery works produced large pits for mosquito-breeding areas. Extensive areas of pasture land were inundated with overflow waters from the river and the irrigation canals. As a result of drainage by the Cooperative Health Service, all anopheline breeding places were eliminated in the two most dangerous zones of the city. Reported cases of malaria in the area drained fell from 134 in 1942 to 3 in 1945. In 1943 the incidence of malaria was 22 percent and in 1947 less than 1 percent. An agricultural college is now being built and pasture lands have been cleared in previously flooded zones.

Tingo María is an agricultural colony on the Amazonian watershed of Peru, where the tropical

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Future of the Interim Committee

STATEMENT BY JOSEPH E. JOHNSON¹

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Interim Commission

This Subcommittee is meeting today, after some three months, to consider the reports of its two working groups, and to address itself to the ultimate question which is now before it. To use the language of the Philippine resolution which created this Subcommittee, it must "make a recommendation on the advisability of establishing a permanent committee of the General Assembly . . ." (A/AC.18/10). You, Mr. Chairman, suggested in your plan for these working groups that implicit in this question is the possibility of recommending the continuance of such a committee on a further temporary basis.

When Secretary Marshall, on September 17, 1947, introduced the proposal for a standing committee of the General Assembly, he said in the course of the general debate:

"In our opinion every member of the United Nations should be seated on this body. The creation of the Interim Committee will make the facilities of the General Assembly continually available during the next year to all its members. It will strengthen the machinery for peaceful settlement and place the responsibility for such settlement broadly upon all the members of the United Nations. Without infringing on the jurisdiction of the Security Council, it will provide an unsurpassed opportunity for continuing study, after the adjournment of this Assembly, of the problems with which the United Nations must contend if it is to succeed."

The Interim Committee was established and it is at work. As the Bolivian Representative observed at an early meeting of this Subcommittee, it has permitted "calm and serene consideration" of questions and has enabled all nations represented to express opinions on a wide horizon. This, in my opinion, has been a good thing. Recently a

member of the press commented to me that there are not many headlines in the Interim Committee's work. That too is a good thing. Headlines are apt to reflect conflict, and one of our chief purposes is to minimize conflict.

Let me refer briefly to three areas in which the Interim Committee has been working.

1. Implementation

In this field the Interim Committee has already made a signal contribution. Its existence made one special session of the General Assembly unnecessary. I refer, of course, to the Korean consultation. Through this consultation the Committee provided most effective assistance and support to the Korean Commission in carrying through a difficult task. The Commission in this manner obtained the advice of the membership of the United Nations in a convenient, effective, and inexpensive manner.

Also in the field of implementation is the Interim Committee's study of voting procedures in the Security Council. The Committee has been the forum in which members of the United Nations have for the first time since San Francisco had an opportunity for a full exchange of views on voting procedures. It is already apparent that the report of the Interim Committee will be a valuable document on which further important decisions can be based. This subject is one to which the United States attaches great importance.

These two matters have demonstrated the value of a subsidiary organ in carrying out *ad hoc* tasks for the General Assembly between its sessions.

¹ Made in Subcommittee 4 on June 17, 1948, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

It is reasonable to suppose that in the future the General Assembly will find it useful to deal with other important matters in like fashion. A practice of this kind is most likely to develop out of experience. Our experience to date would justify further reliance on a body such as this.

2. Pacific Settlement Studies

Subcommittee 2 has begun work which the United States and, if I am not mistaken, many other members, hope will continue for a period of years, and which will probably involve a continuing process of reexamination. Its discussions have gone forward in an atmosphere removed from the tension of immediate political issues. These studies relate to chapter VI of the Charter, which Ambassador Austin has recently characterized as the most important part of that document. They also relate to the General Assembly's responsibilities under articles 11(1) and 13(1, a). We have been impressed with the insight characterizing the discussions in that Subcommittee.

3. Preparatory Work

The Interim Committee has not yet undertaken any preparatory work for the next regular session of the General Assembly, and there is the possibility that it may not do so in the weeks to come. But it has a potentiality in that field. The representatives who have sat through the sessions of these subcommittees and the Interim Committee, and have had an opportunity to compare them with the hectic meetings of the First Committee, cannot but be impressed with that potentiality.

In summary, my Government feels that these have been important, useful, and productive months for the Interim Committee in spite of the fact that the calling of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly forced it substantially to cease its operations for a considerable time.

The Soviet Union and the five other states which follow its lead have not occupied the seats to which they are entitled. Their absence has made some of the results of the Interim Committee's work less conclusive than they might otherwise have been. However, the absence of these six members has not prevented progress. I leave it to the members of the Interim Committee, Mr. Chairman, whether the record does not show that Mr. Vyshinsky has been proven mistaken in his estimate that the Interim Committee would be but a crude device to by-pass the Security Council and would, as a principal organ, usurp its functions (A/P. V. 84, page 97). Indeed, I suggest that an examination of the record of the Interim Committee may well convince the Soviet Union that it will wish to participate in its work if the General Assembly decides to continue it.

The Future

Let me now turn to the future and relate these experiences to it. With such a promising beginning, it seems to my Government that the conclusion must follow that the Interim Committee should be continued. The important thing is its continuance. The term for which it is continued is relatively unimportant; perhaps this should be another experimental year, as a minimum. But the view of the United States, I venture to think, is well known to the other representatives. Speaking last month before the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, Secretary Marshall considered how the existing machinery of the United Nations could be strengthened and in this connection he recalled that "by means of this [Interim] Committee the far-reaching influence of the General Assembly is being brought more effectively to bear in fulfilling the purposes and principles of the Charter."

We feel that a firm foundation has been laid. The United States is earnestly concerned with strengthening the United Nations. It recognizes the part that a continuing committee of the General Assembly has played and can play.

At this stage of the discussion I do not propose, Mr. Chairman, to comment upon the various tentative conclusions contained in the reports of the working groups or to anticipate the discussion of the Subcommittee upon them. That I would reserve for later. But one observation is appropriate. My Government feels that the sound development of a committee of the General Assembly functioning between sessions will evolve from the confident belief by the members that it will not encroach upon the functions of the principal organs or other agencies of the United Nations. One of the outstanding facts about the Interim Committee thus far is that it has not so encroached. I suggest that such confidence will continue to evolve from use of the Committee along the lines already developed rather than from substantial alteration of its terms of reference. It is because of this conviction that the United States has not itself, in the working group in which it has participated, suggested any considerable changes in the terms of reference of a future committee. We feel that its orderly development will result from continuing substantially those powers which it now has; and from actual use of these powers including the development of its potentiality for both preparatory work and implementation.

The United States urges the continuance of a committee of the General Assembly in the nature of the present Interim Committee, at least for another year. My Government feels that the experience of this Committee demonstrates that its continuance will strengthen the United Nations and will contribute to its sound and orderly development.

Why and How We Came To Find Ourselves at the Havana Conference

BY WILLIAM L. CLAYTON¹

Adviser to the Secretary of State

"Why and How We Came To Find Ourselves at the Havana Conference" is a good story, but it will take us over a long and difficult road.

The story needs to be told because it will help to a better understanding of the Havana charter.

No doubt the inspiration for that great enterprise lay in the general realization that the nations of the world made a tragic mess of their international economic relationships following the first world war and in a determination that this same road should not be traveled again.

It is only necessary to mention such matters as reparations, the handling of the war debts, the raising to fantastic heights of tariffs and other trade barriers, the practice of bilateral and barter trading, and the bitter retaliations and discriminations which flowed from these actions.

The first significant declaration of a determination to prevent a recurrence of these tragic mistakes was contained in the Atlantic Charter in August 1941. The victorious German Army was then far inside Russia, having long since swept western Europe. There were no illusions in the United States regarding the peril with which we would be faced if Germany should win the war.

Under these dramatic circumstances President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met upon the Atlantic and signed a pledge which became known as the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Charter announced, among other things, that the two Governments: ". . . will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world . . ."

By 1943 thirty-four other nations had subscribed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Four months after the publication of the Atlantic Charter the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war.

Within a short time thereafter we concluded the first of a series of master lend-lease agreements with our European Allies.

Article VII of this agreement committed the signatory Governments to the principle of

"the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; . . . the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; and . . . the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers."

The United States Government lost no time,

even in the agonizing years of the war, in taking energetic action to mobilize the thinking in other governments and to prepare measures to carry out these declarations.

In November 1943, a distinguished British delegation led by Lord Keynes came to Washington by invitation to discuss with us the shaping of a world economic program. A broad range of economic subjects including trade and finance were discussed at that time. Similar discussions were held in January 1944 with the Canadian Government. Following these talks, we began work in Washington to shape up a program of action. For this purpose, an interdepartmental committee was formed, headed originally by Mr. Myron Taylor and later by Mr. Dean Acheson as Chairman of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, established by the President. As Assistant Secretary of Commerce, I took part in the deliberations of this Committee and later, as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, succeeded Mr. Acheson as Chairman of the Committee.

The international trade policies formulated by this group were presented in a document called *Proposals for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment*. Before publication in December 1945, these proposals were discussed with the British Government and were mutually agreed to. Subsequently, in the early months of 1946, other governments expressed their approval of the principles contained in the U.S. proposals.

Having achieved a wide measure of agreement on basic economic principles, the United States then drafted a charter to give effect to these principles. This document was known as *Suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization*. It was circulated to all United Nations governments for their consideration.

Meanwhile, the United Nations had been organized and in February 1946, the Economic and Social Council called a preliminary meeting of 18 countries to prepare for a conference on trade and employment. This meeting was held in London from October 15 to November 30, 1946. The draft charter suggested by the United States was used as the basis of discussion.

The text of the draft resulting from the London meeting was put into better shape by a drafting committee convened at Lake Success in January and February 1947. This became known as the "New York draft" and served as the basis for the Second Preparatory Conference convened in

¹Delivered at the Economic Institute of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. at Washington, D.C., on June 15, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

Geneva in April 1947. Prior thereto, however, this Government diligently endeavored to acquaint the American public and the Congress with the project in hand. Conferences were held with numerous business groups including the United States Chamber of Commerce. A representative group selected from departments of the Government held informal public hearings in seven major cities of the United States to receive "grass roots" opinions about the proposed Iro. The Senate Committee on Finance conducted a detailed inquiry, the record of which covers several thick volumes.

This "referendum" of public and congressional opinion was extremely valuable. Over 100 specific suggestions were received for revising or extending the charter. The entire record was carefully studied to pick out every meritorious suggestion for use in the Geneva negotiations. Both the Geneva draft and the present Havana Charter bear the imprint of these suggestions.

As you probably know, there were 19 countries represented at Geneva, and negotiations there lasted some five months. They were complicated and prolonged by the fact that these same countries were also negotiating a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which required bargaining on thousands of specific items. In addition, agreement on general undertakings had to be reached to give value to the tariff reductions on these items. This enormous and very difficult task was successfully concluded and now stands as a landmark in international trade relations.

The charter negotiations at Geneva were concluded late in August 1947. On November 21, 1947, the World Conference on Trade and Employment convened at Havana to perfect the final draft of the charter. Representatives of 56 countries attended the Conference. This meant that two thirds of the countries at Havana had not participated in the preliminary conferences at London and Geneva. The charter was finally initialed by representatives of 54 countries.

In retrospect it seems almost inconceivable that representatives of 54 nations, great and small, developed and undeveloped, with divergent interests, and speaking many different languages, could agree on a constitution of principles to govern their international economic relationships.

The drafters of the American Constitution didn't have an easy time reaching agreement on that document, but just suppose they had neglected to forbid the States of this Union to erect tariff barriers. In that case, today, 160 years later, we would certainly have a flourishing crop of protectionist measures dividing the United States into 48 economic principalities.

For example, I am quite sure that my State of Texas would have prohibitive tariffs, among other

things, on shoes, woolen and cotton goods. Since Texas is the greatest producer of the raw materials for these articles, it is too much to expect that loyal Texans would have overlooked the great advantages to be obtained in the employment of Texas capital and Texas labor for the conversion of Texas raw materials into finished products for Texas citizens. The fact that other areas might do the work better and cheaper, leaving Texas capital and labor to devote itself to more profitable undertakings, would, of course, have nothing to do with the matter.

And suppose some President of the United States, realizing that this situation had seriously interfered with the sound development of the country, had invited the governors of the 48 States to meet with him in Washington to try to come to agreement on remedial action.

How long do you think it would take these 48 governors, all speaking the same language and living under the same political system, to reach effective agreement, if indeed any agreement could ever be reached?

One needs only to draw this kind of parallel to the Havana conference to illustrate the enormous complexity and difficulty of the task undertaken there.

Indeed we were told again and again that it could not be done. The program was too ambitious. It would involve too many commitments. Circumstances and systems were too diverse. Fair dealing in international trade was old-fashioned and impractical anyway. The disorganization caused by the war was too great. The problem of reconstruction was too pressing. Nations were too much preoccupied with immediate difficulties. They would not look to the future. The future in any case was too uncertain. It could not be done.

But it was done.

The charter is complex and difficult. It is long and detailed and technical. It is far from perfect; indeed, it falls short of what we fought for. But behind its many chapters and its scores of articles, there lies a simple truth. The world will be a better place to live in if nations, instead of taking unilateral action with little regard to the interests of others, will adopt and follow common principles and enter into consultation through an international organization when interests come into conflict.

And this, throughout the entire range of trade relationships, is what the signatories of the charter agree to do. Each will surrender some part of its freedom to take action that might prove harmful to others and thus each will gain the assurance that others will not take action harmful to it.

This may well prove to be the greatest step in history toward order and justice in economic relations among the members of the world community

and toward a great expansion in the production, distribution, and consumption of goods throughout the world.

The International Trade Organization will deal with questions that nations have always held to be of the greatest importance. It will seek solutions for problems that have been a perennial source of irritation and ill will. It will serve as a center where the peoples of the world with their diversity of economic interests can meet on common ground.

If the United States should ratify the Havana Charter, many other nations will promptly ratify it.

If the United States should fail to ratify the charter, there will be no International Trade Organization. Such an eventuality would be a tragedy; it is unthinkable.

It has often been said and correctly that the United States is the giant of the economic world. But it is not so generally recognized at home as it is abroad that we are looked upon as leaders in the world in the movement to reestablish the principles of nondiscriminatory, multilateral trade; that we are regarded as the exponents of liberalism in international economic relations; that we are recognized as proponents of policies designed to bring about a great expansion in the production, distribution, and consumption of goods throughout the world, to the end that people everywhere may have more to eat, more to wear, and better homes in which to live.

Peoples and governments, generally, understand that the purpose of all this is to lay a firm foundation for world peace and world prosperity.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the weight of the responsibilities which this position of leadership places upon us.

The policy itself is one which expresses the enlightened self-interest of the United States. The productive capacity of the United States in the industrial field equals that of the rest of the world combined. We must import from all over the world all kinds of raw materials to feed our huge productive machine. In metals and minerals, we are self-sufficient only in coal and one or two other items. Our fast-growing and prosperous population requires a great variety of goods. Much of our industrial and basic agricultural activity operates so efficiently that vast surpluses are produced at reasonable cost. These surpluses must find markets abroad. We have much to gain and nothing to lose from a great expansion in the interchange of goods and services around the world, a result which can only come from a return to multilateral nondiscriminatory trade.

If the United States should fail to ratify the charter, that action would not only be contrary to our best interests but would be a shock to the whole world. It would be a surrender of our leadership in international economic affairs; it would be more

than that; it would be regarded as a repudiation of much that has been accomplished under that leadership.

If we deliberately vacate our rightful place in this field, does anyone believe that there is another nation in the world today prepared to step into our shoes?

What, then, would the consequence of such action be?

It is certain that every country in the world would feel that it was again on its own, that it was compelled to rely on unilateral action, in short that it had no other recourse except to return to the practices of the international economic jungle—everyone for himself and the devil catch the hindmost.

Bilateralism, import quotas, export quotas, exchange controls, cartels, subsidies, discriminations, retaliations—all the devices known to man for limiting the international exchange of goods and services—would again become standard procedure throughout the world.

Do we want to see a return to that kind of world? Is that in our interest? We must realize that the United States could not long remain an island of free enterprise in a sea of state-controlled international trade. The United States would be forced into the international trading practices of the rest of the world.

But that is not all.

We would find it extremely difficult to carry on international trade in isolation from domestic trade.

There are two roads we can take here.

One road leads in the direction of free enterprise and the preservation of democratic principles.

The other road leads in the direction of Socialism and state trading.

We must soon choose which road we will take.

The Twentieth Century Fund recently issued a report recommending strongly a broad anti-cartel policy by the United States and declaring that support by the United States of the International Trade Organization is essential to such a policy.

The report further states that if the United States refuses the Iro charter, the result will be not a better agreement but a looser one or perhaps no agreement at all.

There are only two questions we have to ask ourselves in trying to decide what we will do about the Iro charter; and those two questions are:

1. Would the United States and the world be better off if there were no Iro, leaving each country to act on its own as heretofore?

2. If the present charter is rejected, would we be able later on to obtain agreement on a better charter?

In my opinion the answer to both questions is NO.

Termination of International Institute of Agriculture

FINAL ACT OF THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE¹

The Permanent Committee:
Meeting in accordance with the Statutes of the IIA;

noting the formal statement made by the FAO in a circular letter dated February 2, 1948 that the Protocol of Dissolution of the International Institute of Agriculture became effective on January 28, 1948;

and
desiring to carry out the provisions of the Protocol in accordance with its provisions and as instructed by the XVIth General Assembly of the IIA;

adopts on this day, the 27th day of February 1948 the following Final Act:

In conformity with Art. VI, item I of the Protocol of Dissolution of the International Institute of Agriculture (including the International Forestry Centre), the said Protocol was not subject to ratification unless a special reservation to that effect was made at the time of signing.

The following countries, 30 in number, signed unreservedly: Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Cuba, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, India, Iran, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, San Marino, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, Uruguay.

In conformity with item 2 of Art. VI, the Protocol "will come into effect when accepted by at least thirty-five Government Members, of the Institute".

The following countries, six in number, have filed with FAO the instrument of ratification (chronological order):

United States, February 10, 1947.

Egypt, October 13, 1947.

Turkey, October 25, 1947.

Nicaragua, November 15, 1947.

Czechoslovakia, January 28, 1948.

Italy, January 29, 1948.

The Protocol, by the terms of Art. VI, therefore became operative at the time of the thirty-fifth ratification, namely on January 28, 1948, when

the instrument of ratification was filed by Czechoslovakia.

In a letter of February 2, 1948, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the countries concerned, the Director-General of FAO notified the Member Governments of the coming into force of the Protocol.

In pursuance of Art. II of the Protocol for the dissolution of the Institute including the Centre and Resolution No. 8 of the XVIth General Assembly, the Permanent Committee, convening in Final Session beginning on February 26, 1948, has wound up the affairs of the International Institute of Agriculture (including the International Forestry Centre) and transferred to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations the possession and full title to the property in the library, files and records, registers and residual assets of the Institute (comprising the Centre).

By the terms of Art. III of the said Protocol, the Permanent Committee herewith gives notice to all the Member States of the Institute, and consequently to your Government of the dissolution of the Institute (including the Centre). The date of this Final Act is deemed to be the date of the termination of the Convention of June 7, 1905 and of the dissolution of the IIA and the IFC.

Dated Rome, 27 February 1948

Confirmations

On June 17, 1948, the Senate confirmed the following nominations:

J. Klahr Huddle, now Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Burma, to serve concurrently as the representative of the United States on the Kashmir Commission of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Claude G. Bowers, now Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Chile, to serve concurrently as the representative of the United States in the Economic Commission for Latin America.

¹ Transmitted to the Secretary of State by a letter dated Feb. 27, 1948, from the President of the International Institute of Agriculture, David McK. Key.

Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Official Records, Second Year:

- No. 62, 164th meeting, 23 July 1947. 25 pp. Printed. 25¢.
No. 63, 165th and 166th meetings, 24 July 1947. 49 pp. Printed. 50¢.
No. 64, 167th meeting, 25 July 1947. 20 pp. Printed. 20¢.
No. 65, 168th meeting, 28 July 1947. 34 pp. Printed. 35¢.
No. 66, 169th and 170th meetings, 29 July 1947. 31 pp. Printed. 30¢.
No. 67, 171st meeting, 31 July 1947. 36 pp. Printed. 35¢.

Official Records, Third Year:

- No. 52, 277th meeting, 1 April 1948. 41 pp. Printed. 40¢.
No. 53, 278th meeting, 6 April 1948. 8 pp. Printed. 10¢.
No. 54, 279th meeting, 10 April 1948. 18 pp. Printed. 20¢.
No. 55, 280th meeting, 10 April 1948. 3 pp. Printed. 10¢.
No. 57, 282nd meeting, 15 April 1948. 25 pp. Printed. 25¢.
No. 58, 283rd meeting, 16 April 1948. 41 pp. Printed. 40¢.
No. 59, 284th meeting, 17 April 1948. 23 pp. Printed. 25¢.
No. 61, 286th meeting, 21 April 1948. 42 pp. Printed. 40¢.
No. 62, 287th meeting, 23 April 1948. 33 pp. Printed. 35¢.

Atomic Energy Commission

Official Records, Second Year:

- No. 3, Thirteenth meeting, 10 September 1947. 21 pp. Printed. 20¢.
No. 4, Fourteenth meeting, 11 September 1947. 17 pp. Printed. 20¢.

General Assembly

- Report of the United Nations Palestine Commission to the Second Special Session of the General Assembly. A/532, April 10, 1948. iii, 42 pp. mimeo.
United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. Sixth Information Report on the Work of the Commission. (Period 21 March-3 April 1948.) A/540, April 23, 1948. 53 pp. mimeo.
Official Records of the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly. Supplement No. 2. Report by the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly. (January 23-October 3, 1946.) v, 106 pp. printed. \$1.00.
Official Records of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly. Supplement No. 2. Resolutions 16 April-14 May 1948. 8 pp. printed. 10¢.

Economic and Social Council

Official Records, Third Year, Seventh Session:

- Supplement No. 1. Report of the Economic and Employment Commission. [E/790, May 10, 1948.] 21 pp. Printed. 25¢.
Supplement No. 8. Report of the Social Commission. [E/779, May 6, 1948.] 58 pp. Printed. 60¢.
Economic Commission for Europe. Annual Report. E/791, May 18, 1948. 58 pp. mimeo.
Report of the Committee and Draft Convention Drawn up by the Committee. (Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide). E/794, May 24, 1948. 59 pp. mimeo.
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Financial Report and Statements . . . and the Report of the Board of Auditors. E/796, May 26, 1948. 10 pp. mimeo.
Supplementary Report of the Food and Agriculture Organization . . . E/797, May 24, 1948. 57 pp. mimeo.
Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Report to the Economic and Social Council on the Third Session of the Commission. E/799, May 28, 1948. 44 pp. mimeo.
Report of the Secretary-General on the Allocation of Functions Among the Various Organs Concerned in the Field of Migration. E/806, May 28, 1948. 111 pp. mimeo.
Transfer to the United Nations of the Functions Exercised by the French Government . . . for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, and . . . the Suppression of Obscene Publications. E/809, June 4, 1948. 7 pp. mimeo.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

A consular agency was established at Curitiba, Brazil, on May 24, 1948.

Confirmations

On June 17, 1948, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Harold H. Tittmann, Jr., to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Peru.

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

The United States in the United Nations

Palestine

Steps taken by the United States in accordance with the Security Council's Palestine truce resolution of May 29 and in support of the U.N. mediator's truce proposals were listed in a letter sent to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on June 22 by Philip C. Jessup, Acting U.S. Representative to the United Nations in the absence of Ambassador Warren R. Austin. The Security Council had decided on June 15 at the request of Count Bernadotte, U.N. mediator for Palestine, to ask all U.N. members for such reports.

Mr. Jessup's letter¹ stated that (1) appropriate authorities of the U.S. Government have been instructed to prevent departure from the United States for Palestine or Arab League countries, during the truce period, of "fighting personnel", as specified in the May 29 resolution; (2) attention of the authorities concerned, including the Chairman of the U.S. Maritime Commission, has been called to the stipulations in the mediator's June 7 truce proposals regarding immigration of "men of military age"; (3) the U.S. embargo on arms shipments to the Near East, instituted November 17, 1947, meets the resolution's injunction on this point; (4) as a member of the Security Council's Truce Commission in Palestine, the U.S. Government has supplied the mediator, at his request, with military observers, transport aircraft, communications facilities, and three naval patrol vessels.

Atomic Energy

On June 22 the Security Council concluded a series of three meetings devoted to the reports of the Atomic Energy Commission. It decided by a vote of 9-0 (U.S.S.R. and Ukraine abstaining) that the Commission's three reports and the record of the Council's debates on them should be transmitted to the General Assembly "as a matter of special concern".

Agreement on simple referral to the General Assembly followed the defeat, by a Soviet Union veto, of a draft resolution which Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Deputy Representative, had tabled on June 11. The U.S. proposal was that the Council should refer the Commission's reports to the General Assembly along with its express endorsement of the majority plan of atomic control outlined in the general findings and recommendations of the First Report and the specific proposals of the Second Report, as well as of the Third Report's

recommendation that the Commission's work be suspended until the General Assembly found that the impasse created by the Soviet Union's attitude no longer existed or until the Commission's six permanent members (the "Big Five" plus Canada) "find that there exists a basis for agreement". The vote on the U.S. proposal was 9-2 (U.S.S.R. and Ukraine opposed).

The vote on the resolution of simple referral, which was introduced by General McNaughton of Canada, was preceded by an argument whether it was subject to the veto. Mr. Gromyko of the Soviet Union opposed it and stoutly maintained that he could veto it but said he chose not to do so. Mr. Jessup pointed out that, if the Council did not transmit the Commission's reports to the General Assembly, any member of the United Nations would be free on its own initiative to place them on the Assembly agenda for its next session.

Strategic Trusteeships

What the role of the Trusteeship Council should be in carrying out U.N. functions relating to strategic trusteeships was debated in the Security Council on June 18. The discussion centered on Charter interpretation, but there were overtones deriving from the fact that the only strategic trusteeship now in effect is that of the United States over the Pacific Islands formerly mandated to Japan.

Article 83 of the Charter states: "All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas . . . shall be exercised by the Security Council", but goes on to say that the Security Council "shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas."

Whether the phrase "shall . . . avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council" is mandatory or merely permissive is the main point in issue. The June 18 debate's point of departure was a report from the Council's Committee of Experts recommending that the Council authorize the Trusteeship Council to act on its behalf in functions relating to the welfare of inhabitants of strategic trust territories.

Mr. Gromyko of the U.S.S.R. and Mr. Tarasenko of the Ukraine attacked this proposal, contending that the Charter language, "all functions . . . shall be exercised by the Security Council", meant

¹ Printed in this issue.

just that. Mr. Gromyko maintained that, although the Security Council is free to ask the assistance of the Trusteeship Council on particular problems, "a decision for a wholesale transfer of the Security Council's functions to the Trusteeship Council is as inadmissible as it is illegal."

The attitude of Belgium, China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as stated by their representatives in the Committee of Experts, is that it is obligatory for the Security Council to avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council and that general principles of inter-Council collaboration need to be formally established.

The June 18 meeting ended with a 9-0 vote (U.S.S.R., Ukraine abstaining) to approve President El Khouri's proposal that the President and the Belgian and Ukrainian Representatives meet with a Trusteeship Council committee to explore informally the possibility of a formula acceptable to both Councils.

Human Rights

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights concluded its third session on June 18 at Lake Success by adopting a 28-article draft International Declaration of Human Rights which, in the words of its preamble, is intended to establish "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations".

The draft was approved by representatives of 12 nations, including the United States, with no negative votes. The U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia abstained. It now goes to the forthcoming session of the Economic and Social Council at Geneva.

In a June 21 statement to the press, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, U.S. Representative on the Commission and its chairman, called the draft Declaration "a document of very great intrinsic worth" which was produced despite "variations in attitudes and customs and historic precedent" of the nations represented on the Commission.¹

Mrs. Roosevelt said the draft Declaration, as an indispensable first step in working toward greater freedom, is an attempt to define freedom, to determine "what does every man and woman have a *right* to have?"

The Commission also passed on to Ecosoc, without recommendation, a draft convention on genocide which had been prepared by an *ad hoc* committee.

Latin American Economic Meeting

The first session of the Economic Commission for Latin America, the latest of the U.N. regional economic commissions, moved into its final week in Santiago, Chile, with the session expected to end

on June 26. On June 23 the Commission approved resolutions calling for a general economic survey of Latin America and defining the working relations between ECLA and the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

U.S. Representation

On June 24 the President appointed W. Averell Harriman, U.S. Special Representative in Europe of the Economic Cooperation Administration to serve as U.S. Representative on the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, a regional economic organ of the U.N. Economic and Social Council. On that date the President also appointed John J. Macdonald as U.S. Representative on the Security Council Truce Commission for Palestine and as U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem to succeed Thomas C. Wasson, who was killed by a sniper's bullet while serving in that capacity. Mr. Macdonald has been a Foreign Service officer since 1930, serving most recently as Consul General in Bombay. Both appointments are recess appointments, pending Senate confirmation.

Aviation Conference

The International Civil Aviation Organization concluded its second assembly on June 22 after a three-week session in Geneva. Russell B. Adams, chief of the U.S. Delegation, called particularly important Conference approval of a proposed international legal convention on recognition of rights in aircraft. The United States is one of the 14 states out of a total of 49 ICAO members who have signed the convention, which recognizes in all contracting states the rights in aircraft granted by any one of them and which is designed to afford the international airline operators with the largest possible measure of assistance in arranging and financing aircraft purchases. Other accomplishments of the conference were recommendations to simplify aviation border crossings, approval of the right of punishment of airmen who infringe local air regulations, establishment of an Air Navigation Commission, and recommendations for the development of international standards and recommended practices.

Correction

It was erroneously stated in "The United States and the United Nations" in the BULLETIN of June 13, 1948, p. 768, that the U.N. Special Commission on the Balkans had moved its headquarters from Geneva to Salonika. The Commission is currently writing its report in Geneva, having moved there from Salonika.

¹ U.S. Mission to the United Nations press release 479.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

U.S. DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Veterinary Science

[Released to the press June 14]

The Department of State announced on June 14 that Dr. Banner B. Morgan, associate professor of veterinary science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., and Dr. Harry Ellis Kingman, Wyoming Hereford Ranch, Cheyenne, Wyo., have been designated as members of the United States Delegation to the First International Congress on the Pathology of Animal Reproduction and Artificial Insemination. The Congress, sponsored by the Italian Government, is scheduled to be held at Milan from June 23 to 30, 1948.

The purpose of the meeting is to examine the problem of animal reproduction, both from the scientific side and from the standpoint of its technical and economic aspects. Special attention will be given to methods of artificial insemination. Among the other topics to be discussed are: (1) biological problems of animal reproduction; (2) livestock reproduction; (3) pathological problems of animal reproduction; and (4) legislative problems concerning artificial insemination and animal reproduction.

The Congress will be divided into sections for discussions and there will be special exhibitions of scientific and educational material.

World Health

[Released to the press June 19]

The Department of State has announced that the President has given approval to the United States Delegation to the First Session of the World Health Assembly, which is scheduled to convene at Geneva on June 24, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Delegates

Thomas Parran, M.D., Medical Director, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency (Chairman of the Delegation)
Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Associate Chief, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency
James R. Miller, M.D., Trustee, American Medical Association

Alternates

Frank P. Corrigan, M.D., Political Adviser on Latin America, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Lake Success, N.Y.
James A. Doull, M.D., Medical Director, U.S. Public Health Service, Chief, Office of International Health Relations, Federal Security Agency
Wilton Halverson, M.D., Director, Public Health, State of California, San Francisco, Calif.

H. Van Zile Hyde, M.D., Alternate U.S. Representative, Interim Commission of the World Health Organization; Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs, Department of State
Durward V. Sandifer, Deputy Director, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

Advisers

Howard B. Calderwood, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director, Social Insurance Activities, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.
Albert W. Dent, M.D., President, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
Morton Kramer, Ph.D., Chief, Research and Information, Office of International Health Relations, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency
Mrs. David M. Levy, President, Citizens Committee on Children of New York City
James E. Perkins, M.D., Managing Director, National Tuberculosis Association, New York City
Miss Lucile Petry, Director, Division of Nursing, U.S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency
Alvin Roseman, Deputy Director, International Activities Branch, Bureau of the Budget
Paul F. Russell, M.D., Malariaologist, Rockefeller Foundation, The Rockefeller Institute, New York City
James S. Simmons, Brigadier General, M.C., U.S. Army, (Retired), Dean, School of Public Health, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
John Tomlinson, Assistant Chief, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Tom Whayne, Colonel (M.C.), U.S. Army, Chief, Preventive Medicine Division, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army
Abel Wolman, Professor, Sanitary Engineering, Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and Hygiene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Executive Secretary

William H. Dodderidge, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

The convening of the World Health Assembly marks the beginning of full-scale activity of the World Health Organization (W.H.O.) and the termination of the interim phase of the development of the international health agency planned by plenipotentiaries of 62 governments at the International Health Conference at New York City during the summer of 1946.

The Constitution of the W.H.O. provides that each member nation be represented at the Assembly by three delegates having only one vote. It also provides that the Assembly will be the governing body of the W.H.O. and that it will, among other things, determine policies, name member nations entitled to designate persons to serve on the Executive Board of the W.H.O., appoint the Director General, review reports of the W.H.O. Interim Commission,

appoint committees, report to the United Nations, adopt conventions and regulations, and approve the budget of the Organization.

The World Health Organization came into official existence on April 7, 1948, when the last of the required 26 United Nations Members notified the Secretary-General of the United Nations of ratification of the Wuo Constitution.

The International Health Conference in 1946 established an Interim Commission composed of representatives of 18 Members of the United Nations to provide for the consideration of international health affairs during the period before the establishment of the permanent Organization. The Commission has met at quarterly intervals, and its work has been concerned mainly with: (1) planning for the establishment of the Wuo; (2) consolidation and continuation of the work of pre-existing international health agencies—the League of Nations Health Agency and the International Office of Public Health at Paris; and (3) continuation of certain health functions of UNRRA by arrangements with UNRRA. The Sixth Session of the Interim Commission convened at Geneva on June 18.

Particular significance is attached to the First Assembly since it will inaugurate a program of international cooperation in the field of health, the need for which is becoming constantly greater with the rapid advances in modern medical knowledge, in public health work, and in other medical activities. It is expected that the program adopted by this meeting will shape the World Health Organization for years to come.

Large Electric Systems

[Released to the press June 17]

The Department of State has announced the composition of the United States Delegation to the Twelfth Biennial Session of the International Conference on Large Electric Systems, the C.I.G.R.E. (Conférence Internationale des Grands Réseaux Électriques) scheduled to be held at Paris, June 24–July 3, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Harvey F. McPhail, director, Branch of Power Utilization, Bureau of Reclamation

Vice Chairman

Frederic Atwood, vice president, Ohio Brass Company, New York, N. Y.

Members of Delegation

Peter L. Bellaschi, consulting engineer, Bonneville Power Administration

Selden B. Crary, Central Station Engineering Division, General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y.

E. Robert de Luccia, chief, Bureau of Power, Federal Power Commission

Lloyd F. Hunt, chief electrical engineer, Southern California Edison Company, Ltd., Los Angeles, Calif.

Howard L. Melvin, chief consulting engineer, Ebasco Services, Inc., New York, N. Y.

Wendall A. Morgan, head, Power System Technical Group, Bureau of Reclamation

Philip Sporn, president, American Gas and Electric Services Corporation, New York, N. Y.

The objects of the Conference are to study and discuss developments and progress in the construction, operation, and maintenance of large high-tension electric systems by bringing together every two years eminent specialists from many countries. The Conference will study the most recent advances in: (1) the manufacture of machinery for generation, transformation, and circuit breaking of electric currents; (2) the construction, insulation, and maintenance of overhead lines and underground cables; and (3) the operation, protection, and interconnection of networks.

Founded in March 1921, under the aegis of the International Electrotechnical Commission, the International Conference on Electric Systems operates with the support and assistance of all the large international electrotechnical organizations. It is not only one of the oldest of all international electrotechnical organizations, but it is also the largest, having more than 1,000 permanent members. Its biennial sessions have become the periodic meeting place of electrical engineers from all over the world.

The forthcoming meeting is of particular interest at the present time because of its bearing on the increased power production for Europe contemplated under the European Recovery Program.

Public Education

[Released to the press June 14]

The Department of State announced on June 14 the appointment of the United States Delegation to the Eleventh International Conference on Public Education to be held at Geneva from June 28 to July 3, 1948. The Delegation is as follows: Galen Jones, Director of Secondary Education, U.S. Office of Education, Chairman, and Ruth Emily McMurry, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State.

The Conference is jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Bureau of Education. Progress reports on the development of educational standards and facilities in each country will be submitted by the delegations. In addition, the Conference will study three main questions: (1) the role of school psychologists; (2) the teaching of writing; (3) the teaching about the U.N. and its specialized agencies. The Conference will offer opportunities for an exchange of information on the present features of educational movements in the various countries. It will also afford an opportunity for studying, on an international plane, educational problems of present interest which have formed

the subject of inquiries or study on the part of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Bureau of Education.

The Tenth International Conference held last year under the sponsorship of IBE and UNESCO was attended by delegates from more than 40 countries. Seventy-one nations have been invited to participate in the Conference this year.

The materials submitted and the text of the discussions at the forthcoming Conference will be published jointly by UNESCO and IBE in French and English editions.

Genetics

[Released to the press June 17]

The Department of State announced on June 17 the United States Delegation to the Eighth International Congress of Genetics scheduled to convene at Stockholm on July 7, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Dr. Forrest V. Owen, senior geneticist, Division of Sugar Plant Investigations, Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils and Agricultural Engineering, Department of Agriculture

Delegates

- Dr. Milislav Demerec, Carnegie Institution, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N.Y.
- Dr. Walter E. Heston, principal geneticist, National Cancer Institute, Bethesda, Md.
- Dr. Hermann J. Muller, president of the International Congress of Genetics, professor of zoology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

The seventh and last International Congress of Genetics was held at Edinburgh from August 23 to 29, 1939. The forthcoming congress will bring together leading scientists for the presentation of papers and discussions on human genetics as well as experiments on plant and animal breeding.

Recent advances in the field of genetics will prove of great interest both to the scientific world and to the layman by their practical application to plant and animal breeding.

Radiocommunications

[Released to the press June 17]

The Department of State announced on June 17 the United States Delegation to the Fifth Meeting of the International Radio Consultative Committee of the CcIR (Comité Consultatif International des Radiocommunications) of the International Telecommunication Union, scheduled to be held at Stockholm July 12-31, 1948. The United States Delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Harvey B. Otterman, Associate Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Advisers

- Warren B. Burgess, Sub-section Head, Radio Techniques Section, Naval Research Laboratory
- Robert R. Burton, Division of International Broadcasting, Department of State
- Clinton W. Janes, Lieutenant Colonel, Signal Corps, Chief, Communication Liaison Branch, Office of the Chief Signal Corps Officer, Department of the Army
- William F. Minners, Marine Radio and Safety Division, Federal Communications Commission
- Dr. Newbern Smith, Assistant Chief, Central Radio Propagation Laboratory, National Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce
- George V. Stelzennmuller, Chief, Treaty Section, Frequency Allocation and Treaty Division, Engineering Department, Federal Communications Commission

Industry Advisers

- AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
- Frederick B. Llewellyn, Consulting Engineer, Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc.
- Richard D. Campbell, Engineer, Department of Operations and Engineering

MACKAY RADIO AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Leroy F. Spangenberg, Vice President

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

- Dr. J. Howard Dellinger, Radio Consultant
- John B. Coleman, Assistant Director of Engineering
- Herschel B. Martin, Assistant Chief Engineer
- Cornelius G. Mayer, Foreign Liaison Engineer, RCA International Division, London
- John H. Muller, Assistant to Executive Vice President
- Philip F. Siling, Engineer-in-Charge, Frequency Bureau

Secretary of the Delegation

William D. Misfeldt, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

The Fifth Meeting of the CcIR has been called jointly by the International Telecommunication Union and the Government of Sweden to study technical and engineering problems of the international operation of radio and to formulate recommendations for the solution of these problems. The meeting will consider problems growing out of the Atlantic City Radio Conference of last summer along with the following: (1) operation between frequencies assigned to radio stations; (2) radio propagation; (3) radio monitoring; (4) broadcast problems; (5) elimination of spurious emissions; and (6) other general technical problems.

The CcIR, a subsidiary organization of the International Telecommunication Union, was provided for by the Telecommunications Conference of Washington in 1927. The fourth and last session of the committee was held at Bucharest in 1937.

Invitations to attend the forthcoming meeting have been sent to member governments of the International Telecommunication Union and to private companies and international organizations interested in the subject matter.

Currency-Reform Plan in Germany

STATEMENT BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN FRANKFURT

[Released to the press jointly with the Department of the Army, June 18]

Financial reform is a necessary step to end economic stagnation and promote recovery in Germany and is a prerequisite to effective German participation in the European Recovery Program. It is a technical, non-political measure. Because of Soviet obstruction, economic unity of Germany has never been achieved and the economies of western Germany have been largely divided. Separate currency reform is a logical consequence of this development. The United States has long recognized the need for currency reform and has taken the lead in seeking quadripartite action to this end. Soviet withdrawal from Control Council machinery terminated negotiations for an agreement on currency reform for all of Germany at this time. In view of the long delay and increasingly urgent need for action, the United States, United Kingdom and France determined to take action in their zones. Should it prove

possible at any time to establish economic unity on the basis of free movement of goods and persons, joint export-import controls and the cessation of Soviet reparations from current production, it should not be difficult to arrange for a common currency for Germany as a whole.

The currency to be used was printed in the United States in 1947 and 1948. The decision on printing at that time contemplated use of currency either on a quadripartite or western basis, depending on whether quadripartite agreement was reached. If it had been reached, the currency already printed in the United States would have been available for its immediate implementation, and it was hoped that several months' delay between the agreement and actual implementation would thus be avoided. If, on the other hand, quadripartite agreement were not reached, as has been the case, the currency would be available for use in the western zones.

SUMMARY OF FIRST LAW OF CURRENCY REFORM

[Released to the press jointly with the Department of the Army, June 18]

The first law of the reform of the German currency promulgated by the Military Governments of Great Britain, the United States, and France will go into effect on June 20. The old German currency is hereby invalidated. The new currency will be the deutsche mark which will be divided into 100 deutsche pfennig.

The old money, the reichsmark, the renten-mark and mark notes issued in Germany by the Allied Military authorities, will become invalid on June 21. The only exceptions are old mark notes and coins up to a denomination of one mark. In order to prevent a temporary shortage of small change, these small notes and coins will remain in use until further notice at one tenth their old or nominal value. Nobody, however, need accept more than 50 pieces of small change in payment of any kind. Postage stamps will also remain valid at one tenth their nominal value.

As a first measure, each inhabitant of the western zone will receive a certain sum in the new deutsche mark. This per capita sum amounts to 60 marks, to be paid against an equal sum of old bank notes. Forty marks will be paid out this Sunday, the remaining 20 one month later. For example, for

a family of four, 240 marks of old money can be paid in, for which the family receives immediately 160 deutsche marks and an additional 80 marks one month later.

Other money held by the German public, as well as savings accounts in banks, savings banks, and postal-savings institutions will be converted into deutsche marks at a later date. The conversion rate, which will drastically reduce the total amount of money in circulation, as well as other details concerning the exchange of these amounts of money, will be published shortly in further laws. During this later conversion operation, the per capita quota already received will be deducted from the deutsche mark funds then converted or credited to the individual. Thus, if a person has an account with a bank which, through this later conversion, is reduced to 200 deutsche marks, he will still have deducted from this the sixty marks which he already received as his per capita quota in the new currency.

The per capita quota will be paid this coming Sunday by the same offices issuing food rationing stamps. In order to receive the new money, all persons must observe the following instructions:

Individuals must show their food ration and

identity cards and hand in 60 marks in old money. As far as families are concerned, the per capita quota for the whole family will be delivered to the head of the family after he has produced the food ration and identity cards for each family member and has handed in 60 marks for each person. Persons who are physically incapable of appearing themselves may send a representative who, however, must be authorized by a letter stating the reason for nonappearance of the person concerned. If the head of a family is incapacitated, by sickness or otherwise, from appearing, another member of the family can pick up the per capita quota, again submitting an authorization. Special regulations will apply to travelers; they will find them at the nearest food-ration office.

Wages and salaries must be paid in the new currency as of Sunday. Wage and salary recipients who are paid on a bi-monthly or monthly basis in advance will get a reimbursement of 70 percent, in new money, for the days between the tenth day after currency reform and their next pay day (for which they were paid in advance in old currency).

There will be a moratorium of one week for all money obligations in reichsmarks. That is to say, during this week (ending June 26) no debts should be paid.

Prices will not be affected by the currency reform. In all laws, administrative regulations, contracts, etc., the new currency will simply replace the old.

Business enterprises will, upon application, receive advances to tide them over. This aid in new deutsche mark will depend on the number of employees and the size of their holdings in old money. In principle, they will receive 80 marks per employee, the total aid not to exceed their holding in old currency.

In preparation for the exchange of old money in circulation and bank accounts, the old money now in the western zones must be turned in or registered by June 26. All money not turned in or registered by that date will become worthless.

In order to guarantee a full utilization of all property, the German legislative authorities will be charged with working out a law for the equalization of financial burdens within six months

(*Lastenausgleichsgesetz*). A tax reform, too, will follow the currency reform as speedily as possible.

To turn in or register their holdings of old money, all individuals must fill out a schedule, a form which they will be given at the same time that they receive their per capita quota. Business enterprises will use a schedule B which is obtainable at the banks. Instructions for filling out these schedules will be broadcast over the radio and published in the press.

The old money must be turned in or registered by June 26 at the banks or savings banks as well as certain auxiliary exchange places which will be set up by the land central banks. The latter will be set up within governmental offices or business enterprises with a large number of employees in order to facilitate exchange operations. Old money cannot be turned in at post offices or postal savings institutions. Of particular importance is the fact that each individual and each business enterprise may, as a matter of principle, only turn in or register old money once.

It is forbidden to import old money into the western zones or export it from this area. It is, of course, permissible to destroy one's holdings of old money instead of turning them in.

Violations of this law will be punishable by jail sentence up to 5 years and by fines up to 50,000 deutsche marks, or both.

For DPs living in camps, regulations paralleling this law will be announced through the camp governments. DPs will be affected by the currency reform just like the German population. For members of the occupation forces, separate instructions will be issued.

The currency reform will not, for the time being, apply to Berlin because Berlin is under four-power rule. The three Military Governments will, however, take all measures in order to maintain and strengthen Berlin's economic ties with the west which are vital to the welfare of the city. Berlin, too, is to share the benefits of the European Recovery Plan, which stands behind the new currency. Food deliveries into Berlin will be continued by the western occupying powers and sold for the currency there in use.

STATEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND FRANCE¹

By virtue of the attempt by the Soviet military administration to usurp for itself the authority to dominate the economic affairs of Berlin and issue its own currency for the quadripartite city, the western powers find it necessary to introduce the deutsche mark in the three western sectors of Berlin.

At the time of the monetary reform in the three

western zones, undertaken to prevent further deterioration of the economy in the western zones, it had been deliberately decided to withhold similar action from Berlin since the city is under quadripartite administration. Furthermore, it was the view of the three western occupying powers that it was the responsibility of the city's supreme quadripartite body, namely, the Kommandatura to effect such monetary reform for the total population of the city as a whole.

¹ Released in Berlin on June 23, 1948. Printed from telegraphic text.

The three western occupying powers specifically invited the Soviet military administration to discuss on a quadripartite basis the most feasible method of protecting the economy of the people of Berlin. At the meeting on Tuesday 22 June of the finance and economic experts from the four occupying powers of Germany, the western zone representatives offered to consider and work out with the Soviet authorities a reasonable and satisfactory method for the handling of the currency and monetary reform measures for Berlin as a whole. It was and still is the desire of the three western powers to have a uniform currency for the whole of Berlin.

The western proposals were refused by the Soviet military authorities. Instead, the Soviet military authorities insisted that it alone would write the currency law for the city of Berlin. Furthermore, the Soviet administration refused to recognize the prerogatives of the *Kommandatura* as the supreme law making body of Berlin. Instead the SMA announced this morning laws which would presumably be applicable to greater Berlin—the same laws the SMA has promulgated for the Soviet zone.

The western powers cannot submit to such arbitrary action which is in violation and total

disregard of the actual quadripartite status of Berlin and which disregards and violates all agreements respecting the managements of money and banking affairs of the city. The three western occupying powers in Berlin found it necessary, therefore, to issue orders that laws promulgated by the Soviet military administration will not apply to the three western sectors of Berlin. The three western powers, therefore, find themselves forced to introduce into the three western sectors of Berlin the deutsche mark which is now legal tender in the three western zones.

Details of the manner and time of the conversion of existing money and bank account holdings of the population of the U.S., U.K., and French sectors of Berlin will be announced shortly. Meantime, an order calling for the immediate closing of all banks in the three western sectors and declaring a moratorium on all financial obligations pending the announcement of details of the monetary conversion operation, has been published.

In order to minimize undue hardships among the civilian population of the three western sectors of Berlin, the occupying powers have decreed that food and chemists shops will remain open during the period of conversion.

The IIAA—Continued from page 822

temperature and heavy rainfall are ideal for the cultivation of manioc, cocoa, tea, rice, yucca, papaya, pineapple, and citrus fruits, and of rubber, cinchona, and barbasco. The community grew from 668 in 1940 to 5,000 in 1942 and in that year the total health facilities and services consisted of a small out-patient clinic with one physician, working part time only. In 1943, a Cooperative Health Service survey of all school children showed that 99 percent were infected, 67 percent with hookworm and 67 percent with parasites other than hookworm. The Cooperative Health Service conducted a campaign for the construction of privies and the building of safe wells, for an appreciation of the need for shoes, clean drinking water, and wholesome foods, and for the examination and treatment of children. A 40-bed hospital was built and operated. Visiting and hospital nurse aides were trained and child-health conferences held. A mobile dispensary servicing workmen on the Tingo María - Pucallpa highway attended 11,692 patients during the 18 months it was

in operation. Recent examinations made by the Cooperative Health Service show that the percentage of school children infected with intestinal parasites has declined from 99 percent in 1943 to 58 percent in 1947; infections with ascaris and trichocephalus have dropped from 67 to 5 percent. The incidence of malaria has dropped from 17 percent in 1945 to less than 1 percent in 1947.

These cases do not, of course, represent the ultimate achievement of the health programs that our neighbors have undertaken with our cooperation. The ultimate achievement must be the substantial permanent improvement of physical health in the Hemisphere, with all that means for the progress of men in the accomplishments of civilization. The way to this goal is long, but there is reason to believe that the good-neighbor policy, expressed in this kind of cooperation, is making progress along this road.¹

¹For articles by Mr. Halle on the significance of the IIAA in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy and on the cooperative agricultural programs of the IIAA, see BULLETIN of May 23, 1948, p. 659, and June 13, 1948, p. 758.

French Zone of Germany Adheres to Economic Cooperation Act

[Released to the press jointly with the ECA June 4]

*Ambassador Caffery to General Guillaume*¹

June 3, 1948

SIR: The Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (title I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948) became law on 3 April 1948.

You will note the general requirement that, before assistance may be provided by the United States to a participating country as defined in subsection 103 (a) of the Act, an agreement must have been concluded between that country and the United States as described in subsection 115 (b) of the Act. However, before such an agreement is concluded and until 3 July 1948, the Government of the United States proposes under the terms of subsection 115 (c) to arrange for the performance, with respect to the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, of these functions authorized by the Act which may be determined to be essential in furtherance of its purposes. This action by the Government of the United States is contingent upon the requirements of subsection 115 (c) of the Act being fulfilled.

Accordingly, I should appreciate your notifying me whether the French Military Government, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, adheres to the purposes and policies in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided, and is engaged in continuous efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose, and also whether the French Military Government, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, intends to conclude an agreement with the United States in accordance with subsection 115 (b). The purposes of the Act are stated in the whole of subsection 102 (b) and the policies referred to in subsection 102 (b) are those designated as such in subsection 102 (a).

Since subsection 115 (c) of the Act predicates the furnishing of assistance upon continuous compliance with such provisions of subsection 115 (b) as my Government may consider applicable, I should appreciate your advising me whether the French Zone of Occupation of Germany is already taking the measures necessary to carry out the applicable provisions of subsection 115 (b) and will continue to take such measures as long as assistance is made available to it pursuant to this note.

It is contemplated that all assistance under the

Act to the French Zone of Occupation of Germany hereunder will be made available upon terms of payment. The proceeds of exports from all future production and stocks of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany will be available in the first instance for payment for such assistance at the earliest practicable time consistent with the rebuilding of the German economy on healthy, non-aggressive lines. Detailed terms of payment will be determined in accordance with the Act at a later time.

I should also like to have the agreement of the French Military Government on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, that deposits in German marks in respect of assistance furnished hereunder will be made pursuant to procedures to be determined by the Government of the United States of America and the French Military Government and will be held or used for such purposes as may be agreed to between the Government of the United States of America and the French Military Government.

I am sure the French Military Government on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, understands that the proposals set forth in this letter cannot be viewed as constituting an obligation on the part of the Government of the United States to make assistance available to such zone.

General Guillaume to Ambassador Caffery

June 3, 1948

SIR: I have received your letter of this date concerning assistance to the French Zone of Occupation of Germany under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948.

The French Military Government, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, adheres to the purposes and policies of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which are stated in the whole of subsection 102 (b) and in subsection 102 (a) respectively, and in furtherance of which the Act authorizes assistance to be provided to such zone.

The French Military Government has taken careful note of the provisions of subsection 115 (b) of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and intends, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, to conclude an agreement with the Government of the United States pursuant to that subsection.

In view of the fact that subsection 115 (c) makes the granting of assistance conditional upon the continued application by the beneficiary countries of such provisions of subsection 115 (b) as your

¹Ambassador Caffery representing the U.S. Government and General Guillaume the French Military Government.

Government considers applicable, I have the honor to inform you that the French Zone of Occupation of Germany has already taken the measures necessary to assure the application of the provisions of subsection 115 (b) and will continue to do so as long as assistance is offered to it pursuant to this letter. The French Zone of Occupation of Germany is engaged in continuous efforts to carry out a joint recovery program and, on April 16, 1948, the French Military Government signed, for that purpose, a European Economic Cooperation Convention containing multilateral undertakings and establishing a permanent organization of the participating Governments.

The French Military Government, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, understands that all assistance to such zone under the Act pursuant to your letter will be made available upon payment terms and that the proceeds of exports from all future production and stocks of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany will be available in the first instance for payment for

such assistance at the earliest practicable time consistent with the rebuilding of the German economy on healthy non-aggressive lines. Detailed terms of payment will be determined by joint agreement in accordance with the Act at a later time.

The French Military Government, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, agrees that deposits in German marks in respect of assistance furnished pursuant to your letter will be made in accordance with procedures to be determined by the Government of the United States of America and the French Military Government and that such deposits will be held or used for such purposes as may be agreed to between the Government of the United States of America and the French Military Government.

The French Military Government, on behalf of the French Zone of Occupation of Germany, understands that the proposals contained in your letter do not constitute an obligation on the part of the Government of the United States to make assistance available to such Zone.

Importance of Azores Agreement to U.S. Military Services

SUMMARY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH PORTUGAL

[Released to the press June 17]

On November 28, 1944, the Portuguese and United States Governments concluded an agreement which permitted the United States to construct, maintain, and use a military air base on Santa Maria Island in the Azores. A year earlier the British Government had been permitted to use the Lagens Airfield on Terceira Island for similar purposes. These agreements gave the Allies two military bases in the Azores which proved to be of invaluable assistance in their ultimate victory.

By its terms, the Santa Maria agreement expired nine months after the end of the war; June 2, 1946, was therefore the date of expiration. A few days prior to this, on May 30, 1946, an agreement was reached with the Portuguese Government which permitted United States military aircraft serving American forces of occupation abroad to use transit facilities at the Lagens Airfield for a period of 18 months.¹ According to the terms of the Santa Maria agreement, the airfield on Santa Maria Island was turned over to the Portuguese Government on June 2, 1946, and has subsequently been used for civil-aviation traffic.

During the latter part of 1947, negotiations were undertaken by the Portuguese and United States Governments for a new agreement to replace that of May 30 upon its expiration on December 2, 1947. The negotiations were not finally concluded by that date and the Portuguese Government permitted the United States to continue to use the facilities at Lagens Airfield pending the conclu-

sion of a new agreement. The new agreement was finally signed on February 2, 1948.²

The transit facilities which United States military aircraft have enjoyed at Lagens Airfield since May 30, 1946, have been extended by this new agreement for three years. Thereafter the agreement may be extended for two years more, making the agreement valid, in effect, for five years. The negotiations were carried out by the Portuguese Government in an atmosphere of complete cooperation and good will and their assistance has permitted the United States to maintain lines of communication with its forces abroad which are of the utmost value at this time. These same conditions exist between the Portuguese military authorities and United States military technicians responsible for servicing American military aircraft which pass through the Lagens Airfield. Consequently, the most satisfactory operating conditions exist at the field.

The facilities which the United States has enjoyed in the Azores since 1944 have been provided by the Portuguese Government without the requirement of any *quid pro quo*. During the war, the extension of military air-base facilities in the Azores was not without its problems to Portuguese neutrality. Since the war, the Portuguese Government has continued to permit the United States to use these facilities in its usual spirit of international cooperation.

¹ BULLETIN of June 23, 1946, p. 1080.

² BULLETIN of Mar. 14, 1948, p. 358.

**COMMUNICATION FROM THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF PORTUGAL**

[Released to the press June 17]

The following communication from Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal to Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal, was delivered June 15 by the new Ambassador to Portugal, Lincoln MacVeagh, when he presented his credentials

June 15, 1948

EXCELLENCY: I would like to take the occasion of Ambassador MacVeagh's first call on you to send by his hand this expression of my appreciation for the generous assistance and cooperation which we have received from the Government of Portugal in the agreement concluded on February 2, 1948. Ambassador Wiley expressed the gratitude of the Government of the United States at the time the agreement was signed. I would now like to add my own thanks on behalf of the military services of the United States.

The important military facilities on Santa Maria Island in the Azores which your Government permitted us to use during the recent war proved

to be an invaluable asset in the final victory of the United Nations. Since the war, our military aircraft have been permitted by your Government to use transit facilities at Lagens Field in the Azores. These facilities have been of great value to us in maintaining safe and efficient lines of communication with the American forces of occupation in Germany and Japan. In the agreement of February 2, 1948 your Government has very generously made it possible for us to continue to maintain these lines of communication through the Azores in the most satisfactory manner.

The responsibilities of the United States Government as one of the occupying powers still continue and we appreciate with deep gratitude the goodwill and spirit of international cooperation which the Government of Portugal has displayed in its willingness to assist us and to participate in the maintenance of international peace and security and the reconstruction of Europe.

Accept [etc.]

JAMES FORRESTAL
Secretary of Defense

Proclamations Issued on General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade With Union of South Africa and Cuba

Union of South Africa

The President on June 12, 1948, issued a proclamation¹ putting into effect, as of June 14, 1948, the concessions in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade initially negotiated with the Union of South Africa, which had not yet been made effective. The agreement was entered into last October 30 at Geneva, with 22 other countries. The President's action followed receipt of information that the Government of the Union of South Africa had signed the Protocol of Provisional Application of the General Agreement on May 14, 1948; pursuant to the agreement and the protocol, the Union of South Africa will be a contracting party to the agreement on the expiration of 30 days from the date of signature.

The Union of South Africa is the twelfth of the Geneva countries to give effect to this agreement. The other countries which have done so, in addition to the United States, are the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Australia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and China.

Under the General Agreement the Union of South Africa grants concessions on products of interest to the United States representing approximately \$32.5 million in terms of 1939 trade. Existing import duties were reduced on such products as tractors, certain industrial machinery, typewriters, air compressors, lumber, barbed wire, sprayers, sprinklers, sporting goods, and lard; on an extensive list of other items, on which existing duties are recognized for the most part to be generally low, rates are bound. These include such items of interest to the United States as certain industrial and mining machinery, lubricating oil, bottles, calculating machines, cash registers, clocks, watches, and radios. The duties on passenger automobiles and on truck chassis were bound at various rates ranging from 3 percent on truck chassis to 20 percent and 30 percent on passenger automobiles. The Union of South Africa is one of the largest foreign markets for American automobiles.

The Union of South Africa and the other contracting parties to the agreement are committed to certain undertakings with respect to the application of quotas, import restrictions, valuation for

¹ Proclamation 2791 (13 Fed. Reg. 3272).

custom purposes, and the conduct of state trading. These undertakings, which apply within the framework of existing legislation while the agreement is being applied provisionally pursuant to signature of the protocol, are important since they commit the Union of South Africa as well as other parties to the agreement to accord fair treatment to the trade of the United States.

The concessions on products of interest to the Union of South Africa, made by the United States in the General Agreement, apply to commodities which represented approximately \$23.5 million in terms of 1939 trade. On products accounting for \$20.9 million of this trade the United States concessions consist of bindings on the existing United States free list. Among the items of principal interest to the Union of South Africa on which United States tariff reductions are granted in the agreement are manganese ore, grapes, fish liver,

oil, crude talc, ostrich feathers, wattle extract, wool finer than 44's and mohair. Continued duty-free entry is assured on such items as diamonds, Persian lamb and caracul, sheep and lamb skins, spiny lobsters, asbestos, wattle bark, chrome ore, and corundum ore.

Cuba

On June 11, 1948, the President issued a proclamation² putting into effect a few additional rectifications of schedule XX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with Cuba and of prior proclamations relating to this agreement, and announcing that the special protocol modifying article XIV of this agreement, concluded at Habana on March 24, 1948, entered into force on April 19, 1948 (for text of special protocol, see Department's press release 261, March 31, 1948).

Ratification of International Conventions

Telecommunication

[Released to the press June 19]

The President has signed the ratification, dated June 18, by the United States of America of the international telecommunication convention, the final protocol thereto, and the Radio Regulations annexed thereto, which were signed at Atlantic City on October 2, 1947.

The convention, final protocol, and Radio Regulations were among the documents drawn up at the International Telecommunication Conference and the International Radio Conference in Atlantic City in 1947. The President transmitted copies of the documents to the Senate on February 17, 1948, with a view to obtaining the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification of the convention, final protocol, and Radio Regulations. (See Senate Executive B, 80th Cong., 2d sess., for English texts of those three documents, together with the texts of the President's message, the report of the Secretary of State to the President, and an excerpt from the report of the United States Delegations to the Conferences.)

On June 2, 1948, the Senate approved a resolution advising and consenting to the ratification of the three documents.

The convention contains provisions relating to telecommunication generally and certain special provisions relating to radio. It provides for the reorganization of the International Telecommunication Union in such a way as to bring it into close relationship with the United Nations on a footing similar to that of other specialized agencies of the United Nations. The comprehensive Radio Regulations are designed to modernize the uniform international rules with respect to radio and make

them more responsive to scientific developments and technical improvements in the field.

Upon entry into force the convention, with final protocol, and the Radio Regulations annexed thereto will abrogate and replace, in relations between the contracting governments, the international telecommunication convention signed at Madrid on December 9, 1932, and the Cairo revision of the General Radio Regulations signed on April 8, 1938.

Under article 49 of the Atlantic City convention, it will enter into force on January 1, 1949, between those countries, territories, or groups of territories in respect of which instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited by that date.

Double Taxation With France

[Released to the press June 19]

The President has signed the ratification, dated June 18, by the United States of America of (1) the convention between the United States and France, signed at Paris on October 18, 1946, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of evasion in the case of taxes on estates and inheritances, and for the purpose of modifying and supplementing certain provisions of the convention between the two Governments relating to income taxation signed at Paris on July 25, 1939; and (2) the protocol between the United States and France, signed at Washington on May 17, 1948, for the purpose of modifying in certain respects the convention of October 18, 1946.

The convention was submitted by the President to the Senate on January 10, 1947, with a view to

² Proclamation 2790 (13 *Fed. Reg.* 3269).

obtaining advice and consent to ratification (S. Exec. Doc. A, 80th Cong., 1st sess.). As a result of hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the supplementary protocol was negotiated and concluded with France and was submitted by the President to the Senate on May 19, 1948 (S. Exec. Doc. G, 80th Cong., 2d sess.).

On June 2, 1948, the Senate approved a resolu-

tion advising and consenting to the ratification of the convention and protocol. Upon the exchange of instruments of ratification by the two Governments, the convention and protocol will enter into force (1) in respect of the provisions relating to taxes on estates and inheritances, on the day of that exchange, and (2) in respect of the provisions relating to taxes on income, on January 1 following that exchange.

Role of the Library in the Overseas Information Program

BY HOWLAND H. SARGEANT¹

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

Too often we Americans take library service, like freedom, for granted. We come to expect certain services of the trained librarian, who performs them with grace and courtesy.

It is precisely because we take these matters—and so many others—for granted that we frequently lose sight of the fact that they are simply manifestations, temporary manifestations to be sure, of a system of government which has been created and strengthened in war no less than in peace. In other lands not so fortunate as our own, people are trying to take heart from our triumphs and learn from our experience, brief as it has been as a nation, how to better their own lives.

Because American ideas, American techniques, and American progress have become of paramount concern to millions of people around the globe, the United States Government—in close cooperation with private agencies—has established an information and education program to present what we in the State Department like to call “a full and fair picture” of the United States of America.

In presenting this picture to the world, we employ the media of press, radio, and motion pictures; we are getting into full swing on an exchange-of-persons program which we hope will result in an increasing two-way flow of deserving students, professors, and technicians. And, last but certainly not least, we maintain 50 United States Information Libraries abroad to bring the assistance of American experience to people in other nations who are working on problems which have been studied in this country.

In a word, these libraries are designed to make

available to the general public, educators, government officials, and professional people in other nations current materials of both general and specialized interest which present, once again, a full and fair picture of the United States of America. When we say full and fair picture, we must be careful lest we be suspected of bending over backwards to depict the United States under soft lights. That would be propaganda, a word as difficult to define as it is to understand. When a former colleague of mine in the State Department was asked once to define propaganda, he said: “I cannot define propaganda any more than a cat can define a rat. But a cat knows a rat when he smells one.”

Recently a young man in French Indochina told our librarian there he was finally convinced we were not propagandists. Why? he was asked. Because, he said, he had recently discovered a criticism of the Truman administration in a copy of *Time* magazine on our shelves.

The original suspicion of the young man in Indochina is illustrative of an attitude our librarians encounter in many parts of the world. The overseas edition of *Life* carries the same news reports and editorial comment as the American edition but omits all advertisements. This lack of complete identity with the publication read in the United States causes criticism. Library visitors complain that the material is edited and slanted for their benefit. Peoples have been subjected to propaganda from so many sources for so many years that even this small variation arouses suspicion. Our United States Information Libraries make available factual reports, varying opinions on problems of concern to the American people, and experienced American librarians present and assist in the evaluation of sources. In

¹ Excerpts from an address made before the Special Libraries Association Meeting at Washington, D. C., on June 10, 1948, and released to the press on the same date.

other words, these libraries give good reference service to the serious inquiries, and this in itself is considered a phenomenon. It is a manifestation of the democratic attitude from which some have become separated and of which they are deeply appreciative.

From your own experience, you know how much more stimulating is the task of the librarian when the resources of the library are in demand. That is one of the experiences which nearly all of our overseas librarians have in common. For in almost every nation of the world today there is an insatiable thirst for knowledge about the Western Hemisphere. The people of those nations have formed the habit of going directly to the United States Information Library for knowledge about this country. They have developed a high degree of confidence in our libraries and in our librarians, especially in nations where our libraries represent their only contact with the United States.

This has frequently proved somewhat aggravating to officials of countries behind the Iron Curtain. These officials are fully aware of the dangers in popular contact with democracy and in several countries are exerting every effort to discourage the use of those libraries. In this connection, you may be interested to learn what happened to our library in Czechoslovakia when the Communists took over. Here is an extract from the monthly report of our librarian in Prague:

"During March 10,632 people visited the library. This number shows that intimidation has had but a temporary effect on regular users of the library. There are some days when the reading rooms are crowded beyond capacity and people won't leave even after closing time is announced. Despite the changed political situation, people continue to be interested in the United States, and in some cases more so than ever."

I might add as a footnote that during the rioting in Prague four Czech policemen marched in front of the library to protect the Americans from some of the more irresponsible elements in the city. During a lull one of the policemen dropped into the library to borrow a copy of the *Reader's Digest*. That, I believe, illustrates rather forcefully that the desire for knowledge comes to the fore even amid revolutions.

Far too often we tend to think of libraries as mere collections of books. This, as you well know, is a grave mistake. Libraries are people. For want of a trained librarian, the value of much information has been lost. During the war a great deal of intelligence work was found to be nothing more than the efficient use of authoritative information already available but in need of collection, evaluation, and proper channeling to meet specific problems.

That is where the trained librarian comes in. For only a trained librarian, knowing both the

subjects under his jurisdiction and the people with whom he deals, is in a position to evaluate to the best possible advantage the knowledge at his disposal. As Herbert Spencer once said, "When a man's knowledge is not in order, the more of it he has the greater will be his confusion". To arrest this confusion, the librarian must bring into play the best features of a courteous host and a dependable source of information.

This is doubly true in the case of a librarian assigned to duty abroad in the Government service. There he must take on the added role of an *ex officio* ambassador from the United States. The American librarian assigned to overseas duty must be a good administrator who is able to organize and maintain excellent library service with limited professional assistance and a limited collection. He must also have that intangible quality that is a talent for establishing pleasant relations with individuals and organizations. This is important, for failure to promote friendly relations would be, in effect, a failure of our mission to further mutual understanding among peoples through our information and education program.

He must also have a sense of selecting those people in the foreign community who are active and are anxious to make practical use of the information and knowledge contained in the library collection. In many remote areas of the world access to American books is not easy, and the librarian who goes abroad must be prepared to supplement the library's collection through local contacts with individuals and organizations in the community possessing American publications.

The librarian must also have a broad knowledge of the problems and duties of other American officials in the community so he may keep them informed of any new published developments in their field which will make their work more effective. Close liaison must be maintained in cities and small communities abroad where Americans are few in number. Contact with developments back home is not easy, and any new publications, especially if they are of general interest, are likely to be objects of intense interest.

The basic foundation of any collection in an overseas library is a group of reference books which make it possible to answer inquiries concerning the United States and the American people. No matter how well a librarian thinks he knows our country, he will find that there is much he neglected to learn. Of course, the value of an individual collection will depend upon the interests and needs of the community in which the library is located. The people in some areas of the world are especially interested in American industrial and engineering developments; other areas are particularly interested in American agriculture. Material on American history—and especially constitutional development—is important and adaptable nearly everywhere. So are

community-wide problems, such as child welfare, public health, and sanitation.

The librarian abroad will come into contact with all types of people with all types of inquiries. They are certain they can find the answer to nearly any question about America from the United States librarian, and we try not to let them down. For example, a public-health commissioner in one community was interested in obtaining information on American techniques for the control of tuberculosis, how the disease was treated in community hospitals, and the means by which American communities obtained public support for such programs. Engineers frequently ask for scientific reports on road construction and the building of dams. A manufacturer recently asked the librarian for information on how air conditioning affects efficiency of the workers in textile manufacturing.

I pointed out earlier that many of these questions are elementary to Americans who deal with them daily. But to a resident of another country out of touch with American developments, they seem quite extraordinary. When the librarian answers a question to the satisfaction of a visitor, he is doing more than supplying necessary information. He is telling the story of America. He is spreading good will. He is promoting peace.

Frequently we hear criticism of the passive role of libraries in a world struggling for peace. Is the criticism justified? Here is what a Hungarian writes from Budapest: "The Library and the reading room maintained by the American legation in Budapest is the greatest benefit imaginable for us

Hungarians, this being the sole window through which we are able, in our isolation, to have a look into the great world. I beg you to have pity upon our misery and to continue keeping up our library and reading room in their present state with their well-trained staff together."

We in the State Department like to receive such letters. It makes us feel that our efforts are recognized and are appreciated. Moreover, we derive strength from the knowledge that other peoples are interested and are making efforts to learn how we live. For our part we are convinced this is one of the most important foundations of peace, this willingness—I might say eagerness—to learn and to understand other peoples and other ways of life.

There is also ample evidence that foreign governments, like individuals, appreciate the work of libraries and librarians. Last year, when it appeared that we would be forced to close down our library in New Zealand due to appropriations cuts, the New Zealand Government took the matter into its own hands and passed a law to grant Mary Parsons, the American librarian, a financial award of merit to permit her to remain in Wellington as head of the New Zealand Library School, which she helped organize. It was the first time in New Zealand's history that such a step had been taken. On the occasion of her recent return to the United States, Foreign Minister Peter Fraser wrote to the American Legation: "No American has, I feel, done more in the cultural field to strengthen within New Zealand the excellent relations that exist between our two peoples."

Grants-in-Aid Awarded to Cultural Leaders

Dominican Republic

The Reverend Oscar Robles Toledano, vice rector of the University of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, is spending two weeks in Washington as a part of a three months' visit to the United States for the purpose of observing the methods of university administration and academic organization in this country. His visit has been arranged under the travel-grant program of the Department of State.

United States

Dr. H. Claude Horack, dean of the Law School of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, has been awarded a grant by the Department of State in cooperation with the Inter-American Bar Association to enable him to make a survey of law schools in the other American republics.

The project, under auspices of the Inter-Ameri-

can Bar Association and endorsed by the American Association of Law Schools and the American Bar Association, is being undertaken as the initial step in implementing a resolution of the Fifth Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association held last year in Lima, respecting arrangements for the interchange of credits between the law schools of the United States and those of the other American republics. It will involve a detailed survey of the curricula, methods, physical equipment, and personnel in various law schools in practically all of the other American republics.

El Salvador

Francisco Espinosa, head of the Department of Secondary Schools of the Ministry of Culture of El Salvador, has arrived in Washington to resume his study of rural education in the United States

which he began here two years ago. His visit, which is being made at the request of the United States Office of Education, has been arranged under the travel-grant program of the Department of State.

Brazil and Uruguay

Dr. Emilio Willems, Professor of Sociology at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, Brazil, and Dr. Francisco Curt Lange, Director of the Institute of Inter-American Musicology of Montevideo, Uruguay, who have received grants-in-aid from the Department of State as visiting professors, have arrived in the United States to serve on the summer session faculties of Vanderbilt University and the University of Texas. Dr. Willems will give courses in sociology at Vanderbilt continuing through July 17, and Dr. Lange is serving as visiting professor of musicology at the University of Texas through the months of June, July, and August.

These grants have been awarded to assist in furthering a five-year experimental project inaugurated last year to develop a group of four permanent centers of Latin American studies in the United States, located at the Universities of North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, and Vanderbilt. These four schools, whose special interests in the field complement one another, are participating jointly in a broad program of Latin American studies under a grant from the Carnegie Institute. Vanderbilt, which is concentrating on Brazilian studies under the program, was chosen for the first of a series of five joint summer sessions to be held as a part of the cooperative working arrangement among the four universities.

A. Carneiro Leão, professor of sociology and dean of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, has arrived in the United States at the invitation of the Department of State for a series of lectures in American universities on the political and social problems of his country. Dr. Leão's visit has been arranged under the travel-grant program of the Department of State.

Cuba

José Ardnin, head of the English department of the Escuela Profesional de Comercio of Habana, Cuba, has arrived in Washington to start a three-months tour of American universities to observe teaching methods here. His trip is being made under the grant-in-aid program administered by the Department of State's Division of International Exchange of Persons.

June 27, 1948

Presentation of Student-Exchange Record

A pictorial record of last year's student-exchange project was presented to Secretary Marshall on June 15 by representatives of the Institute of International Education and the American Friends' Service Committee on behalf of the 35 organizations which sponsored the program.

The presentation was made to the Secretary in appreciation of the State Department's aid in carrying out the project last summer which took some 3,000 American students to Europe for study and brought a number of foreign students to the United States.

The album presented to the Secretary contains photographs of all phases of the project taken in Europe and aboard the *Marine Tiger* and the *Marine Jumper*, the two ships made available for the project by the Maritime Commission.

THE DEPARTMENT

Henry Labouisse Named Foreign Aid Coordinator

[Released to the press June 16]

The Department of State announced on June 16 the appointment of Henry R. Labouisse, Jr., as Coordinator for Foreign Aid and Assistance in the Office of the Under Secretary.

The post of Coordinator was created to facilitate the discharge of the Department's responsibilities under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 and to insure that the Department's foreign-aid policy formulation and execution is adequately related to programs administered by the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Mr. Labouisse will advise and assist the Secretary and Under Secretary in coordinating Departmental planning and operations on foreign aid and assistance programs administered by the ECA; and will serve as the Department's principal liaison officer with ECA.

Appointment of Officers

William T. Stone as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for public affairs, effective June 18, 1948.

Lloyd A. Dehrbas as Director of the Office of International Information, effective June 21, 1948.

Paul H. Nitze as Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for economic affairs, effective June 17, 1948.

William D. Wright as Special Assistant to the Director General of the Foreign Service, effective June 15, 1948.

Thomas Fitch as Special Adviser to the Director of the Office of Controls, effective June 15, 1948.

Sales and Transfers of Nondemilitarized Combat Materiel

[Released to the press June 8]

The following is a list of authorizations and transfers of surplus combat materiel effected by the Department of State in its capacity as foreign

surplus disposal agent during the months of April and December, 1947, and January, March, and April, 1948, and not previously reported to the Munitions Division of the Department:

Country	Description of materiel	Procurement cost	Sales price	Date of transfer
ARGENTINA . . .	Miscellaneous shells, directors, machine guns, gun mounts, height finders, aiming circles.	\$4, 413, 946. 40	\$248, 604. 20	1948 Mar. 19
BELGIUM	One 500-ton netlayer (ex-German vessel), demilitarized, to Ets. Van Heyghen of Ghent, Belgium.	(Captured enemy equipment)	8, 000. 00	Feb. 16
CANADA	Miscellaneous radar and radio equipment	2, 594. 85	391. 40	Apr. 6
CHINA	Miscellaneous cartridges, charges, shells, grenades	842, 727. 50	81, 247. 34	Apr. 29
ECUADOR	Miscellaneous cartridges, metallic belt links, bombs, charges, assembly fms, fuzes, arming wire assemblies.	49, 294. 33	4, 931. 00	Apr. 2
	Miscellaneous cartridges and shells	16, 164. 61	1, 618. 70	Apr. 20
	21 tank engines, 126 bundles of track assemblies, and spare parts for tank, light, M3A3.	409, 193. 73	20, 459. 68	Apr. 20
GREECE	6 LCP's, demilitarized	2, 240, 000. 00	240, 000. 00	1947 April
	11 minesweepers, nondemilitarized	12, 809, 500. 00	1, 320, 000. 00	1948 January
GUATEMALA . . .	Miscellaneous cartridges, metallic belt links, shells, shot, and shell fms.	224, 506. 10	14, 948. 47	Mar. 25
	3 tank engines, 18 bundles of shoe track assemblies, and miscellaneous spare parts for tank, light, M3A1.	49, 711. 31	2, 485. 57	Mar. 25
HAITI	Miscellaneous cartridges, shells, grenades, rockets	91, 469. 21	7, 035. 82	Mar. 5
	One AT-11 aircraft	83, 401. 00	20, 000. 00	Apr. 16
PHILIPPINES . . .	847 automatic pistols, cal. .45; 662 carbines, cal. .30, M-1; 15 Thompson submachine guns, cal. .45, M-1; 2 Garand rifles, cal. .30, M-1, and related parts and accessories to the Manila Police Department, Philippine Government.	57, 501. 01	53, 904. 70	Feb. 24
	One patrol craft and 3 submarine chasers to T. Y. Egan (demilitarized, poor condition, for salvage).	2, 450, 000. 00	8, 198. 07 (approx.)	March-April
	One LCI to E. S. Yeaton (demilitarized, poor to fair condition).	373, 400. 00	5, 500. 00	Dec. 17, 1947- Mar. 11, 1948
	One LCI to T. Y. Egan (demilitarized, poor to fair condition).	373, 400. 00	2, 500. 00	Dec. 17, 1947- Mar. 1, 1948
	10 LCT's to Compania Maritima (demilitarized, seriously damaged).	1, 393, 000. 00	2, 500. 00	Dec. 17, 1947- Mar. 1, 1948
	One patrol craft to T. Y. Egan, and one submarine chaser (demilitarized, poor condition, for salvage).	1, 250, 000. 00	1, 250. 00	Dec. 17, 1947- Mar. 1, 1948
URUGUAY	One submarine chaser (demilitarized), one aircraft rescue boat, one motor launch, and one picket boat (fair condition).	1, 323, 883. 00	35, 361. 00	Mar. 30
	Miscellaneous cartridges, canisters, shells, shot, smoke grenades, signals, and rockets.	578, 569. 66	47, 010. 23	Mar. 9

PUBLICATIONS

Department of State

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

Mexican Non-Agricultural Workers. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1684. Pub. 3049. 8 pp. 5¢.

Termination of Agreement of April 29, 1943, and Refund of Deductions from Salaries under the Railroad Retirement Act; Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico; effected by exchange of notes—Signed at Washington November 15, 1946; entered into force November 15, 1946.

Second Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Mexico City; November 6–December 3, 1947. International Organization and Conference Series 1V, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 1. Pub. 3062. vi, 185 pp. 35¢.

A report to the Secretary of State on the Second Session of the Unesco General Conference, including the program, budget, the administration and external relations of Unesco, the personnel involved, and selected documents.

Third Report to Congress on Assistance to Greece and Turkey For the Period Ended March 31, 1948. Economic Cooperation Series 9. Pub. 3149. v, 63 pp. 20¢.

The President's quarterly report on the financial, military, economic, public-welfare, and agricultural aspects of assistance to Greece and Turkey (with detailed tables and map).

Problems of American Foreign Relations. General Foreign Policy Series. Pub. 3169. 16 pp. Free.

Address by Charles E. Bohlen, Counselor in the Department of State, before the graduating class of the University of Arizona, Tucson, on May 26, 1948.

American Peace Policy: Address by the President June 12, 1948. General Foreign Policy Series 5. Pub. 3195. 12 pp. Free.

Delivered at the commencement exercises of the University of California, Berkeley.

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Contributors

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